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ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1781.

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PREFACE.

THE year of which we treat was ſo abundant in military event, that if all other memorials of the ſame nature were loſt, it might afford no very imperfect tranſcript of the art of modern war in all its forms, whether by ſea or by land. Though we are not aſtoniſhed by the appearance of ſuch immenſe armies as have ſo often deſolated the old world, nor by thoſe actions which have in a day decided the fate of nations and empires, we ſee as vaſt, though leſs concentrated, operations of war, conducted upon its moſt ſcientific principles. When taken in a general view, the combination of its detached parts forms a great whole, whether conſidered with reſpect to action or conſequence. We ſee the war rage, nearly at the ſame time, in the countries on both ſides of the North River, on the Cheſapeak, in South Carolina, the Floridas, North Carolina, Virginia, the Weſt Indies, the American and Weſt Indian ſeas. Through this arrangement, in part fortuitous and in part the effect of deſign, we are preſented with a number of the beſt-conducted and ſevereſt actions recorded in hiſtory. We behold, in an unhappy contention between Engliſhmen, the greateſt exertions of military ſkill, a valour which can never be exceeded, and all the perfection of diſcipline exhibited on the one ſide, and oppoſed on the other by an unconquerable reſolution and perſeverance, inſpired and ſupported by the enthuſiaſm of liberty.

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If the ſoldier finds abundant matter of entertainment and obſervation in the recital of theſe events, the ſtateſman and philoſopher will not find leſs room for ſerious contemplation in the cauſes and conſequences of the contention. They have led to the eſtabliſhment of a new epocha in the hiſtory of mankind; they have opened the way to new ſyſtems of policy; and to new arrangements of power and of commerce. To the whole Britiſh nation, however diſperſed in the old or in the new world, every part of the hiſtory of this contention, in all its circumſtances and conſequences, muſt at all times be in the higheſt degree intereſting.

It would be treſpaſſing too far on the indulgence of the public, to trouble them with any detail of the unavoidable and unfortunate interruptions which have occaſioned the delay of our preſent publication. We conſole ourſelves in the hope, that thoſe cauſes will not appear in any degree to have operated with reſpect to the attention which we have paid to a faithful diſcharge of our duty in the conduct of the Hiſtory. The happy return of the public tranquillity will, by leſſening our labours, enable us to recover our former ſtation in point of publication.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR 1781.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retroſpective view of affairs in Europe in the year 1780. Admiral Geary appointed to the command of the channel fleet on the death of Sir Charles Hardy. Eaſt and Weſt India convoy taken by the combined fleets, and carried into Cadiz. Loſs ſuſtained by the Quebec fleet. Admiral Geary reſigns, and is ſuccceeded by Admiral Darby. M. de Guichen arrives at Cadiz, and the French fleets return to France. Great gallantry diſplayed in various engagements between Britiſh and French frigates. Seige of Gibraltar. Spaniſh fireſhips deſtroyed. Succeſs of General Elliot in deſtroying the enemy's works. Queen of Portugal refuſes to accede to the armed neutrality. Germany. Election of the Archduke Maximilian to the coadjutorſhip of Cologne and Munſter, oppoſed in vain by the King of Pruſſia. Correſpondence between the King and the Elector of Cologne on the ſubject. Meeting of the Emperor and the Empreſs of Ruſſia, at Mohilow in Poland. Proceed together to Peterſburgh. King of Sweden viſits Holland. Death of the Empreſs-Queen, and ſome account of that great princeſs. Queſtion, by torture, aboliſhed for ever by the French king. Great reform of his houſehold. Loans negociated by the court of Madrid. Public and private contributions to relieve the exigencies of the ſtate. Humanity of the Biſhop of Lugo. Duke of Modena aboliſhes the Inquiſition in his dominions.

THE death of Sir Charles Hardy, about the middle of May 1780, occaſioned ſome difficulty with reſpect to a proper commander, who would undertake the important charge of the channel fleet, as

the diſcontents which had ſo long prevailed in the navy, kept ſeveral of our beſt officers from the ſervice. To remove this difficulty, Admiral Geary, an experienced officer, but who, like his predeceſſor, had for many years retired from actual ſervice, was prevailed on to abandon his retreat, and to enter anew into the active duties of his profeſſion.

He ſailed from Spithead pretty early in June, with 23 ſail of the line, ſeveral of which were capital ſhips, and was joined during his cruize by five or ſix more. In the mean time, the French fleet from Breſt had, according to a cuſtom now becoming annual, formed a junction with the Spaniards at Cadiz; by which the allied nations acquired ſuch a ſuperiority, at leaſt in point of number (though with reſpect to real force and condition it might perhaps have admitted of ſome doubt), as afforded them the apparent dominion of the European ſeas.

Admiral Geary had the fortune, in the beginning of July, to fall in with a rich convoy from Port au Prince, of which he took twelve merchantmen; but a thick and ſudden fog checked his ſucceſs, and along with the nearneſs and danger of the enemy's coaſt, afforded an opportunity to the reſt, as well as to the ſhips of war by whom they were guarded, to make their eſcape. It happened unfortunately, that the ſatisfaction afforded by this ſmall ſucceſs was ſoon overwhelmed and loſt, in the contemplation of one of the heavieſt blows that ever had been ſuſtained by the Britiſh commerce.

But before this event took place, the naval commanders having received intelligence, that a detached ſquadron of French and Spaniſh ſhips of war, under the conduct of M. de Beauſſet, were cruizing on the coaſts of Spain and Portugal, the ſquadron proceeded to the ſouthward, at leaſt to the height of Cape Finiſterre, in the hope of intercepting the enemy.

In the mean time, a rich and conſiderable convoy for the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, under the conduct of Capt. Moutray of the Ramilies, and two or three frigates, ſailed from Portſmouth in the latter end of July, and were intercepted, on the 9th of Auguſt, by the combined fleets, under Don Louis de Cordova. The convoy included, beſides the merchantmen, eighteen victuallers, ſtoreſhips, and tranſports, deſtined for the ſervice in the Weſt Indes; one of theſe was of particular importance, being laden with tents, and camp equipage, for the troops deſigned for active ſervice in the Leeward Iſlands. The five Eaſt-Indiamen, likewiſe, beſides arms, ammunition, and a train of artillery, conveyed a large quantity of naval ſtores, for the ſupply of the Britiſh ſquadron in that quarter. The five Eaſt-India ſhips, and above fifty Weſt-Indiamen, including thoſe upon government account, were taken. The Ramilies, with the frigates, and a few Weſt-India ſhips, had the fortune to eſcape.

Such a prize had never before entered the harbour of Cadiz. An Engliſh fleet of near ſixty ſhips, led captive by a Spaniſh ſquadron, was extremely flattering to a people, to whom naval captures, from ſuch an enemy, were an unuſual ſpectacle. All their ancient loſſes,

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all the inſults which their coaſts, and that city and port in particular, had formerly endured, ſeemed now, at one ſtroke, to be done away.

The appearance of the numerous priſoners, conſiſting of all orders and denominations, and reſembling more the various inhabitants of a ſacked city, than the ordinary crews of a fleet, ſeemed to render even the triumph more complete, and made the ſight ſtill more ſingular. They conſiſted of 1520 ſeamen, including their proper officers; of 1255 ſoldiers, part in the ſervice of the crown, and part in that of the Eaſt-India company; of 74 land officers; of 149 women; and of 137 paſſengers, of both ſexes, among whom were ſome married and unmarried ladies of condition. The whole amounting to 2865 perſons. The value of the ſaleable commodities was great; but the loſs of the military and naval ſupplies, both to government and the Eaſt-India company, was much more conſiderable, as they could not be replaced in time: and it was rendered the more particularly unfortunate to the latter, by the then very critical (though in Europe yet unknown) ſtate of their affairs in the Eaſt.

About the ſame time an account was received of the loſs of a great part of the valuable outward-bound Quebec fleet, which was intercepted off the banks of Newfoundland, in the beginning of July, by ſome American privateers. Some of theſe veſſels were retaken; but about fourteen rich ſhips were carried entirely off.

Theſe heavy loſſes, which, in their nearer or more remote conſequences, affected all orders of people, ſpread a general gloom throughout the nation. That diſſatisfaction which had long prevailed among many, with reſpect to the conduct and government of the navy, now became general, and was loudly vented in clamour and reproach. As the combined fleets were known to be at Cadiz, and their putting to ſea anxiouſly apprehended, it was aſked, why the convoy was thrown into their mouths, by ſending it ſo cloſe to the coaſt of Spain? Or if there had been any neceſſity for ſending it that courſe (which was however denied), why was it not better guarded? Why truſt ſo immenſe a property, and of ſuch peculiar importance, to a ſingle man-of-war and two frigates? Could the weſtern, or grand fleet, as it was called, have been better employed, than in guarding ſo valuable a convoy till it was out of danger?

When to theſe queſtions it was anſwered, that the cauſe of the convoy's taking that courſe, was in order to accommodate the merchants, and the Eaſt-India company, who wanted to take in wines at Madeira; it was, in the firſt place, replied, that it was by no means neceſſary to ſteer ſo cloſe to the continent of Europe, in order to touch at Madeira; as there was not a force ſufficient for the protection of the convoy, the courſe ſhould have been varied, and ſuited to the emergency and danger. But it was inſiſted, that the accommodation of the merchants, in ſo very trifling a particular, was by no means to be admitted as a reaſon for touching at all at Madeira, when ſo great a prize was at ſtake, and its ſafety thereby in any

degree hazarded. The merchants might have provided their wines in another manner. They were no politicians. The conſideration of ſuch matters, belonged properly and ſolely to the miniſters at large, and to the admiralty in particular. They poſſeſſed, or ought to poſſeſs, ſuperior political knowledge, and they had all the means of information fully in their hands. It was their buſineſs and duty, in all ſuch caſes, to cure the ignorance, or to correct the ſelfiſhneſs, of the merchants. Such were a few of the topics uſed at that time upon the ſubject.

Aug. 18. 1780. Upon the return of the fleet to Portſmouth, Admiral Geary choſe to reſign the command. The former difficulty again recurred. It was offered to Admiral Barrington, who had been his ſecond upon the late cruize, and of whoſe abilities every body was convinced. From whatever cauſe or cauſes it proceeded, that thoſe profeſſional honours and diſtinctions, which at all other times had been emulouſly ſought after, and even graſped at with the utmoſt avidity, were now avoided, ſo it was, that that brave and excellent officer declined the command. He, however, offered his ſervices, to aſſiſt and ſecond whoever ſhould be appointed. In theſe circumſtances, it was beſtowed on Admiral Darby, who ſtood next in rank to Mr. Barrington.

The grand fleet ſailed again, a little before the middle of September, but was detained by contrary winds for ſome time at Torbay. In the mean time (as we ſhall hereafter more fully explain), the Count de Guichen, inſtead of directing his courſe from the Weſt Indies to America, as had been expected and intended, found his ſhips ſo ſhattered, and his crews ſo extremely ſickly, that he judged it neceſſary, to proceed directly, with the great convoy under his charge, to Europe. It is probable, that his apprehenſion of falling in with the Britiſh fleet, was the motive of his directing his courſe to Cadiz, where he arrived towards the latter end of October, with eighteen ſail of the line, and ſeveral frigates. There he found M. de Eſtaign, with a large fleet, in readineſs to receive and conduct him and his convoy to the French ports. The French united fleet was now numerous; amounting to thirty-ſix ſail of the line, two fifties, and a cloud of frigates. Notwithſtanding which, as the Britiſh fleet under Admiral Darby was now known to be in the way, the Spaniards conducted them almoſt as far as Cape Finiſterre. It is indeed ſaid, that all the enemies fleets were in very bad condition; and that thoſe which had ſcarcely gone out of ſight of Cadiz during the campaign, had little more to boaſt of in that reſpect, than the ſhips which had gone through ſo much hard ſervice with Guichen in the Weſt Indies.

After being driven back into port, by a ſtorm which threw them into the greateſt diſorder, and which rendered their condition ſtill worſe, the French took their final departure from Cadiz, on the 7th of November. What would in other times and circumſtances have been fatal, now produced no effect; this was no leſs than their falling in, after the ſeparation of the Spaniſh fleet, with Admiral Darby. But his force amounted only

only to twenty-two ſail of the line, and two fifties. This great ſuperiority, as we could not be quite certain of the ill condition of the enemy, muſt neceſſarily have checked all well-governed adventure. It has, however, been thought (and the opinion received a conſiderable ſanction, from what was held out by the firſt lord of the admiralty upon the ſubject in parliament), that their condition, in every reſpect conſidered, encumbered and divided as they were by their convoy, an attack would, in all human probability, have been attended with the moſt deciſive conſequences. It was reported, that the hoſtile fleets were for ſome days ſo near each other, that it was a matter of ſome care and nicety to prevent their being entangled in the dark, an event, the conſequences of which, both ſides were equally ſtudious to avoid.

In the courſe of this year, an extraordinary number of well-fought and deſperate actions took place, both in the old and the new world, between the Britiſh and French frigates; in which, though the former had conſtantly the advantage when upon equal terms, and that the latter were frequently taken; yet there were ſuch inſtances of profeſſional ſkill, courage, and dexterity, continually diſplayed on the part of the enemy, as were before unknown in the French marine. It is probable, that no naval hiſtory of any age, could, in an equal ſpace of time, afford ſo many inſtances of ſingle combat between ſhip and ſhip, in which the points of profeſſional and national honour were ſo nobly ſuſtained, and ſuch numerous acts of bravery performed on both ſides. It is with ſingular pleaſure, and no ſmall pride, we likewiſe record, that in theſe hard and bloody trials of virtue, the humanity, liberality, and generoſity of the Britiſh officers, roſe in proportion to the gallantry of their vanquiſhed enemies, and far exceeded all examples of paſt times. Indeed, the generous regret expreſſed for thoſe who had bravely fallen, the kind attention paid to thoſe who ſurvived, and the public acknowledgements made of the valour of both, rather excited images of what we imagine might have paſſed in the gallant contention of heroes at a tournament, than of the uſual ferocity and cruelty of war.

The ſiege of Gibraltar ſtill continued. The blockade on the land ſide commenced in the month of July 1779; and the place was ſoon after inveſted as cloſely by ſea, as the nature of the gut, and the variety of the wind and weather, would permit. The Spaniards likewiſe laboured inceſſantly in the conſtruction of works, as well for the cover and ſecurity of their camp at St. Rocque, as for the furtherance of their future intended operations. All the capital efforts of the Spaniſh nation ſeemed to be directed towards that object; and fortunately it happened for this kingdom they were ſo directed.

We have ſeen in our laſt volume, the ſignal ſucceſs which attended Sir George Rodney, in his voyage to adminiſter ſupplies to that garriſon; a ſervice which he effectually performed. From that time the vigilance and induſtry of the Spaniards, in their endeavours

to cut off all relief by ſea, was redoubled; and the difficulty of ſupplying the garriſon was continually increaſing. In the mean time, the preſence of the Panther and Experiment ſhips of war, and of a royal ſloop, which lay in the bay, was a grievous eyeſore to the enemy; and greatly checked the ardour of their enterprize, in attemping to cut off, on their nearer approach, thoſe veſſels, which had the fortune to elude their more diſtant vigilance.

A ſcheme was accordingly laid by the Spaniſh commanders, for burning this little ſquadron, with ſome ordnance tranſports which lay under their protection. The deſign was not ill formed. A very dark night, between the 6th and 7th of June, was fixed upon for the execution of the project. Seven fire-ſhips were excellently prepared for the purpoſe. Theſe were ſupported by a crowd of row-boats and gallies, filled with men, and with every kind of offenſive arms. At a greater diſtance, a ſquadron of ſhips of war, under the Admiral Don Barcello, ſtood off and on at the entrance of the bay; not only to cover and embolden the attack, but to intercept any veſſels which might attempt to eſcape. The wind and weather were highly favourable, and the darkneſs of the night ſeemed to inſure ſucceſs.

The Britiſh commanders had not the ſmalleſt notice of their danger, until they were alarmed at one in the morning, by the approaching flames of the burning fire-ſhips. Without ſurprize or conſternation at ſo dangerous an appearance, they, with the moſt immediate preſence of mind, inſtantly manned all their boats; and the officers and ſeamen with their uſual intrepidity, met, and grappled the fire-ſhips; and then, amidſt the burſting of ſhells, and all the horrors of a ſcene which teemed with inſtant deſtruction, boldly towed them off, and run them on different parts of the ſhore. They had ſcarcely got clear of this firſt ſet of fire-ſhips, when two large veſſels were perceived bearing down directly on the Panther; but they were received with ſo fierce a cannonade, that they were ſoon ſet on fire, and diſpoſed of like the former.

During the whole time, a heavy fire from the ſhips and the town batteries was kept up againſt the gallies and boats; but the darkneſs prevented any certain knowledge of the effect. By the remains of one of thoſe veſſels, which were examined in the morning, ſhe appeared to have been about the ſize of a fifty-gun ſhip; and from the quantity of unconſumed materials and combuſtibles which were found in that and others, it was evident, that much labour and expence were beſtowed upon their fitting out and equipment. Too much praiſe cannot be beſtowed on the conduct of the Captains Harvey, of the Panther, Leſlie, of the Enterprize, and Faulkner, of the St. Firmin. The maſters and crews of the tranſports (as upon all other occaſions of the preſent war, where the opportunity offered) behaved admirably. The undaunted intrepidity diſplayed by the officers and men in the boats, can only be equalled, but can never be exceeded, even by Britiſh ſeamen.

The town and ſhips had the ſatisfac-

tisfaction of beholding at break of day Don Barcello's baffled ſquadron going back into Algeſiraz. It ſhould ſurely be an incentive to reſolution and bold enterprize to learn, that not a ſingle man was loſt on the Britiſh ſide, in an affair which carried ſo dreadful an appearance. It is evident, that the Spaniards, at leaſt in the ſeven firſt fire-ſhips, wanted reſolution and firmneſs to bring their veſſels near enough, before they ſet them on fire. Upon the whole, it will probably be found, that, excepting ſome very peculiar ſituation, or a conflict with ſome contemptible enemy, it will require all the profeſſional boldneſs and dexterity, and all the natural fortitude of Britiſh ſeamen, to manage fire-ſhips in ſuch a manner, as will render them productive of any great advantage. The fortune of the Ruſſians at Chiſme, in the late war, will hardly be found an exception.

Though the Spaniards laboured hard in puſhing on their works towards the fortreſs, they had frequently the mortification of ſeeing, when they were nearly compleated, the fruits of much time and labour deſtroyed in a few hours by the weight of fire from the batteries. Indeed it ſeemed to be nearly a ſtanding maxim with Gen. Elliot, to let them proceed without interruption to the point we have mentioned, and then at once to throw all their hopes to the ground. Some judicious and ſucceſsful ſallies, were likewiſe occaſionally, though ſparingly, made by the garriſon; in one of which, they brought three pieces of cannon into the fortreſs, from a work which they had taken with ſome ſlaughter of the enemy.

Time, the leiſure of a long blockade, with the conſtant contemplation of ſo near an object, and the vexation of being baffled by a handful of men, who ſeemed almoſt to be abandoned to their own fortune, at length whetted the invention of the Spaniards to a project, which ſoon afforded much trouble to the garriſon; and in its proceſs, produced the utter deſtruction of the town, the ruin of the unfortunate inhabitants, and infinitely increaſed the difficulties and dangers of the defence. This was the framing a number of gun-boats, of a conſtruction calculated to carry very heavy cannon and mortars, for the purpoſe of cannonading and bombarding the town and works in the night; whilſt their own lowneſs, with the difficulty of perceiving, as well as of hitting the object, preſerved them, in a very great degree, from the fire of the batteries. The total want of a naval force gave effect to this meaſure, by diſabling the garriſon from encountering the enemy in their own way. But its being a work of labour, time, and experiment, prevented the effect of theſe floating batteries from being, until the following year, fully experienced.

While all the reſt of Europe were entering into a confederacy, calculated for the ſubverſion of the Britiſh naval power, the Queen of Portugal alone, had virtue to perſevere in her friendſhip, and refuſed to accede to the armed neutrality. This refuſal was the more generous and exemplary, as it was in effect rendering herſelf liable to

the dangerous weight of reſentment, of the whole united Houſe of Bourbon, at a time when the ability of England for her protection became every day more precarious.

It was much to be regretted, that this friendſhip was in ſome degree weakened, and in danger of being loſt, through the imprudence of ſome Britiſh officers on the coaſt of Portugal; who not contented with the advantages which they derived from the free uſe of her ports, and the ſecurity thereby afforded to their prizes, are ſaid to have proceeded to equip and fit out cruizers in the river of Liſbon, in order to act againſt the enemy. This produced an order from that court, prohibiting the privateers of all nations from entering her ports, excepting in caſes of real and apparent neceſſity; and forbidding even then their ſtay, for any longer time than the continuance of the neceſſity.

A ſcheme adopted by the court of Vienna, and which was not unfolded until this year, ſeems to have awakened in no ſmall degree, the, perhaps well founded, jealouſy of the Pruſſian monarch. This was the making a proviſion for the Archduke Maximilian, brother to the emperor, by procuring him to be elected coadjutor to the elector of Cologne, in his two great and princely biſhopricks of Cologne and Munſter, with the conſequent reverſion of the electorate annexed to the former. The Prince Maximilian, was already coadjutor of the Teutonic order; and if he gained this election, whenever the whole fell ſolely into his hands, he would, as well as great opulence, become poſſeſſed of great weight, influence, and power in the empire. The election lay in the two chapters, and in the reigning elector; but ſubject to his negative, as well as to his influence and affirmative. Both that prince, his chapters, and even his ſubjects at large, ſeem to have adopted the views, and to have been entirely in the intereſts of the Houſe of Auſtria. As the election for Munſter was to be preliminary, the King of Pruſſia wrote an argumentative letter to that chapter, ſtrongly urging the inconveniences which would reſult to the empire from their choice of the Archduke, and therefore endeavouring by all means to perſuade them from adopting ſo pernicious and dangerous a meaſure.

This buſineſs likewiſe opened a direct correſpondence between that monarch and the Elector of Cologne. The latter, in anſwer to a letter and meſſage (with the particulars of which we are not otherwiſe acquainted) from the king, ſuppoſes, that the court of Vienna had already acquainted him with the wiſhes of the archduke, and had amicably intreated his powerful ſupport in his favour. He dwells much upon the princely virtues and eminent qualities of the archduke; ſtates the predilection in his favour, and confidence placed in him on that account, by his own chapters and ſubjects. Declares, that it is his own wiſh, as well as his duty, to eſtabliſh the welfare and happineſs of his ſubjects, as far as lies in his power; and that, as he thinks, this cannot be ſo effectually done as by the election of the archduke,

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he has, upon mature deliberation, determined on that meaſure. That the right of election is lodged in himſelf and his biſhopricks by the conſtitution of the empire; that in the exerciſe of this undoubted right, it ſhall be conducted according to the ſtricteſt rules of a free election; and that he cannot at all conceive any room for apprehending, that the archduke's connections ſhould render his being choſen at all liable to endanger the peace and happineſs of the empire; the more eſpecially, as his chapters, and the ſtates, were always conſulted, in caſes of that nature and great importance.

The king, in his reply, after fully acknowledging all the virtues and great qualities attributed to the Prince Maximilian, informs the elector, with ſome aſperity, that the court of Vienna had not given him the ſmalleſt intimation of its intentions with reſpect to the coadjutorſhip of thoſe two biſhopricks, although it had communicated the deſign to other courts and ſtates, which were much leſs intereſted in the ſubject. He had no objection to the election; but he could not be indifferent as to the perſon in whoſe hands, and under whoſe government, theſe biſhopricks were placed. He ſtrongly urged and ſtated, the dangerous conſequences which might ariſe to the Germanic conſtitution, from the dignities of two electorates being united in the Houſe of Auſtria, and an archbiſhoprick, with a biſhop's ſee, in the perſon of one of its princes. It would greatly influence the affairs of the empire, and render thoſe biſhopricks too much dependent. They would be entirely governed by the meaſures, and their intereſts would at all times be blended with the views, of the court of Vienna; they would be drawn into every feud and war, and into every political diſpute, in which the Houſe of Auſtria might take a part; they would loſe all the confidence of the neighbouring ſtates, from their being conſidered only as provinces depending on that houſe.

The king obſerved, that the true welfare, liberty, and independence of the German epiſcopal ſees, and on whoſe preſervation the conſtitution of the empire partly depended, required, that they ſhould be governed by prelates, who had no particular power or intereſt, but what was derived from their biſhopricks. He therefore gave the preference greatly to the chapters chooſing biſhops from among their own capitulars, rather than from great and powerful families. His intentions and views, he declared, were pure and ſincere; he was as far from recommending a candidate to the chapters, as he would be from forcing one upon them. Inſtead of wiſhing to limit the liberty of election, he would, if others attempted it, protect the chapters againſt intruſions. Whoever, in the preſent inſtance, they ſhould chooſe out of their own body, would be acceptable to him; and if they made no choice, it would be equally agreeable; as the moderate age and good health of the elector, prevented the meaſure from being at all neceſſary. He concluded a long courſe of argument, and a maſterly diſcuſſion of the ſubject, by again repeating, that conſidering the ſituation of his dominions, parti-

particularly of thoſe in the circle of Weſtphalia, he could by no means be indifferent as to the election of a prince to thoſe biſhopricks, of ſo powerful a houſe as that of Auſtria. He therefore earneſtly intreated the elector, not to be in too great haſte in a matter of ſo much concern; rather to reconſider the buſineſs; to prefer the welfare of the empire, of his circle and biſhopricks, to all other conſiderations whatever; to quiet the minds of himſelf, and of other princes, who held the ſame opinion with him; and thereby to continue their uſual friendly and neighbourly intercourſe.

The King of Pruſſia's logical powers did not produce all the effect in this controverſy, which his arguments of a different nature had uſually done in others. The elector, however, ſeemed to have had enough of the conteſt, for he left him in full poſſeſſion of the field. But without making any reply, he adhered firmly to his reſolution; and the election of the Archduke Maximilian accordingly took place at Munſter about the middle of Auguſt. The foregoing circumſtances ſufficiently ſhew, the deep jealouſy which ſtill ſubſiſts, between thoſe great rival and neighbouring powers.

The peregrination of princes out of their own dominions, with their viſits, meetings, and conferences, are things now become ſo common, that they ſcarcely at all draw the public attention, much leſs excite any alarm. When they were rare, the conjunction of ſuch meteors, eſpecially if they were of a ſuperior magnitude, was deemed portentous to mankind; and the effects generally juſtified the prognoſtication.

Neither the particular novelty of the affair, nor the magnificence with which it was, on one ſide at leaſt, attended, were able to draw much of the public attention to the interview which took place this year, between the Emperor of Germany, and the Empreſs of Ruſſia. The latter having accompanied the Great Duke and Ducheſs of Ruſſia, on their way to make the tour of Europe, proceeded, according to the concerted appointment, to Mohilow in Poland, where the meeting of thoſe great potentates took place, in the month of June 1780. Form, etiquette, or ceremonial, were no parts of, nor no interruption to, the ſatisfaction which theſe illuſtrious perſonages received in each other's converſation and acquaintance. After ſome ſtay at Mohilow, the emperor accompanied the Czarina on her return to Peterſburgh, where he continued for ſome time; and where he was received with all the magnificence peculiar to that court, and ſo different from the plainneſs and ſimplicity of his own habits, manners, and mode of living. His private life was, however, ſpent as uſual.

Whether this viſit, and the conſequent intimacy and friendſhip which it might be ſuppoſed to produce, awakened any ſuſpicion or jealouſy in the breaſt of a great and powerful neighbour, can only be a matter of ſurmiſe. The return of the emperor from Peterſburgh was, however, ſoon ſucceeded, by a viſit which the Prince Royal of Pruſſia paid to that capital; a circumſtance, which might ſeem to give ſome countenance to ſuch an opinion.

After

After what we have ſeen of the imperial meeting at Mohilow, and the accompaniment on the return to Peterſburgh, it will ſcarcely be ſuppoſed, that the viſit which the King of Sweden made about the ſame time to Holland, and his tour in examining the particularities of that ſingular country, either cauſed any alarm, or excited much notice.

This year was particularly marked, by the death of Maria Thereſa, Empreſs of Germany, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, hereditary Archdutcheſs of Auſtria, and natural ſovereign of all the widely-extended dominions appertaining to that great houſe. She departed this life at Vienna, on the 29th day of November, 1780, and in the 63d year of her age. This great princeſs inherited, along with a vaſt but diſputed patrimony, all the ſpirit, magnanimity, and firmneſs, of any the moſt renowned of her anceſtors. Theſe were, however, accompanied with many other virtues and good qualities. In the courſe of her life ſhe experienced great viciſſitudes of fortune. On the death of her father, many of the firſt powers in Europe, excited by the weakneſs of her ſex, and ſtill more by that of a long ill-ordered government, in contempt of treaties, and guaranties, ruſhed on at once, as to a common prey, to ſwallow up the whole of her ample dominions. Scarcely any thing was left unclaimed. The only difficulty ſeemed to reſt in the diviſion of the ſpoil. From the extremity of diſtreſs, and a ſtate of ſuch imminent danger, that ſhe herſelf doubted, whether ſhe could retain the poſſeſſion of any place, capable of affording a refuge during her lying-in, ſhe had the courage and fortune, not only to ſurmount all theſe difficulties, and to triumph over her enemies, but to raiſe the houſe of Auſtria to a degree of real power, which it had not before known ſince the reign of Charles the Fifth. A clear and manly underſtanding, an happy temper, and the able tuition of neceſſity, enabled her to throw off the ungracious, but characteriſtic haughtineſs of her family. To this ſhe owed much of her fortune and greatneſs. Charmed by a popular affability, and a captivating condeſcenſion, of which they had not before an idea, ſhe gained the hearts of her ſubjects in ſuch a degree, that they never thought they could act or ſuffer too much for her ſervice. In other reſpects, as a ſovereign, excepting perhaps her inconſiderate engagement in the late war, ſhe was the common parent of her people. She had many amiable and eſtimable qualities in private life. She was eminently religious and humane. In the characters of a wife and a mother ſhe ſtood unrivalled. She was highly bleſſed in a numerous progeny, not more diſtinguiſhed by the perfections or beauties of nature in mind or in perſon, than by a peculiar goodneſs of heart, which pervades the whole family. And ſhe had the fortune and happineſs to leave her vaſt poſſeſſions in the hands of a darling ſon, who ſeemed formed by nature and application to advance the happineſs of his ſubjects, and the power and grandeur of his houſe, to their higheſt pitch of attainment.

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The French King, this year dignified, and for ever rendered memorable his name-day, by a preſent to his ſubjects, worthy the humanity and magnificence of a great and enlightened monarch. This was neither the remiſſion of taxes or duties, a general pardon to criminals, nor the allotment of great funds for the indigent. It was of a ſuperior nature even to theſe. It was no leſs than the aboliſhing for ever of the inhuman cuſtom, *of putting the queſtion*, as it was called, by torture; a cuſtom, which had been ſo eſtabliſhed and rivetted, by the practice and concurrence of ages, that it ſeemed to be an original and indiviſible part of the conſtitution of their courts of juſtice. It was in vain, that the wiſeſt and honeſteſt lawyers and judges, as well as the ſoundeſt philoſophers, fully perceived, and deeply lamented, the total inefficacy as well as cruelty of this barbarous mode of criminal juriſprudence. They had not only the obſtinacy of antient prejudice to ſurmount; but this practice was ſo favourable to the views of deſpotiſm, and was falſely ſuppoſed to contribute ſo much to the ſecurity of the ſtate, that all attempts for its removal would have been not only ineffectual but dangerous.

This relick of barbariſm, which had ſo long been the opprobrium of the chriſtian name, and a ſtanding diſgrace to the moſt civilized and learned quarter of the globe, might ſtill have lingered in France, if a patriot prince, feeling the happineſs of living in the affections of his people, and diſcerning, that all poſſible ſecurity was founded in thoſe affections, had not from thence renounced all defences inconſiſtent with that which is ſo much more ſolid. We hope, and indeed it is now ſcarcely to be doubted, that the time is not far diſtant, when a trace of this inhuman practice will not be found in any part of the weſtern world.

However intereſting and valuable the following tranſaction may be conſidered in point of political œconomy, and however it may even contribute to leſſen the burthens of the people, it is not by way of placing it in any degree of competition with the former meaſure, that we in this place take notice of the prodigious reform which was made in the French King's houſehold; that monarch, in purſuance of the new plan of œconomy adopted in his court, having this year at one ſtroke aboliſhed no leſs than 406 offices in that department.

The attempts (moſtly ineffective) made by the court of Spain, to raiſe money by loans in foreign countries, afforded ſufficient evidence how much its treaſures had been already exhauſted, by the extraordinary expences of this naval war, as well as of the apparently fruitleſs ſiege of Gibraltar. Although the war is ſaid to be entirely againſt the ſenſe and liking of the Spaniſh nation, who conſidered it as a ruinous meaſure, founded merely upon Bourbon views and principles, yet the influence of the court, and a ſenſe of national honour, prevailed ſo far, that cities, communities, and even individuals, contributed largely to relieve the exigencies of the ſtate. Of theſe, the Archbiſhop of Toledo afforded a ſingular inſtance, which in a war of another

another nature, might have been juſtly admitted, as a demonſtration of true patriotiſm. That prelate magnanimouſly appropriated to the uſe of the war, the whole of his vaſt revenues during the time of its continuance. Thus wiſely chooſing a road to fame, in which he was ſure of not being diſturbed by rivals or competitors, and of not having his heels trod upon by imitators. The bounty and kindneſs, extended by the Biſhop of Lugo, to the Britiſh priſoners in Spain (acknowledgments of which have been given in the public prints), deſerves every degree of praiſe and gratitude. Although ſome of their commanders behaved otherwiſe, the Spaniſh nobility and merchants, in general, have ſhewn very extraordinary marks of kindneſs, friendſhip, and even affection, to thoſe Engliſh gentlemen who have fallen in their way during the preſent war.

Among thoſe remarkable circumſtances which diſtinguiſh the year 1780, the conduct of the Duke of Modena, in aboliſhing the inquiſition in his dominions, ſhould by no means be overlooked. It indeed affords a new inſtance of the progreſs, which liberal ideas with reſpect to toleration, are now making throughout Europe. A farther extenſion of the ſame ideas, may be hoped to reach to the civil and religious rights of mankind, as well as to a bare ſufferance of their opinions. That prince, upon the death of the Grand Inquiſitor at Reggio, immediately ordered that tribunal to be for ever aboliſhed; its revenues to be applied to other, and more laudable purpoſes; and the priſons, and other buildings, which could preſerve any memorial of its having ever exiſted, to be entirely demoliſhed.

CHAP. II.

Retroſpective view of affairs in America and the Weſt Indies, in the year 1780. *State of the hoſtile armies on the ſide of New York, previous to, and at the arrival of, Gen. Sir Henry Clinton from the reduction of Charles Town. Short campaign in the Jerſies. Connecticut farms. Springfield. Unexpected effect produced by the reduction of Charles Town, in renewing and exciting the ſpirit of union and reſiſtance in America. Great hopes founded on the expected co-operation of a French fleet and army in the reduction of New York, and the final expulſion of the Britiſh forces from that continent. Marquis de la Fayette arrives from France. M. de Ternay, and the Count de Rochambeau, arrive with a French ſquadron, and a body of land forces, and are put into poſſeſſion of the fortifications and harbour of Rhode-Iſland. Admiral Arbuthnot blocks up the French ſquadron. Diſpoſitions made by Sir Henry Clinton for attacking the French auxiliaries. Gen. Waſhington paſſes the North River, with a view of attempting New York. Expedition to Rhode Iſland laid aſide. Great difficulties experienced by Don Bernard de Galvez, in his expedition to Weſt Florida. Beſieges and takes the fort at Mobille. Great land and naval force ſent out from Spain, in order to join M. de Guichen*

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in the Weſt Indies. Junction of the hoſtile fleets, notwithſtanding the efforts of Admiral Sir George Rodney, to intercept the Spaniſh ſquadron and convoy. Sickneſs and mortality in the Spaniſh fleet and army, with ſome other cauſes, preſerve the Britiſh iſlands from the imminent danger to which they were apparently expoſed by the great ſuperiority of the enemy. Theſe cauſes operate ſtill farther in their conſequences; which affect the whole face and nature of the war in the new world, and entirely fruſtrate the grand views formed by France and America, for the remainder of the campaign. Spaniſh fleet and army proceed to the Havannah; and M. de Guichen returns from St. Domingo, with a convoy, to Europe. Great preparations made by the Americans for effectually co-operating with the French forces on the arrival of M. de Guichen. Waſhington's army increaſed, for that purpoſe, to 20,000 men. Invaſion of Canada intended, and preparatory proclamations iſſued by the Marquis de la Fayette. Cauſes which prevented M. de Guichen from proceeding to North America. Sir George Rodney arrives, with a ſquadron, at New York.

THE hoſtile armies on the ſide of New York were ſo nearly poiſed, both with reſpect to offenſive force and defenſive ſtrength, that their mutual ſituation, and comparative circumſtances, afforded no great opportunity of exertion or enterprize to Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, upon his return from the taking of Charles Town. The advantages, however, derived from the poſſeſſion of the iſlands, their vicinity to the continent, the quick and ſilent movements of a great number of frigates, and other ſmaller armed veſſels calculated for the purpoſe, and maſter of all the channels and intercourſes, as well as of the adjoining ſea, together with the unexampled length of ill connected poſts which were to be guarded by the Americans, afforded, almoſt, continual opportunities, of haſty deſcent and ſucceſsful ſurprize, by which much blood was ſpilt, and miſchief done, without producing any effect, or at leaſt any good one, with reſpect to the main objects, and great purpoſes of the war.

This kind of ſervice, except where the object was more conſiderable than ordinary, was left entirely to the Refugees; who having arms in their hands, nothing elſe to do, little other proviſion, and being edged on by the moſt implacable animoſity againſt their countrymen, eagerly embraced every adventure, which afforded any hope of profit, or what was perhaps ſtill ſweeter, of revenge. They were now grown ſo numerous, that they were ſtrangely permitted to ſet up a ſort of a diſtinct government in New York, under the conduct of a juriſdiction of their own creation, which they called, the Honourable Board of Aſſociated Loyaliſts. This board, it is ſaid, was authorized from home; but this is hardly credible; and having a common ſtock, and their infant excurſions at ſea having proved extremely ſucceſsful, they became every day more numerous and powerful, and poſſeſſed ſomething like a fleet, of ſmall privateers and cruizers. Their enterprizes were bold, well conducted, and frequently ſucceſsful;

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in which their intimate knowledge of the adjoining coaſts, creeks, and villages, afforded them great advantages. But their want of any effectual dicipline or government, along with their peculiar, and frequently perſonal animoſity, leading them to exceſſes; whilſt the ſummary retribution on the other ſide, falling into the hands of thoſe, who were either ſmarting under their own immediate loſſes, or acting under the impulſe of grief and revenge, for the deſtruction or ſlaughter of their friends and relations, and who were likewiſe actuated by no leſs ſtrong political prejudices, than their adverſaries, the feelings of humanity were ſuſpended, and mercy at an end on both ſides. Thus the adjoining coaſts of the continent, and particularly the maritime, and nearer part of the Jerſies, became ſcenes of waſte and havock; and this predatory war tended neither to ſubjugation or reconcilement.

A few days previous to the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton, the Generals Knyphauſen, Robertſon, and Tyron, with a view of attacking ſome of Waſhington's advanced poſts, paſſed over by night, with five or ſix thouſand men, from Staten Iſland, to Elizabeth Town in New Jerſey. On the following morning, they advanced a few miles, to a ſettlement called the Connecticut Farms, from its having been planted and ſettled a few years ago, by ſome inhabitants of that Province. In their march, they were boldly and continually fired at, wherever the ground, or cover of any kind admitted of their approach, by ſcattering parties of the neighbouring militia. The burning of that new and thriving ſettlement (although it did not contain many houſes), and of the preſbyterian church, together with the unfortunate death of the clergyman's wife, who ſitting with her children and family, was ſhot dead, through the window, in one of her own rooms, afforded new ground of clamour to the Americans, and ſerved not a little, to increaſe that averſion to the Britiſh government and name, which had already taken too deep a root.

June 6th. 1780.

It was ſaid on our ſide, and with ſuperior probability, that this unfortunate lady was killed, without deſign, by a random ſhot; but the contrary was ſtrongly urged by the Americans. Her huſband's being particularly obnoxious at New York, from the active part which he had taken, in the ſupport of the American cauſe, was brought as a corroborating circumſtance; and a piteous letter written by himſelf, and publiſhed, could leave no occaſion for any farther teſtimony, with thoſe who were but too much diſpoſed to liſten to evidence ſo correſpondent to their own opinions. It is certain, that no degree of good government and diſcipline in armies, can prevent the nature of particular individuals, from breaking forth into acts of enormity, when thoſe opportunities offer, in which their crimes may eſcape detection; eſpecially under the ill habits acquired in the outrage and malice of a civil war.

From thence the army marched towards Springfield, being, as before, continually annoyed on their march by the militia; but now with greater effect, as they continually grew more numerous; they found

found the American General, Maxwell, at the head of the Jerſey brigade, and reinforced by all the militia which in a few hours could be collected, well poſted at that place. Whether it proceeded from Maxwell's good countenance and poſition, or from whatever other cauſe, ſo it was, that the army halted; and continued on the ſame ground until night, without advancing. The Americans, however, though inferior in ſtrength, did not permit them by any means to hold their poſt in quiet; and a very conſiderable and continual firing, without coming at any time to cloſe action, was kept up during the day. The report in the Britiſh line was, that they only waited for the coming up of the waggons and neceſſaries which were in the rear.

Whatever the cauſe was, the deſign of attacking Springfield was given up, and the army returned to Elizabeth Town in the night. They were purſued by the enemy, as ſoon as day roſe, all the way to that place; and they were now grown ſo eager and confident as boldly to attack the 22d regiment, which was poſted at ſome ſmall diſtance in the front of the line. That reigment being ordered to fall back on their approach, was purſued with great rapidity by the enemy, who conſidered it as the rear-guard of a retiring army, whoſe van, they ſuppoſed, was then paſſing over to Staten Iſland. The reception they met, and the appearances they diſcovered, ſoon convinced them of their error, and they retired with precipitation.

It is not eaſy to account for the inaction in the firſt inſtance at Springfield, any more than for the ſubſequent retreat. Undoubtedly, ſo much reſolution on the part of the Americans, was not expected; and it appears from ſubſequent circumſtances, that although no direct attack had been made, the afternoon of that day was buſy and warm. It was ſaid, that intelligence had been received, of Waſhington's having detached a brigade from Morris-town for the ſupport of Maxwell; that the appearances at his head quarters indicated a determination of making that ſupport effectual; that Maxwell had already been reinforced by ſome neighbouring regiments; and that the country was every where in motion. The expedition itſelf had probably its origin from ſome of thoſe deluſive repreſentations, which had ſo often led to miſchievous or unreputable purſuits, concerning either the favourable diſpoſition of the country to the royal cauſe, or the ſuppoſed weak and contemptible ſtate of the American forces.

It was reported at New York, that the Heſſian General Knyphauſen was ſtrongly of opinion, and eagerly diſpoſed, to attack the poſt at Springfield; but that he had been over-ruled by another commander; and this report received ſo much credit, that it was made the foundation of ſome ill-natured paſquinades upon the ſubject. However theſe things might be, the Jerſey militia and brigade, with whatever other corps were concerned on the occaſion, received public acknowledgments and high praiſe from Waſhington, for their behaviour in that day's ſervice.

The arrival of Sir Henry Clinton,

ton, which happened immediately after, made no change in the ſituation of the royal forces, who ſtill maintained their poſt at Elizabeth Town. That commander, on the contrary, determined to improve on the original deſign, and to afford them an opportunity of acting with effect. For this purpoſe, troops were embarked at New York, and ſuch movements took place among the ſhipping, and ſuch preparations were made, as indicated an immediate expedition up the North River, This produced the deſired effect in alarming Waſhington; who being exceedingly apprehenſive for the ſafety of Weſt Point, and other ſtrong holds in the Highlands, immediately marched with the greater part of his army, to ſecure thoſe, to him, invaluable poſts.

June 23d. This point being gained, the forces at Elizabeth Town again advanced on their former track towards Springfield. Whatever the original deſign might have been, the general's views ſeemed now to have been extended, to the getting poſſeſſion, during the abſence of Waſhington with his main force, of the ſtrong country of Moriſſania, which had ſo often afforded a ſecure retreat, and an inexpugnable camp, to that commander. At any rate, if it was not found convenient to retain poſts at ſuch a diſtance, the deſtruction of his ſtores, magazines, and defences in the mountains, would have been no inconſiderable object.

On the part of the Americans, General Greene, with Stark's and the Jerſey brigades, ſupported by the neighbouring militia, were left to guard thoſe difficult hills and defiles, which conſtitute the ſtrength of the country. Springfield lay at their feet; and led directly to ſome of the principal paſſes. The royal troops advanced with rapidity to this place; where they found the bridge, which led to the village, occupied by a ſmall party of about 170 men, under the conduct of a Col. Angel. That officer, turning all the advantages afforded by his ſituation (which were many) to the beſt account, defended his poſt with great gallantry. With that handful of men, he obſtinately maintained the bridge, againſt a prodigious ſuperiority of force, and the moſt ſpirited attacks, for a quarter of an hour. Finding himſelf at length overpowered, and no relief appearing, he ſtill found means to carry off the remainder of his detachment, and even to ſave the wounded; nearly one fourth of his whole number being by that time killed or diſabled. The Britiſh troops ſuffered more in this trifling affair than could have been expected.

Greene lay, at that time, at Short Hills, about a mile above Springfield. But his troops were ſo divided in guarding their reſpective poſts, and the attack ſo unexpected and ſudden, that he could not make any detachment in time and ſufficient for the ſupport of Angel, without hazarding the ſecurity of the much more important poſt which he himſelf occupied. Whether it proceeded from indignation and reſentment, at the reſiſtance and loſs which the troops unexpectedly met at the bridge, or from whatever other cauſe it was, Spring-

ſield experienced the ſame fate with the Connecticut farms; the whole village, excepting four houſes, was reduced to aſhes.

This conflagration cloſed the enterprize. The ſtrength of Greene's ſituation, the difficulties of the approach, an ignorance, probably, of the ſtate of his immediate force (which, at that time, amounted only to about a thouſand men), and, perhaps, the bold defence made at the bridge, all concurred, in preventing the Britiſh officers from attempting the paſs at Short Hills. It is likewiſe probable, that the day was conſidered as being too far advanced, to admit of their profiting properly of any advantage which they might obtain; and that it was deemed too great a hazard, to involve the army during the night in the faſtneſſes of a dangerous country; and ſurrounded on every ſide by enemies, whoſe force, poſition, and diſtance, were all equally unknown. The troops were beſides without cover or neceſſaries; and the keeping of a communication open with Elizabeth Town, might have been not leſs impracticable than dangerous.

Under ſome or all of theſe impreſſions, the royal army made a ſecond retreat from Springfield, and returned on that evening to Elizabeth Town; they being purſued with great ſpirit, and redoubled animoſity, by the country militia, who were highly enraged at the conflagration which they had juſt beheld; but a ſtrong and well conducted rear-guard, rendered their efforts in a great meaſure ineffective. The royal forces paſſed over on the ſame night to Staten Iſland; while Waſhington continued to be amuſed for ſome days longer, with the appearances of an expedition up the North River, which probably had not been at all intended.

Thus ended the ſhort campaign in the Jerſies. Theſe ineffective attempts, by a force which would once have been deemed capable of ſweeping the whole continent before it, ſufficiently manifeſted, that the practical habits of ſervice and danger, without any thing near abſolute perfection in diſcipline, will place all troops nearly upon an equality. It was now evident, that the Britiſh forces had an enemy little leſs reſpectable in the field than themſelves to encounter; and that any difference which yet remained in their favour would be daily leſſened. In a word, it was now obvious, that all that ſuperiority in arms, which produced ſuch effects at the beginning of the conteſt, was, in a great meaſure, at an end; and that the events of the war muſt in the future depend upon fortune, and upon the abilities of the reſpective commanders.

Such were the unwelcome truths, which if not now firſt diſcovered, were at leaſt now fully eſtabliſhed. Waſhington ſhewed no ſmall degree of exultation in his public orders, upon the great improvement in diſcipline of the troops and militia, with the happy effects which it had produced, and the greater which he ſtill hoped. But he did not augur greater benefits from the perfection or courage of the troops, than from that unequalled ardour, which, he ſaid, at preſent animated all orders of the people.

The matter of fact was, that the

the loſs of Charles-Town produced a directly contrary effect to that which might have been naturally expected. For inſtead of depreſſing and ſinking the minds of the people, to ſeek for ſecurity by any means, and to ſue for peace upon any terms, the loſs being now come home to every man's feelings, and the danger to his door, they were at once awakened to a vigour of exertion, ſcarcely to be expected in their circumſtances; and which had hardly appeared in the ſame degree, ſince the firſt, or at moſt, the ſecond year of the conteſt. For in the intermediate time, the firſt heat of paſſion being over, men who were not actively concerned, were fond of recurring to their wonted eaſe, and ſoon reſumed their uſual habits of life; and the din of war being faintly heard at a diſtance, they were contented to contribute to its ſupport by opening their purſes, without much tormenting their minds in the contemplation of an odious ſubject. And as the bitterneſs of contention was allayed, and the traces of paſt grievance or injury faded on the memory, ſo the ſpirit of enterprize had proportionally ſlackened; particularly in thoſe colonies where it was not kept alive by immediate hoſtility.

Many concurring cauſes and circumſtances ſerved to increaſe and ſupport that ſpirit which now appeared among the Americans. The very loſs of Charles-Town became a ground of hope, and an incitement to vigour, from the wide ſeparation which it had cauſed of the Britiſh forces, and the conſequent incapacity of their divided armies to ſupport each other. But the expectation of a ſtrong naval and military force from France, by the aid of which, they hoped to retaliate on New York for the loſs of Charles-Town, and even to clear the continent entirely of the Britiſh forces, could not but have had a much greater effect.

In the mean time, their principal leaders, as well as the Congreſs, omitted no means to encourage and to profit of the riſing ſpirit, and to cheriſh in the people the moſt ſanguine hopes. Letters were written by a committee of that body, which were ſtrengthened and enforced by thoſe from the commander in chief, General Reed, and ſome other popular commanders, to the different executive governments, to the people at large, and to particular colonies, ſtimulating them by every motive to the ſpeedy furniſhing their reſpective quotas. The diſgrace of appearing contemptible in the eyes of their great ally, and the miſchief and ruin which muſt be the conſequence, of their being incapable to benefit of his intentions in their favour, were ſtrongly urged. And the people were paſſionately called upon, not to ſuffer the curſe of another campaign to reſt upon America! The eyes of all Europe were upon them; and their future independence, fortune, and happineſs, as they ſaid, depended upon their preſent exertion.

Theſe remonſtrances produced a conſiderable effect upon the different governments, and ſeemed to operate no leſs upon individuals. Many arts were uſed to keep up the ſpirit. Large ſubſcriptions were made by private

perſons for giving energy to the public ſervice. The ladies in Philadelphia firſt ſet the example to their own ſex, and were diſtinguiſhed by the ſums, which they gave themſelves, and procured from their male acquaintance, to be applied as gratuities in particular inſtances, and as a general augmentation to the pay of the private ſoldiers of the army. The example was ſoon followed, in their own, and in other provinces.

It could ſcarcely be expected, in the midſt of all the confuſion and danger of an uncommonly deſtructive war, raging no leſs in the bowels, than in the extremities of a country, that arts, or learning, thoſe happy concomitants of eaſe and ſecurity, ſhould at all be thought of, or almoſt remembered. It is to the honour of the Americans, that it was under this preſſure of circumſtances, and amidſt all the anxiety of the preſent ſeaſon, that the council and aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts Bay, ſitting at Boſton, in the beginning of the month of May, eſtabliſhed, by a public law, a new and learned ſociety, to be entitled, "The American Academy of Arts and Sciences." The act, after enumerating ſeveral particular objects of their purſuit, adds, "and, in fine, to cultivate every art and ſcience, which might tend to advance the intereſt, honour, dignity, and happineſs, of a free, independent, and virtuous people." In the ſame ſpirit at Philadelphia, after a pompous celebration of the anniverſary of American independence, on the 4th of July, the Congreſs, accompanied by the French miniſter, with all the officers of the ſtate, attended a commencement for the conferring of degrees in the univerſity of that city. In the public charge delivered by the provoſt upon that occaſion to the ſtudents, he gave the reins to a warm imagination, and wandered far in the paths of ſpeculation; painting the riſing glories of America in arts and letters, as well as in commerce and arms.

Notwithſtanding the apparent penury and misfortune of the times, a bank was inſtituted, during the preſent ſummer, in Philadelphia; and the ſcheme was ſo well ſupported by the principal men of the province, that the allotted capital, of 300,000l. Penſylvania currency, to be paid in hard money, was ſubſcribed in a few days. The public ſervice was, however, the principal, if not the only object of this bank. They were to receive the congreſs money, that is to ſay, the amount of the taxes, and the ſupplies remitted by the other colonies; and they were, on the other hand, to anſwer the public demands, and particularly to furniſh the ſupplies for the army, in the moſt prompt and efficacious manner; and for the procuring of ſufficient reſources of cath, they were enabled to paſs notes, and to borrow money at 6 *per cent.* intereſt. To turn, however, this bank to any conſiderable advantage, a much greater ſtability in government, and a much greater care in their finances, is undoubtedly neceſſary.

Previous to the arrival of the French ſuccours, the Marquis de la Fayette, who had been ſo much diſtinguiſhed by the early part which he took in the American cauſe, long before his court had thrown

thrown by the maſk, or even, perhaps, determined on the part which ſhe has ſince taken, returned from France. His early engagement, and great zeal and activity in the American ſervice, in which he held an high rank, cauſed him to be received with diſtinction by Waſhington, and on his going to Philadelphia, he conveyed a letter, full of the moſt flattering encomiums, from that commander to the Congreſs. The reſult was, a public complimentary reſolution of welcome from that body, highly applauding his zeal, and no leſs acknowledging his eminent ſervices.

July 11th. To the further encouragement of the Americans, M. de Ternay at length arrived at Rhode Iſland from France, with a ſquadron of ſeven ſail of the line, five frigates, and two armed veſſels. His own ſhip, Le Duc de Bourgogne, carried 84 guns, and 1200 men; two others were ſeventy-fours; and four, carried 64 guns each. He likewiſe convoyed a fleet of tranſports, with five old French regiments, and a battalion of artillery, amounting in the whole to about 6,000 men, under the conduct of lieutenant-general the Count de Rochambeau.

The French auxiliaries were received by Major Gen. Heath; who, for the ſecurity both of the troops and ſquadron, againſt any attempts from New York, put them in poſſeſſion of the numerous forts and batteries of that iſland; which, with the diligence and induſtry peculiar to their country in that reſpect, they ſoon put in a high ſtate of defence. In a few days after their arrival, they were attended by a committee, from the general aſſembly of that ſtate, with an addreſs of congratulation to the Count de Rochambeau, in which they expreſſed the moſt grateful ſenſe of the generous and magnanimous aid afforded to the United States, by their illuſtrious friend and ally, the French monarch; and ſaid they looked forward, with warm hope and expectation, to the end of a campaign, which, through that aid, might prove the happy means of reſtoring the public tranquillity. They concluded, with an aſſurance of every exertion in the power of the ſtate, for the ſupply of the French forces with all manner of refreſhments and neceſſaries, and for rendering the ſervice as happy and agreeable, as it was honourable, to all ranks of the army.

Rochambeau declared in his anſwer, that he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force which was deſtined for their aid; and that he was ordered by the king, his maſter, to aſſure them, that his whole power ſhould be exerted for their ſupport. The French troops, he ſaid, were under the ſtricteſt diſcipline; and, acting under the orders of General Waſhington, would live with the Americans as brethren. He returned their compliments by an aſſurance, that, as brethren, not only his own life, but the lives of all thoſe under his command, were entirely devoted to their ſervice.

In the mean time Waſhington, in order to cement the union between both nations, and to prevent thoſe jealouſies which were too much to be apprehended on both ſides, iſſued a requiſition, in public orders, to the American

officers, ſoliciting, and ſtrongly recommending to them, the wearing of black and white cockades (the ground being of the firſt colour, and the relief of the other), as a compliment to, and a ſymbol of friendſhip and affection for their generous and magnanimous allies.

It was, indeed, highly grievous, not only to native Engliſhmen, but to thoſe Americans, who, though equally determined upon liberty and independence with the moſt violent, yet ſtill looked wiſhfully forward, to the renewal of ancient amity, and friendly connections, though upon equal terms, with the mother country, to perceive, not only the influence which France was gaining in the counſels of America, but the progreſs likewiſe which ſhe was continually making, in the opinion, and, it is to be feared, in the affections of the people.

Admiral Arbuthnot had only four ſail of the line at New York: ſo that inſtead of being able to cope with the French ſquadron, he was under an expectation of being himſelf attacked in that harbour. This ſtate of things was, however, ſoon changed, by the arrival of Admiral Graves, with ſix ſail of the line, from England. The Britiſh commanders, having now a decided ſuperiority of force, loſt no time, after the newly arrived ſhips had repaired or ſupplied the conſequences of the voyage, in proceeding to Rhode Iſland, intending, after taking a near view of the ſituation of the enemy, to act as circumſtances might invite or admit, whether with reſpect to a direct attack, or to the government of their future operations.

July 13.

They ſoon diſcovered, that the French were in ſuch force, and had already put the fortifications in ſuch condition, that an attack by ſea was impracticable. In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton meditated a joint attack by ſea and land; a meaſure, which it would ſeem, that the admiral did not approve of; or at leaſt, that he did not heartily concur in. After ſome delay, occaſioned by his not being furniſhed in time with tranſports, the general, at length, embarked 6000 of his beſt troops, with which he proceeded as far as Huntingdon Bay in Long Iſland. Some unfortunate diſagreement began at this time to appear, and continued long after to prevail, between the commanders in chief by ſea and land. Their diſpatches teemed with ambiguity and jealouſy, which became more glaring by time. Diſlike was rather more than heſitated; and blame, on one ſide at leaſt, was more than once implied, if not directly laid. In fine, it ſoon became evident, that they were little diſpoſed to mutual confidence, or concert; and that the ſtrained correſpondence between them, was rather the irkſome reſult of neceſſity, than the ſpontaneous effect of choice or inclination. Under theſe untoward circumſtances, the troops were re-landed at White-Stone.

In the mean time, Waſhington, who was ſtrictly attentive to all that was paſſing, hoping to profit of Sir Henry Clinton's abſence with ſo great a body of the troops, by ſome rapid motions, ſuddenly croſſed the North River, at the head of 12,000 men, and marched directly towards King's Bridge, with

with an apparent intention of attacking New York. The failure of the expedition to Rhode Iſland, and conſequent detention of the troops, neceſſarily fruſtrated this deſign.

It does not appear probable, in the preſent view of things, that the expedition to Rhode Iſland, even ſuppoſing the moſt chearful cooperation of the fleet and army, could have been attended with any ſucceſs or benefit, ſufficient to counterbalance the danger to which it was unqueſtionably liable. Beſides the natural advantages of ſituation which that iſland poſſeſſes, and the ſtrength of its forts and batteries, the New England provinces were in readineſs to pour in their whole force to the ſupport of the French. They were now impelled to action by other motives than thoſe which uſually operated; for they burned with eagerneſs to have ſo early, and what they deemed ſo happy on opportunity of impreſſing their allies with a high ſenſe of their power and valour. Accordingly, upon the firſt bruit of the deſign, above 10,000 of their militia and ſix-months-men, were ſuddenly in arms, and advanced towards Providence; and it is not to be doubted but that number would have been far more conſiderable if it had been actually carried into execution. With theſe direct impediments in the way of the deſign, it will not be ſuppoſed that New York, thus ſtripped of its beſt troops, and of the protection of the fleet, could have been exempt from danger, under the vigorous attack intended by Waſhington.

We have ſeen in our laſt volume, the early ſucceſs which had attended Don Bernard de Galvez, the Spaniſh governor of Louiſiana, in his unexpected expedition againſt the Britiſh ſettlements and forces on the Miſſiſippi. The ſucceſs of that enterprize, with a knowledge of the weakneſs which the number of priſoners he had taken, neceſſarily induced in the defenſive force of the province, could not fail to extend his views farther; but ſtill thinking himſelf too weak for the deſigned purpoſe, he concerted a plan of operation with the governor of the Havanna, towards the latter end of the year 1779, in purſuance of which he was to be reinforced and ſupported, by a conſiderable embarkation from that place, early in the preſent year.

The appointed time being arrived, and de Galvez ſuppoſing that the expected force from the Havanna was of courſe on its way, and being himſelf impatient of delay, he embarked all the force he was able to raiſe in his government at New Orleans, and proceeded, under the convoy of ſome ſmall frigates and other armed veſſels, on his expedition, expecting to be followed or met by the force from the Havanna. Jan. 14, 1780.

The delays, difficulties, and dangers, which they encountered on the paſſage to Mobille, would appear almoſt incredible to thoſe who conſidered only the diſtance, without taking into the account the ſtormy diſpoſition of the climate at that ſeaſon, the dangerous nature of that inhoſpitable coaſt, and the numberleſs ſhoals which embarraſs, and nearly choke up the mouths of its vaſt rivers.

After a continual ſtruggle with adverſe weather, and the various other impediments we have mentioned, for near a month, the better part of the fleet were driven a-ſhore, and ſeveral of the veſſels at length totally wrecked, in the bay of Mobille. By this misfortune the commander had the mortification of ſeeing all reaſonable hope of ſucceſs apparently fruſtrated; 800 of his men being caſt away on a naked beach, with the loſs of the greater part of their cloaths, arms, and neceſſaries of every ſort.

The Spaniards bore their misfortunes with that patience which has at all times been a characteriſtic of their nation. Inſtead of ſhrinking under the difficulties and diſcouragements they had experienced, they endeavoured, ſo far as it could be done, to convert their loſs into a benefit; breaking up their wrecked veſſels, and framing their timber and plank into ladders, and other machines, neceſſary for an eſcalade; as they had ſuſtained too great a loſs of artillery and other materials, to attempt a formal ſiege. Thoſe who had preſerved their arms were obliged to divide them in ſuch a manner as would render them moſt uſeful, with thoſe who had none; and thoſe who ſtill remained unarmed, undertook the laborious ſervice of the army.

It happened very unfortunately on the ſide of the Engliſh, who were beſides far from ſtrong, that an account of the Spaniſh ſhipwreck was received at Penſacola, with the additional falſehoods, that 700 of their people had periſhed, and that the expedition was entirely laid aſide.

The Spaniſh commander had no reaſon to repent his perſeverance. He was ſtrengthened by the arrival of four armed veſſels from the Havanna, with a part of the regiment of Navarre on board. Although theſe brought an account that the principal embarkation was ſtill retarded, yet the arrival of ſo many ſhips and freſh men, with the artillery, ſtores, and various neceſſaries which they were capable of ſupplying, ſuddenly cauſed a new face of affairs, and afforded a renovation of vigour and life to every thing. The former troops were ſpeedily reembarked, and after a further encounter of other ſtorms, difficulties, and dangers, the whole were landed within three leagues of Mobille. Feb. 25.

Mr. Durnford, a captain of engineers, and lieutenant-governor of Weſt Florida, commanded the poor gariſon, which was to defend the fort, or caſtle (as the Spaniards call it), of Mobille. This conſiſted of 97 regulars of the 60th regiment; of 16 loyal Marylanders, 3 artillerymen, 60 ſeamen, 54 inhabitants, and 51 armed negroes, which, with two ſurgeons and a labourer, amounted to 284, of all ſorts. The enemy attacked the fort by ſea and land; and began to open ground on the 9th of March.

On the 12th of March the Spaniards opened their battery, conſiſting of eight 18 and one 24 pounder. Their fire ſeems to have had ſome conſiderable effect on the embraſures and parapets of the two faces which they attacked; and two of the garriſon guns being diſmounted, they at ſun-ſet hung out a white flag. The capitulation

tion was not, however, ſigned, until the 14th in the morning, when the fort was given up, and the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war.

This ſurrender, which appeared inevitable, was however attended with circumſtances which rendered it exceedingly vexatious. For Major General Campbell had marched from Penſacola, with (as the Spaniards ſay) 1100 regular forces, and ſome artillery, for its relief; and was beſides accompanied by ſome Talapuche Indians; a people, who, being exceſſively ferocious and cruel, and the inveterate and mortal enemies of the Spaniards, are by them regarded with a very peculiar dread and horror. The van of Campbell's force was arrived within ſight of the Spaniſh camp, at the very inſtant that the fort was ſurrendered; and they accordingly uſed the utmoſt expedition in taking poſſeſſion of, and covering themſelves with the works, under the ſtrong apprehenſion of an immediate attack. De Galvez boaſted that the Britiſh forces in the field and garriſon were ſuperior in numbers to his own; and did not ſcruple openly to declare, that, with the ſmalleſt activity and vivacity in their works, the latter might have made good the defence, until the arrival of the ſuccour.

It ſeems upon the whole face of the affair, as it appears at preſent, that the lieutenant-governor had not, from the beginning, the ſmalleſt idea of any attempt being made for the relief of the place; and that he accordingly, from the firſt appearance of the enemy, conſidered its loſs as a matter of courſe and inevitable neceſſity. The regular force was certainly ſuch as to give little encouragement to a very vigorous defence. Thus the province of Weſt Florida, with a weak and divided force, was reduced piecemeal, without its being able any where to make that effectual reſiſtance, which might have been expected, if it had been concentered in ſome one good point of defence.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent of America, the Spaniards ſent out ſo great a force to join the French in the Weſt Indies, as ſeemed ſufficient to change the whole fortune of the war in that quarter, and to threat the Britiſh fleets and iſlands with the moſt imminent danger. In the latter part of April Don Joſeph Solano ſailed from Cadiz upon that ſervice, with 12 ſail of the line, and ſeveral frigates, which convoyed a fleet of 83 tranſports, having eight regiments of Spaniſh infantry, of two battalions each, and a conſiderable train of artillery, on board; the whole land force, including 100 engineers, amounting to 11,460 effective men. The iſland of Jamaica was generally ſuppoſed to be the great object in view; to facilitate the reduction of which, the giving of a deciſive blow to Rodney by the way, would have been an uſeful, if not neceſſary preliminary. 18th.

It ſeemed to happen fortunately, that the Cerberus frigate, Capt. Mann, having fallen in with the Spaniſh fleet at ſea, and that officer judging rightly of their deſtination, from their courſe and other circumſtances, he with great propriety conſidered, that the public

lic utility, and the importance of the object, ſhould ſuperſede or ſupply the defects of, at leaſt, general orders, and that no object of his cruize could poſſibly ſtand in any degree of comparative value, with the proper application of that knowledge which he had now accidentally acquired; he accordingly inſtantly proceeded, with the utmoſt expedition, to the Weſt Indies, in order to communicate the intelligence to Sir George Rodney. That commander, who was then at Carliſle Bay in the iſland of Barbadoes, whither, we have formerly ſhewn, he had repaired, after his laſt action with, and long purſuit of M. de Guichen, in order to victual, water, and refit his fleet, upon receiving this intelligence by the Cerberus, uſed the utmoſt diligence in putting to ſea in order to intercept the Spaniſh fleet and convoy, before they could join the French, who were then in Fort-Royal Bay, Martinique, and had not yet recovered the effects of the late rough encounters.

Nothing could have been more happy, ſignal, or deciſive in its conſequences in this deſign, if it had taken effect. But the views and hopes of the Britiſh commander were fruſtrated through the caution of the Spaniſh admiral. Had he proceeded directly to Fort-Royal Bay, which was his object, and the appointed place of rendezvous to all his ſquadron and convoy, he could ſcarcely have avoided falling in with the Britiſh fleet, and the event would not admit of a doubt. But Don Solano, apprehenſive, though not informed of the danger, prudently ſtopped ſhort on his approach to the neareſt iſlands, and diſpatched an expeditious ſailing frigate, to inform M. de Guichen of his ſituation, and to require a ſpeedy junction of the fleets where he then was. The French commander immediately ſailed from Martinique, with 18 ſhips of the line, being all that were yet in readineſs, and keeping cloſe to leeward of the iſlands, June 10. joined the Spaniards under Dominique.

The combined fleets, when all united, amounted to no leſs than 36 ſail of the line; which, with their combined land forces, formed ſuch an apparent ſuperiority, as nothing in thoſe ſeas or iſlands ſeemed at all capable of reſiſting. The danger of Jamaica appeared to be great indeed; and the other iſlands, which are called leeward, from their ſituation with reſpect to Europe and North America, though windward with reſpect to that, could ſcarcely hope for any other ſecurity than what might ariſe from the purſuit of a greater object. But it happened fortunately for the Britiſh intereſt, that this great hoſtile force carried within itſelf the ſources of inefficacy, weakneſs, and decay. The Spaniſh troops being too much crowded on board their tranſports, that circumſtance operating with the length of the voyage, the change of climate and diet, and above all, with their peculiar lazineſs, and want of cleanlineſs, the whole of thoſe combined cauſes generated a moſt mortal and contagious diſorder, which firſt infecting their own ſeamen, at length ſpread, though not entirely with ſo fatal an effect, through the French fleet and land

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forces. Beſides a great mortality on the paſſage, the Spaniards had landed no leſs than 1200 ſick, on their firſt arrival at Dominique, and a much greater number afterwards, at Gaudaloupe and Martinique. Thus the ſpirit of enterprize was not only damped, but ſome part of the means were taken away. This in part accounts for their not having taken all the advantages againſt us, that was dreaded from the junction of the fleets: but it does by no means clear the matter ſufficiently. It has been ſaid, that the Spaniſh admiral had no orders to co-operate in any offenſive meaſures with the French. This is not the only inſtance in which the want of concert between thoſe allies has ſaved Great Britain.

Sir George Rodney, upon the junction of the enemy's fleets, retired to Groſs-Iſlet Bay, in St. Lucia, where he was equally well ſituated, for obſerving their motions; for counteracting, ſo far as he was able, their deſigns with reſpect to the other iſlands, whenever they ſhould become manifeſt; and for ſelf-defence, if their ſuperiority ſhould prompt them to venture upon an attack.

The air and refreſhments of the French iſlands, did not produce the good effects with reſpect to the Spaniſh ſick, or in reſtraining the progreſs and violence of the diſorder, which had been expected, or were even uſual, in ſuch caſes. The diſtemper was little leſs contagious or fatal than a peſtilence; and if the mortality was apparently leſſened, it ſeemed only to be reſtrained by the decreaſed number of the victims. In theſe diſtreſſing circumſtances, the Spaniſh commanders re-embarked their people, and the combined fleets proceeded, before the middle of July, with the Spaniſh convoy, to the weſtward. It appeared afterwards, that M. de Guichen, having eſcorted the Spaniards as far as the iſland of St. Domingo, and knowing there was no enemy in the way, he left them to proceed ſingly to the Havanna, while he put in himſelf at Cape François.

In the mean time, Commodore Walſingham had arrived from England at St. Lucia, with a few ſhips of the line, and four regiments under his convoy for Jamaica. The commander in chief, who was in the dark as to the deſigns of the enemy, but informed of their departure from Fort-Royal, ſailed with the whole fleet, as well to obſerve their motions, as to ſee the convoy well on their way. Being ſoon ſatisfied as to the immediate deſtination of the enemy, he diſpatched Admiral Rowley, along with Mr. Walſington and the convoy, to Jamaica; theſe commanders taking ten ſail of the line along with them, to reinforce Sir Peter Parker, and thereby inſure the ſecurity of that iſland. Sir George Rodney kept the remainder of the fleet, in order to obſerve the future motions of the enemy, and to cover the Leeward Iſlands.

The ſickneſs among the Spaniards, with the apparent want of concert between the fleets, went far beyond, in their conſequences, the immediate ſcene, and near views of action. In a word, they were the means of overthrowing the whole ſcheme and deſign of the campaign, not in the Weſt Indies only, but in North America

rica likewiſe; and ſeemed to change, in no ſmall degree, the fortune and nature of the war.

France had deſigns for the earlier part of the campaign in the Weſt Indies, in which the cooperation of Spain would be neceſſary. She concerted another with the Americans, which was to take place, on their ſide, in the latter; and both together went to the direct annihilation (and with a very ſufficiently apparent force for the purpoſe) of the Britiſh power, in both parts of the new World. The ſucceſs of the ſcheme was founded upon many ſtrong grounds of hope and expectation; but like all complex machines, it was liable to be diſordered in the whole, by the failure only of ſome of its parts. It was expected that the great ſuperiority of the combined fleets would have enabled them, without much loſs or damage, entirely to cruſh the Britiſh naval force in the Weſt Indies; that, with the great land force, which it was ſuppoſed would be in their hands, the reduction of Jamaica would not be an object of much difficulty or delay; that ſome or all of the ſmaller iſlands would follow of courſe; but that, without ſpending too much time upon leſſer matters, M. de Guichen ſhould proceed with his whole force to the coaſts of North America, where being joined by Ternay's freſh ſhips, and Rochambeau's freſh troops, they ſhould, in concert with Waſhington, attack New York by ſea and land. As the Americans would ſtrain every nerve on the occaſion, no doubt of ſucceſs in that part of the deſign could be entertained; and the reduction of Lord Cornwallis's forces, with the driving of the Britiſh finally from the continent, were conſidered only as matters of courſe.

It was undoubtedly in conſequence, and for the rounding and completion of this ſcheme, that preparations were made by the Americans for a winter expedition to Canada, the conduct of which was to be committed to the Marquis de la Fayette. That officer publiſhed accordingly a preparatory memorial addreſſed to the French Canadians, and calling upon them by all the ancient ties of allegiance, blood, religion, and country, as well as by the natural and fervent deſire of recovering their own freedom, to be in preparation to aſſiſt, join, and ſupport him upon his arrival; but holding out all the ſeverities of war, and all the terrors of military execution, to thoſe, if any ſuch there could be, who blindly perverſe to their own intereſts, and forgetful of all thoſe ties and duties, ſhould in any manner oppoſe the arms, or impede the generous deſigns of their deliverers. The failure, with reſpect to the great objects of the deſign, occaſioned the laying by for the preſent of this detached part.

It is not to be wondered at, that the near contemplation of ſuch vaſt objects, and the flattering light in which they appeared, ſhould wonderfully elevate the ſpirits of the Americans, and greatly invigorate their meaſures and counſels. Waſhington's army was accordingly recruited and filled up with ſuch diligence, that it was ſaid to exceed 20,000 men; and the northern provinces were in readineſs to ſend their militia, and

and every denomination of military, to take ſhare, along with him and their French allies, in the final overthrow of New York. Nor was it even apprehended, that the failure of the preliminary parts of the plan in the Weſt Indies, could at all have affected the main object with reſpect to North America.

But it was impoſſible that any judgment formed at a diſtance, could interfere with M. de Guichen's knowledge of the ſtate and condition of his own force. Beſides the ſicklyneſs of his people, he was ſenſible that his ſhips had ſuffered ſo much by long ſervice in the Weſt Indies, as well as in the ſeveral engagements, that they were not by any means in a condition to encounter, either the roughneſs of the ſervice or of the climate, which they muſt neceſſarily undergo in the North American campaign. This knowledge, and the determination founded upon it, were, however, ſtrictly reſerved to himſelf, or to thoſe in his immediate confidence. And when he took a great convoy from the French iſlands under his protection, it was ſtill thought or expected on all hands, that as ſoon as he had ſeen them ſo far on their way as to be out of danger, he would then proceed to the coaſt of America, for the accompliſhment of the projected enterprize. But that commander proceeded directly to Europe with his fleet and convoy; and the bad ſtate of his ſhips, when he arrived at Cadiz, ſufficiently juſtified his conduct.

Nothing was ever more galling to the Americans than this diſappointment. It is even ſaid, that Waſhington himſelf could not entirely preſerve that command of countenance, and equanimity of temper, by both of which he is ſo much diſtinguiſhed. All the views of France and America, with reſpect to the campaign, were now finally ſhut up; and the force ſent by the former to Rhode Iſland, with a view of general co-operation, was now reduced to act only upon the defenſive as a garriſon. Undoubtedly Great Britain had a wonderful eſcape from the dangers of the preſent campaign; and the iſland of Jamaica has experienced a ſingular fortune, in the various hair-breadth riſques which ſhe has encountered during the war. Through all this courſe of tranſaction, the Admirals Arbuthnot and Graves kept the French ſquadron as cloſely blockaded at Rhode Iſland, as the advantage derived from the occaſional ſhelter of ſome neighbouring iſlands could afford, and the uncertainty of the winds and ſeas would admit.

In the mean time, Sir George Rodney being aware of the original deſign againſt New York; and apprehenſive that both the Britiſh land and naval force would be entirely overwhelmed by the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy, as ſoon as he had received certain intelligence of the departure of M. de Guichen from Cape François, immediately ſailed himſelf, with eleven capital ſhips, and four frigates, to their ſuppoſed aſſiſtance and relief. Although he found, ſoon after his arrival at New York, that this effort of zeal for the public ſervice, which had ariſen from the ſpur of the occaſion, might have been diſpenſed with; yet he diſcovered in the end, that he had no cauſe Sept. 14.

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to regret the trouble which he had taken; as it proved the fortunate means of ſaving the ſquadron under his immediate command, from the unknown but dreadful calamity, which was to take place in the Weſt Indies.

CHAP. III.

Dreadful hurricane in the Weſt Indies. Deſtruction and calamity in Barbadoes. St. Lucia, Granada, St. Vincents. Great loſſes ſuſtained, and dangers encountered, by the Britiſh naval force in thoſe ſeas. French iſlands. Humanity of the Marquis de Bouville. Hurricane in Jamaica. Town of Savannah la Mar overwhelmed. Large tract of rich country in a great meaſure deſtroyed. Diſtreſſes and great loſſes of the inhabitants. Bounty of the crown and parliament. Liberal benefactions of individuals. New York. Negociation between Sir Henry Clinton and the American General Arnold. Major Andre employed in the completion of the ſcheme. Is taken in diſguiſe on his return from the American camp. Avows his name and condition in a letter to Gen. Waſhington. Gen. Arnold eſcapes on board the Vulture ſhip of war. Various letters written, and means ineffectually uſed in order to ſave Major Andre from the impending danger. He is tried by a board of American General Officers. His candour and magnanimity on the trial: is ſentenced on his own confeſſion, and the teſtimony of the papers which were found upon him. Liberality with which he was treated, and his ſenſe of it. His untimely death cloſes the tragedy. Unuſual ſympathy which he excited in the American army. Gen. Arnold is appointed to a command in the Britiſh army. Publiſhes an addreſs to the inhabitants of America; and a proclamation directed to the officers and ſoldiers of the continental army. Diſtreſſes in the American army, and ſome of their cauſes.

THE Weſt Indies were now doomed to experience the weight of an enemy, far more irreſiſtible and terrible, than any which the malice, or power of their own ſpecies, could arm againſt them. This was a hurricane of ſo dreadful a kind, that it ſeemed to be rather one of the laſt pangs and convulſions of nature, than any of theſe cuſtomary exertions, in which ſhe happily produces general good, though at the expence of ſome partial evil.

Although this tremendous ſcourge of Providence ſeemed to ſweep the ſeas and the land with wild and undiſtinguiſhed fury, yet the antient colony, and till then flouriſhing iſland of Barbadoes, was more particularly the marked victim of its rage. The hurricane began in that iſland on the morning of the 10th of October, 1780; and continued, with little intermiſſion, about 48 hours. In the afternoon of the firſt day the ſhips were driven from their anchors, and obliged to encounter all the horrors of the moſt outrageous ſea that the oldeſt ſeaman had ever beheld. They could not, however, have envied, if they had known their condition, the ſituation of thoſe whom

whom they had left behind on ſhore.

In the courſe of that dreadful night, Bridge Town, the capital of the iſland, was nearly laid level with the earth. The hiſtory of the government houſe will give ſome idea of the fate of the other buildings in that town, and of the ſtate of their inhabitants. That building, which, from its unuſual ſtrength, ſeemed calculated to brave all the outrages of ſeaſons, was nearly of a circular form, and its walls above three feet in thickneſs. No means were neglected, betimes in the evening, to barricade the doors and windows in ſuch a manner, as ſhould render them proof to all outward violence. But before ten o'clock the irreſiſtible force of the tempeſt burſt its way through different parts of the houſe; and having in ſome time carried off the roof, and the ruins tumbling on all ſides, the governor's family were obliged to fly for refuge to the ſouterrains; but they were ſoon driven from that aſylum by the burſting in of the water, which, through the continued torrents of rain that fell, threatened nothing leſs than a deluge.

Nothing now remained but an endeavour to gain the fields; an attempt, than which, except their preſent ſituation, nothing could appear more dreadful or dangerous. It, however, ſo far ſucceeded, that they gained ſome temporary ſhelter, amongſt the ruins of the foundation or platform, on which the flag-ſtaff had been erected. But theſe, however maſſy, become ſo obedient to the increaſed violence and aſtoniſhing force of the wind, as to threaten inſtant deſtruction to the diſtreſſed fugitives, who were again compelled to encounter all the open horrors of the tempeſt. The governor, and ſuch others as had ſtrength and recollection enough to keep together, after being frequently blown down, and rolled about in the mire and wet, at length gained a battery, and took ſhelter under the gun carriages; where they ſat in continual opprehenſion of being cruſhed to pieces, ſo terribly were the cannon moved by the ſtorm.

The other houſes of the town being much earlier deſtroyed, the ſurviving inhabitants were of courſe expoſed to the miſeries of a longer night of continued danger and horror. Numbers were buried in their houſes; and the dreadful uproar of the tempeſt was intermixed with the groans of the dying, the cries of thoſe who were incapable of dragging their maimed and wounded bodies from the ruins, and the ſcreams of women and children, whoſe fate ſeemed only to be deferred for greater horrors, whilſt they were lamenting, or calling for help to their loſt friends.

The day-light preſented ſuch a ſcene of deſolation as has ſeldom been equalled. That beautiful iſland, ſo lately glowing in the richeſt bloom and verdure of continual ſpring, now preſented the image of thoſe broken and dreary polar regions, whoſe diſmal waſtes are buried in eternal winter. The ſmaller towns experienced a ſimilar ruin with the capital. It was ſaid, that not one houſe or building in the iſland, however ſtrong or ſheltered, was exempt from damage; but that, in general, they were levelled to the ground, the

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plantations deſtroyed, and the produce of the earth ſo totally torn up and diſperſed, as not to leave a trace behind. To increaſe the calamity, moſt of the living ſtock of the iſland, particularly of the horned kind, periſhed. And reputable and opulent families were, in common with the moſt indigent, expoſed to the ſtill unexhauſted fury of the tempeſt, without food, raiment or cover.

The loſs of human lives was great, even among the Whites; but including the Blacks, amounted to ſome thouſands. The numbers could not, however be accurately eſtimated. Beſides thoſe who fell victims to the violence and inclemency of the weather, and whoſe bodies were eaſily found, many were entombed in their own houſes, and in the ruins of others, who could only be diſcovered by time. Many were whirled by the force of the tempeſt into the ſea; many carried off by the waves, which being driven over their cuſtomary mounds invaded the ſhore; and perhaps not a ſmaller number, by the torrents of freſh water which poured from the clouds. As the firſt object of the ſurvivors, next to the providing of immediate food and ſhelter, was the guarding againſt a peſtilence, by the ſpeedy interment of thoſe dead bodies which were eaſily found, their number was little attended to in that ſcene of hurry, diſtreſs, and confuſion.

Perhaps there is not in hiſtory a more extraordinary inſtance of the united force of the winds and waves, than was ſhewn upon this occaſion, in the removal of a cannon of twelve pound ball, from the ſouth to the north battery: being a diſtance of one hundred and forty yards: a circumſtance which we ſhould have been afraid of relating upon any leſs authority than that of a public document, tranſmitted to the ſecretary of ſtate by the governor of the iſland.

It happened moſt fortunately, and probably ſaved Barbadoes from utter ruin, that Gen. Vaughan, with a conſiderable body of troops, were then on the iſland. For beſides that the Blacks were in a ratio of four or five to one with reſpect to the Whites, they were incumbered with above 800 priſoners of war; who, as well as the worſt and moſt dangerous members of their own community, were all ſet at large by the deſtruction of the priſons. The general's houſe being early deſtroyed, he and his family underwent a full ſhare of the dangers and calamities of the night; his ſecretary's thigh was broken, and he did not eſcape himſelf without many bruiſes.

Such are the happy effects of order and diſcipline, that although the barracks and hoſpital were blown down, the loſs ſuſtained by the troops was very inconſiderable; and though the rapine of the negroes during the general confuſion, kept pace with the violence of the tempeſt, yet the activity of the officers, and the alacrity of the private men, ſucceeded ſo happily as nearly to ſave all the ſtores and proviſions deſtined for the ſervice of the army and navy. It was no leſs fortunate, at a time when famine was ſtaring the whole iſland in the face, and that the moſt dreadful conſequences were to be apprehended from its effect upon the negroes, that the quantity

tity of the latter was very conſiderable.

It ſhould be remembered, to the honour and praiſe of Don Pedro St. Jago, a captain of the regiment of Arragon, and of the other Spaniſh priſoners at Barbadoes, who were all under his immediate direction, that they acted the kind part of friends, inſtead of behaving like enemies, or even with indifference, in this ſeaſon of calamity; and that they omitted no labour or ſervice within their power, for the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed inhabitants, and the preſervation of public order.

The iſlands of St. Lucia, Granada, and St. Vincent, were likewiſe laid nearly deſolate. In the firſt, all the huts and barracks for the troops, as well as the other buildings of the iſland, were blown down. At Granada, the devaſtation was proportioned to the ſuperior cultivation and improvement of that iſland; and of St. Vincents, it was ſaid, that not a houſe was left ſtanding. Dominique likewiſe ſuffered greatly.

Moſt of the ſhips of war were driven out to ſea from St. Lucia, in the beginning of the hurricane. The Vengeance, which was moored within the Careenage, a place, even till now, conſidered as affording the utmoſt ſecurity in all winds and weather, was, notwithſtanding that, and every immediate effort for her further ſafety, driven upon the rocks, and her eſcape from utter deſtruction, exceeded all hope and expectation. The tranſports, victuallers, and traders, were at beſt diſmaſted, and moſtly driven on ſhore.

Of the ſhips of war which were driven out to ſea, the Montague returned without maſt or bowſprit ſtanding, and eight feet water in her hold—the Ajax, greatly damaged—The Beaver's prize, of 18 guns, was wrecked on the back of the iſland, and all the officers and crew, except 17 men, periſhed. The preſervation of the Amazon, after being overſet in the utmoſt violence of the hurricane, notwithſtanding the praiſes juſtly due, to the undaunted reſolution, and the unequalled efforts and activity of the officers and crew, ſeems ſo little ſhort of being miraculous, that, at a greater diſtance of time, it would have been deemed incredible. The Andromeda and Laurel, of 28 guns each, were not ſo fortunate; they were both loſt on the coaſt of Martinique, none of the officers, and very few of the crews, being ſaved. The Deal Caſtle, of 24 guns, ſuffered the ſame fate; and the Egmont, of 74, arrived at Jamaica without a maſt, and in all other reſpects little better than a wreck.

The ſquadron under the command of Admiral Rowley, which convoyed the Jamaica trade on its way to Europe, experienced no leſs calamity, and ſuſtained ſtill greater loſs. Of this ſquadron, the Admiral, with five more, returned to Jamaica, moſtly diſmaſted, and all diſabled. The Berwick, being ſeparated, and diſmaſted, found it leſs difficult, or thought it leſs dangerous, to proceed alone to England, than to return. But the Stirling Caſtle, of 64 guns, was totally loſt on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and only about 50 of the crew ſaved. The ſolitary fate of the Thunderer, of 74 guns, under the conduct of

Commodore Boyle Walſingham, was ſtill more calamitous; ſhe being ſo completely ſwallowed up in this conflict of the elements, that no memorial or particulars of her cataſtrophe can ever come to light.

The Phœnix, of 44 guns, Sir Hyde Parker, was wrecked on the iſland of Cuba; but the officers, and moſt of her crew, were happily ſaved. The Barbadoes and Victor ſloops of war, with the Cameleon, Scarborough, and La Blanche frigates, became likewiſe, upon different ſervices, and with a partial or total loſs of men and officers, victims to the rage of this mercileſs ſeaſon.

The French iſlands, ſeem to have ſuffered even more than the Engliſh, excepting only Barbadoes. At Martinique, the beautiful town of St. Pierre, built upon the ſhore, was ſaid to have been entirely overwhelmed and waſhed away; and the town of Baſſeterre, in Guadaloupe, was reported to have ſhared the ſame fate. About ſixty ſail of tranſports from France, which had arrived that morning at Martinique, with ſtores, and 2,500 troops, on board, were all driven out to ſea; and both ſhips and ſoldiers ſuffered extremely. Several were entirely loſt; and ſome were taken, by thoſe who had themſelves juſt eſcaped the danger, and who were ſtill ſuffering under the effects of the common calamity. The Experiment of 50 guns, and the Juno of forty, with ſome other Royal French frigates, were entirely deſtroyed; and 19 ſail of loaded Dutch veſſels, were daſhed to pieces on the iſland of Granada. Nor did the Dutch iſland of St. Euſtatius eſcape the general effects of the hurricane; the damage there being eſtimated at not leſs than 150,000l. ſterling.

The humanity of the Marquis de Bouille, affords ſome relief to theſe ſcenes of horror and devaſtation. That governor ſent 31 Britiſh ſailors (being the poor remains that were ſaved of the crews of the Laurel and Andromeda) under a flag of truce, to Commodore Hotham, at St. Lucia, accompanied with a letter or meſſage, in which he declared, that he could not conſider in the light of enemies men who had ſo hardly eſcaped in a contention with the force of the elements; but that they, having, in common with his own people, been partakers of the ſame danger, were, in like manner, entitled to every comfort and relief which could be given, in a ſeaſon of ſuch univerſal calamity and diſtreſs. He only lamented, he ſaid, that their number was ſo ſmall; and particularly, that none of the officers were ſaved. Thus did that eminent commander, and magnanimous enemy, ſuſtain the high character which he had ſo juſtly attained, as well with the Engliſh as his own nation, in the courſe of the preſent war; and to which, or more properly, to thoſe great qualities from which it is derived, he is perhaps no leſs beholden for ſome of his acquiſitions, than to the ſuperiority of his arms.

When it is recollected that the hurricanes of this ſeaſon ſwept the coaſts of Europe and America as well as the Weſt Indies; and that even a beautiful part of the country, on both ſides of the Thames, between London and Richmond, ſuffered very much (about the time of the devaſtation in the Leeward Iſlands) by a hurricane

ricane of ſo peculiar and dreadful a nature, as had not been frequently experienced in this climate and country, it will afford no cauſe of wonder, that Jamaica ſhould partake deeply of the common calamity.

The hurricane in Jamaica was, however, different in many reſpects from the others. It was earlier in point of time by a week, than that at Barbadoes; and was more complex, being accompanied by an earthquake, and a moſt extraordinary ſwell of the ſea, which rendered it ſtill more terrible, as well as fatal. But its effects were happily more confined; and it ſeems to have been only the tip of its eaſtern wing, which ſwept the weſtern point of that iſland. The two large diſtricts, which are called pariſhes, of Weſtmoreland and Hanover, which include the whole breadth of Jamaica in its weſtern extreme, were accordingly the principal victims of its rage; although their neareſt eaſtern neighbours, in the pariſhes of St. James and Elizabeth, felt no ſmall ſhare of its fury.

Whilſt the unhappy inhabitants of Savanna la Mar (then a conderable trading town on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, in Weſtmoreland pariſh) were gazing with aſtoniſhment, at ſuch a ſwell of the ſea and agitation of its waves, as had never been before beheld; on a ſudden, at once, burſting through all bounds, and ſurmounting all obſtacles, it overwhelmed the town; and ſwept every thing away ſo completely upon its retreat, as not to leave the ſmalleſt veſtige of man, beaſt, or habitation, behind. About 300 perſons, of all colours, periſhed in this dreadful irruption. The ſea flowed up half a mile beyond its uſual fixed limits; and ſo ſudden and unavoidable was the deſtruction, although it took place at noon day, that of the inhabitants of one gentleman's houſe, conſiſting of ten whites, and about forty negroes, not a ſoul of either ſort eſcaped.

Oct. 3d.

This was only the prelude to immediate and more extenſive calamity. Where the ſea, in its preſent degree of force, could not reach, the buſineſs of deſtruction was nearly as effectually carried on by the ſucceeding earthquake and hurricane. Between both, ſcarcely a houſe or building of any ſort was left ſtanding in the two firſt pariſhes we mentioned, any more than in a conſiderable part of the two others; particularly that of St. James, which ſtood in the next degree of ſuffering. A great number of the white inhabitants, and of neceſſity, a much greater of the negroes, periſhed during the courſe of the hurricane. The proviſions were entirely deſtroyed; and the live ſtock eſcaped little better. But the calamity was not confined to the fruits of the earth, nor to its immediate inhabitants. The rich and cultivated ſoil, was in many places covered with heaps of ſterile matter, which could not be removed by any profitable labour, and which it was not in the power of culture to reclaim. Thus a people, who had generally been in a ſtate of high affluence, were in an inſtant reduced to the extreme of want and miſery. Their remote ſituation rendered their condition the more deplorable.

There was no friend or kind neighbour to fly to for an aſylum, where all were equally wretched.

The damage in the pariſh of Weſtmoreland only, was eſtimated at 950,000l. Jamaica currency, amounting to near 700,000l. ſterling. In that of Hanover, one fourth part of the abſolute property, was ſaid to be loſt for ever. The damage in the other two pariſhes was very conſiderable.

The merchants of Kingſton, the metropolis of the iſland, generouſly ſubſcribed 10,000l. for the immediate relief of the unfortunate ſufferers; the value of which was ſpeedily tranſmitted to them, in thoſe articles of cloathing and proviſion which were moſt urgently neceſſary. But the bounty of the crown and parliament of Great Britain, would afford a laſting teſtimonial of the beneficence, liberality, and grandeur of this country, if all other memorials of its generoſity and greatneſs were forgotten. In the height of a loſing and moſt unfortunate domeſtic and foreign war; a war, not leſs diſtinguiſhed from all others by the greatneſs of its loſſes, than by its unparalleled expences; yet, in this ſtate of public and private calamity, the houſe of commons inſtantly granted 80,000l. for the relief of the ſufferers in Barbadoes, and 40,000l. for thoſe in Jamaica. The generous benefactions of individuals kept pace with the public munificence.

Whilſt the Weſt-India iſlands were doubly ſuffering, under all the evils of war, and under ſome of the greateſt calamities of nature, the continent of North America enjoyed ſome tolerable reſpite from the one, and had pretty well eſcaped the other. Admiral Arbuthnot ſtill continued his ſtation about Gardner's Bay and Block Iſland, to watch the motions of M. de Ternay; whilſt the induſtry of the French was quickened, in completing the fortifications, and increaſing the defences of the harbour, at Rhode Iſland, from an apprehenſion of the great ſuperiority of naval force, which the arrival of Sir George Rodney had thrown into the ſcale on the Britiſh ſide.

Whether it proceeded from a knowledge that the fortifications at Rhode Iſland were now in ſuch ſtrength on the land ſide, as to bid defiance to any force which Sir Henry Clinton could with ſafety draw from New York; whether the harbour was ſo well fortified as not to admit the approach of the fleet; or whether the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that it would not be prudent to expoſe the ſhips to the dangerous uncertainty of the weather, we do not know; but, however it was, no attempt was made to derive any advantage from the preſent naval ſuperiority. The critics upon military affairs, with whom New York, nearly from its firſt coming into our hands, peculiarly abounded, were as bitter in their cenſures, and reviled the commanders with as little mercy and decency upon this occaſion, as they had both themſelves and their predeceſſors upon many others.

During this apparent calm, and a ſort of tacit ceſſation of hoſtility, produced only by the peculiar ſituation and circumſtances of the parties on both ſides, a ſcheme of the utmoſt importance was in agitation,

tion, calculated, if it could have taken effect in its full extent, totally to change the face of affairs in America, and to bring the war to a ſpeedy, if not immediate concluſion.

Every reader is ſufficiently acquainted with the figure which the American general, Arnold, made, during the whole courſe of the war. In peaceful occupations he was not ſo happy. Retired from the army, on account of the wound he received in the cauſe of America, and which endeared him to that whole continent, he ſoon loſt the affections of his countrymen, which he had purchaſed at ſo dear a rate. His conduct in the government of Philadelphia, to which he had been appointed upon the retreat of the Britiſh army, was of ſuch a nature, or ſo repreſented by his enemies, as drew upon him, not only the odium of the inhabitants of that city, but of the province in general. He was charged with oppreſſion, extortion, with exorbitant and enormous charges upon the public in his accounts, and with applying the public money and property to his own private uſe. Many of the particulars appear in the publications of the time.

He appealed from the judgment of the commiſſioners who had been appointed to inſpect his accounts (and who had rejected above half the amount of his demands) to the Congreſs; and they appointed a committee, of their own body, to examine and ſettle the buſineſs. The committee not only confirmed the report of the commiſſioners, but were of opinion, that they had allowed him more than he had any right to expect or demand. Mr. Arnold ſhewed himſelf highly irritated by this determination; and uttered invectives againſt the Congreſs, not leſs violent than thoſe that he had before thrown out againſt the commiſſioners.

He was, however, ſoon obliged to abide the judgment of a court-martial, upon the various charges of malverſation in office, exhibited againſt him by the executive government of Philadelphia, as well on the grounds we have mentioned, as on ſome others. This court found his conduct (in general terms) highly reprehenſible, and ordered that he ſhould be reprimanded by General Waſhington. This ſentence gave no ſatisfaction to the accuſers. They ſaid, that the conſideration of General Arnold's former ſervices had rendered his judges too favourable. On the other ſide, the party accuſed attacked them as giving a general cenſure, becauſe they were reſolved to find him guilty, and yet could fix on nothing ſpecific.

He who had held ſo large a ſhare of popularity, could not but ſeverely feel, that loſs of public opinion and private eſteem which he now experienced. He was not of a diſpoſition to be ſilent in ſuch circumſtances. He complained loudly; and made as little ſcruple of charging his countrymen in general with ingratitude, as their governors of injuſtice.

A calm, however, on all ſides, ſeemed to have ſucceeded to theſe violent ſtorms. His favour with General Waſhington ſeems to have continued; and he was ſoon after his reprimand taken again into actual ſervice in the principal army, in a ſituation of conſiderable

rank and truſt. In the temper of mind deſcribed, and in that ſituation, he carried on a negociation with Sir Henry Clinton for the purpoſe of returning to his allegiance, and of delivering up the poſt and part of the army which he commanded to that General. How the ice was firſt broken, the negociation conducted, or how long it had been in agitation, are matters which do not appear, and are of little conſequence. Its failure was marked by the unhappy fate of Major André, adjutant-general of the Britiſh army; a riſing young officer of great hope, and of no common merit.

This was the gentleman employed, at leaſt, in the completion of the meaſures taken in concert with Gen. Arnold. Objects of vaſt importance, will neceſſarily occaſion a deviation from all general rules, if not from the principles of action. That now in view, was the moſt momentous that could well be offered. It held out, along with the concluſion of a doubtful and dangerous war, no leſs than the final ſubjugation, without condition or treaty, of the revolted American Colonies. It is not then to be wondered at, that the near apparent graſp of ſo great a prize, ſhould baniſh all leſſer conſiderations; and prove ſuch a ſpur to enterprize, as no riſque, danger, or poſſible conſequences, could be capable of counteracting. André, who by his open bravery, high ideas of candour, and diſdain of duplicity, was not ſo fit for an employment which along with great mechanical boldneſs, required a proportionable degree of diſſimulation and circumſpection, yet poſſeſſed other qualities, which ſeemed fully to counterbalance that deficiency. His fidelity and honour were fixed and unalterable; and theſe were qualities not much to be expected in thoſe, who in other reſpects might ſeem much fitter for the purpoſe. Beſides, his place, character, and the confidence of the commander in chief, which he was known fully to poſſeſs, afforded a weight to his negociation, the want of which in meaner agents would have been attended with many difficulties.

The failure of the French fleet with reſpect to the attack on New York, having overthrown all the ſchemes of active operation on the ſide of the Americans for the preſent ſeaſon, Waſhington ſtationed his army (which was now conſiderably reduced in number and ſtrength) in the ſtrong holds of the Highlands, on both ſides of the North River, for the winter; where its ſituation, beſides ſecurity, afforded an opportunity of watching the motions of the Britiſh forces, and of repreſſing the incurſions from New-York. In this arrangement of the American forces, the ſtrong and very important poſt of Weſt Point, with its neighbouring dependencies, and a wing, or very conſiderable diviſion of the army, were entruſted to the cuſtody and conduct of Major-General Arnold.

Waſhington's abſence in Connecticut, was probably deemed a favourable opportunity for the final completion of a negociation, which it is evident had for ſome time been in hand. The Vulture ſloop of war had been previouſly ſtationed in the North River, at ſuch a diſtance from Arnold's poſts, as, without exciting ſuſpicion, would,

would, however, ſerve for carrying on the neceſſary communication. It appears likewiſe that a written correſpondence, by other means, and through other channels, had been carried on, between Arnold and Major André, at New York, under the borrowed names of Guſtavus and Anderſon.

The outlines of the project were, that Arnold ſhould make ſuch a diſpoſition of the wing of the army under his command, as would enable Sir Henry Clinton completely to ſurprize their ſtrong poſts and batteries, and throw the troops ſo entirely into his hands, that they muſt inevitably either lay down their arms, or be cut to pieces on the ſpot. Beſides the immediate poſſeſſion of thoſe ſtrong holds, thus cheaply obtained, and the cutting off ſo great a part of the enemy's beſt force, without loſs or difficulty, the conſequences would have reached much farther; for the remainder of Waſhington's army, would then have been laid open in ſuch a manner, to the joint exertion of the Britiſh forces by land and water, that nothing leſs than ſlaughter, rout, diſperſion, and final ruin, could have been the reſult with reſpect to the Americans. Such a ſtroke could not have been recovered. Independent of the loſs of artillery, magazines, and ſtores, ſuch a deſtruction of their whole diſciplined force, and of moſt, if not all of their beſt officers, muſt have been immediately fatal.

The neceſſary arrangements being made, Major André was landed at night from the ſloop of war, without the American poſts, where he found Arnold waiting for him on the ſhore. The latter conveyed him into camp; where he continued with him, during that night and the following day. In that time it was very unfortunately found neceſſary to change the Britiſh uniform of his regiment, which he had hitherto worn under a ſurtout coat, for ſome common dreſs. From ſome alarm, apprehenſions, or cauſes, which do not appear, Arnold could not fulfil his promiſe to André, of ſending him back, by the ſame way that he came, in order to get on board the Vulture. On the contrary, he was conveyed the ſecond night, through a remote part of the camp, and then left to purſue a journey of ſome length, and alone, to New York. He was, however, furniſhed with a horſe, and with paſſports from Arnold; and being now quite clear of the different guards and poſts of the camp, all of which he had paſſed under the name of Anderſon, he could not but think himſelf in tolerable ſafety.

Sept. 21.

But fortune was not in ſo favourable a mood. In paſſing through a place called Tarry Town, on the following day, he was ſtopt by three young volunteers or militia men, who do not ſeem to have been upon any particular ſervice or duty. His paſſport ſeemed at firſt to produce its intended effect; and after a peruſal, they ſuffered him to proceed without farther trouble. But he had not paſſed many yards, when one of them, upon a little recollection, was ſo forcibly ſtruck, by the impreſſion of ſome particularity, which he conceived he had perceived in the ſtranger's manner or countenance, that he peremp-

torily inſiſted with his companions, upon their examining him more ſtrictly. This recollection was deciſive and fatal. André was not uſed to, nor prepared for ſuch encounters. Or, as he ſaid himſelf in his letter to Waſhington, "I was too little verſed in de- "ception, to practiſe it with any "degree or hope of ſucceſs." He offered the captors a conſiderable purſe of gold, and a very valuable watch, for letting him paſs; and it would appear from the American accounts, and indeed ſeems confirmed by the very high praiſes which they beſtowed, upon the virtue and patriotiſm, as they called it, of three ſimple young men, in the humbleſt walks of life, who nobly diſdained, beſides the immediate temptation, the very faſcinating offers of permanent proviſion, and even of future promotion, which were made them, on condition of their conveying and accompanying the major to New York.

Upon André's firſt examination, he ſtill ſupported the name and ſuppoſed character of Anderſon, a real or imaginary inhabitant of New York; and though the papers that were found in his boot, ſubjected him to inſtant execution, in the uſual ſummary way practiſed with ſpies, yet he nobly choſe to encounter that immediate danger, and ignominious fate, rather than let any thing come out which could involve Arnold, until he had time to provide for his ſafety. The papers were all in Arnold's hand-writing, and contained exact returns of the ſtate of the forces, ordnance, and defences, at Weſt Point, and its dependencies, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, an eſtimate of the number of men that were ordinarily on duty to man them, and a copy of ſome very intereſting matters, which had been lately laid before a council of war by the commander in chief.

Several circumſtances attending this tranſaction were highly fortunate to Arnold. Particularly the delay occaſioned by its happening at a diſtance from the camp; as well as through the indeciſion, which ſo new and extraordinary a caſe, that ſeemed beyond their reach and authority, neceſſarily produced in thoſe inferior officers, or country magiſtrates, by whom André was firſt examined.

General Waſhington returned from Connecticut, about noon on the 25th; André having been then full 48 hours in cuſtody, without any knowledge of the tranſaction having yet reached the camp. At Arnold's quarters, the general was informed that he had been out for ſome hours, and was ſuppoſed to be gone to Weſt Point, whither he accordingly went, and diſcovered to his ſurprize that he had not been there that day; this was, however, increaſed upon his return, when he found that he was ſtill abſent from quarters. But every thing now was upon the point of being cleared up. A packet arrived, with an account of the capture of John Anderſon, and encloſing the papers which were found upon him; accompanied likewiſe, with a letter from the priſoner himſelf to the general. He was now alſo informed, that Arnold had received a letter, which threw him into

ſome

ſome viſible degree of agitation, juſt before his departure from quarters in the morning. Waſhington immediately iſſued orders, to prevent, if poſſible, his eſcape; but it was then too late; for Arnold, upon the diſcovery of his danger, without even waiting to ſecure or deſtroy his papers, had abandoned every thing; and proceeding down the river, under the cover of a flag, was then ſafe on board the Vulture ſhip of war.

The vindication of his honour, and not the preſervation of his life, was the great object with André, in his letter to Waſhington; in which he avowed his name and character. The imputation of treachery, and the dread of being conſidered in the baſe condition of a ſpy, were worſe to him than death. He accordingly laboured to ſhew, that he did not properly come within that deſcription; that he had held a correſpondence with a perſon under the orders of his general; that his intentions went no farther, than the meeting of that perſon on neutral ground, for the purpoſe of intelligence; but that he was circumvented or betrayed, within the American poſts; and that being then in fact a priſoner, he was obliged to ſubmit to ſuch meaſures as were concerted for his eſcape, by quitting his uniform; and thus was forced into the condition of an enemy in diſguiſe. His only ſolicitation was, that to whatever rigour policy might devote him, a decency of treatment might be obſerved, which would mark, that though unfortunate, he was branded with nothing diſhonourable, and that he was involuntarily an impoſtor.—In a word, his enemies acknowledged, that the letter was conceived, in terms of dignity without inſolence, and of apology without meanneſs.

Waſhington had immediate meaſures to take, in order to protect his camp and works from the unknown, but poſſible conſequences of General's Arnold's deſertion; nor could he be entirely free from apprehenſion, that the treachery had ſpread farther than he was yet aware of. It ſoon appeared, however, that he had no party in the army to ſupport his deſign; and that if he had any confidents or aſſociates, they were few in number, and men of no great conſequence. But though the deſign was defeated, the idea was alarming in point of precedent; and the contagion of example was ſtill to be dreaded.

Arnold wrote a letter to Waſhington, from on board the Vulture, on the very day of his eſcape. In this, he does not enter much into any defence or explanation of his conduct, but ſeems to reſt ſatisfied in an internal conſciouſneſs of rectitude. He declares, that the love of his country, which had been the ruling principle with him through the whole conteſt, had operated equally upon him in his preſent conduct, however inconſiſtent it might appear to the world, who (he obſerves) very ſeldom judge right of any man's actions.—But the great object and deſign of his letter, was to intereſt Waſhington's humanity in the protection of Mrs. Arnold, from the miſtaken vengeance of his country; that, he ſaid, ought to fall only upon himſelf; for ſhe (he exclaimed in the language of paſſion) "is as good

good and as innocent as an angel, and is incapable of doing wrong."

On the ſame day, Col. Robinſon, who was likewiſe on board the Vulture, and ſeems ſo far to have accompanied André on this enterprize, ſent a letter to Waſhington, reclaiming him on the following grounds, viz. That he had gone under the protection of a flag, upon public buſineſs with Gen. Arnold, and at his particular requeſt; that he likewiſe had his licence and paſſports for returning to New York; that every ſtep he had taken, and even that of aſſuming a feigned name, had been under the direction of Arnold, which of courſe freed him from any cenſure in the tranſaction; and that, under theſe circumſtances, his farther detention would be a groſs violation of the ſanction due to flags, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed military cuſtoms and uſages of all nations.

The following day brought a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, reclaiming André upon the ſame grounds, of a flag, paſſports, his own permiſſion, and Arnold's requeſt. It likewiſe contained an incloſure from Arnold to Sir Henry, ſtating the circumſtances, as he wiſhed them to be underſtood; aſſuming to himſelf the whole guidance and direction of André's conduct, and conſequently as being only reſponſible for thoſe parts of it that appeared moſt unfavourable in his preſent ſituation; and ſtrongly aſſerting his own right at that time, as acting in the American ſervice, and being commanding general of Weſt Point and its dependencies, to ſend his flag of truce for André, to afford him protection by his paſſports and otherwiſe, and to return him, by ſuch way, and in ſuch manner, as ſhould, to himſelf, appear moſt convenient or proper.

In the mean time, Waſhington had appointed a board of fourteen general officers, of whom were the two foreign majors general, the Marquis de la Fayette, and the Baron de Steuben, with the aſſiſtance of Laurence, the judge advocate general, to examine into, and to report, a preciſe ſtate of André's caſe; to determine what light he was to be conſidered in, and to what puniſhment he was liable.

This excellent young man, diſdaining all ſubterfuge and evaſion, and only ſtudying, by the magnanimity which he ſhould now diſplay, and the intrepidity with which he would encounter the expected ſentence, to throw ſuch a luſtre over his character, as might prevent the ſmalleſt ſhade of that imputation which he ſo much dreaded, voluntarily confeſſed more than he was aſked; and ſought not to palliate any thing that related to himſelf, whilſt he concealed with the moſt guarded and ſcrupulous nicety whatever might involve others. He acknowledged,—that the boat in which he came on ſhore carried no flag;—that he wore a ſurtout coat over his regimentals;—that although it was underſtood when he left the Vulture, that he ſhould return that night, it was afterwards doubted; but that he was promiſed to be concealed on ſhore, in a place of ſafety, until the following night, when he was to return by the ſame way that he came. He likewiſe Sept. 29th.

wiſe acknowledged his change of dreſs in the camp; with all or moſt of the other circumſtances which we have already ſtated; as well, as that Arnold's papers were found concealed in his boot; and that a letter from New York, ſigned John Anderſon, was his own hand-writing. Being interrogated by the board, with reſpect to his conception of coming on ſhore under the ſanction of a flag, he, with a noble frankneſs, ſaid, that it was impoſſible for him to ſuppoſe he had come on ſhore under that ſanction; adding, that if he had, he certainly might have returned under it.

The board were exceedingly ſtruck with his candour and magnanimity; and ſufficiently ſhewed how much they felt for his ſituation. Beſides every poſſible mark of indulgence, and the utmoſt attention and politeneſs, they treated him with ſo ſcrupulous a delicacy, as to deſire at the opening of the examination, that he would not anſwer any interrogatory whatever, which could at all embarraſs his own feelings. André was himſelf deeply ſenſible of the liberality of their behaviour, particularly in this laſt inſtance; and declared to a gentleman (who we'll ſuppoſe to be an American officer), that he flattered himſelf he had never been illiberal; but that if there were any remains of prejudice in his mind, his preſent experience muſt obliterate them.

The board did not examine a ſingle witneſs; but founded their report merely upon his own confeſſion. In that, after a recital of a few of the principal facts, particularly his paſſing, under a feigned name, and in a diſguiſed habit, their works at Stoney, and Verplanks Points, on the evening of the 22d, they then declare, that Major André, adjutant general to the Britiſh army, ought to be conſidered as a ſpy from the enemy; and that, agreeable to the law and uſage of nations, it is their opinion, he ought to ſuffer death.

Waſhington wrote a ſhort anſwer to Sir Henry Clinton, on the day after the ſentence, in which he ſtated, that although Major André had been taken under ſuch circumſtances, as would have juſtified the moſt ſummary proceedings againſt him, he had, however, determined, to refer his caſe to the examination and deciſion of a board of general officers, whoſe report, founded on his free and voluntary confeſſion and letters, was encloſed. That from theſe proceedings it was evident, that Major André was employed in the execution of meaſures very foreign to the objects of flags of truce, and ſuch as they were never meant, in the moſt diſtant degree, to authorize or countenance; and that gentleman himſelf had with the greateſt candour confeſſed, it was impoſſible for him to ſuppoſe, that he came on ſhore under the ſanction of a flag.

This drew another letter from Sir Henry Clinton; who, under a preſumption, that the board of general officers could not have been rightly informed of all the circumſtances on which their judgment ought to be founded, propoſed to ſend Lieut. Gen. Robertſon, the governor of New York, and two other gentlemen, as well to give his excellency a true

true ſtate of facts, as to explain and declare to him his own ſentiments and reſolutions upon the ſubject. The gentlemen were to be at Dobb's Ferry on the following morning, to wait for Gen. Waſhington's permiſſion and ſafe conduct, and to meet himſelf, or whoever elſe he ſhould appoint, in order to converſe upon the ſubject. He particularly urged it, as a matter of the higheſt moment to humanity, that the general ſhould fully underſtand the whole ſtate of the buſineſs, before he proceeded to carry the judgment of the board into execution.

Gen. Greene, the preſident of the late board, was appointed to meet Robertſon; but his companions, Mr. Elliot, the lieutenant governor, and Mr. Smith, the chief juſtice of the province, were not permitted to come on ſhore. Gen. Robertſon uſed his utmoſt ingenuity in this conference, upon the grounds which we have already ſeen, to ſhew, that André did not come within the character and deſcription of a ſpy; dwelling particularly on his going aſhore under the ſanction of a flag; and that being then in Arnold's power, and in effect a priſoner, he was not accountable for his ſubſequent actions, which were all compulſory.

As Greene was far from admitting either his facts or concluſions, Mr. Robertſon wiſhed, that in an affair ſo intereſting to humanity, and of ſo much conſequence to both armies, as well as to his friend, who was ſo immediately concerned, the opinions of diſintereſted gentlemen, who were verſed in the laws of war and nations, might be taken on the ſubject; and he propoſed Gen. Knyphauſen, and the French General Rochambeau, as proper perſons to whom the buſineſs might be referred.

Humanity was the laſt ſtring touched; but on which more hope ſeemed to be reſted than any other. He ſaid, he wiſhed an intercourſe of ſuch civilities between the contending parties, as might leſſen the horrors of war; quoted inſtances of Sir Henry Clinton's merciful diſpoſition, and ſaid that he had never put any perſon to death for a breach of the laws of war, although he now had, as well as at former times, many labouring under that predicament in his power. He held out, that Major André poſſeſſed a great ſhare of the general's eſteem; and that he would be infinitely obliged for his liberation; and he offered, if the former was admitted to return with him to New York, to engage, that any perſon whatever who was named, ſhould be ſet at liberty in return. He obſerved, that under the preſent circumſtances, much good might ariſe from humanity, and much evil from the want of it.

Previous to this meeting, Arnold had written a ſecond letter to Gen. Waſhington; which contained a declaration, that he conſidered himſelf no longer as acting under the Congreſs; and that his commiſſion, which lay among his papers at Weſt Point, might be diſpoſed of as he thought proper. In this, as in the former, he took no ſmall pains to convince that commander, of the

ſince-

ſincerity, as well as of the invariable nature, of his attachment to the true intereſts of his country.

Gen. Robertſon preſented now alſo, a long letter from him, tending to the exculpation of Major André, by rendering himſelf the author of every part of his conduct; and particularly inſiſting, on his coming from the Vulture, under a flag which he had ſent for the purpoſe. After a long ſtatement and repreſentation of circumſtances, he declared, that if the board of generals ſhould notwithſtanding adhere to their former opinion, he ſhould ſuppoſe it dictated by paſſion and reſentment; and if that gentleman ſhould ſuffer the ſeverity of their ſentence, he ſhould think himſelf bound by every tie of duty and honour, to retaliate on ſuch unhappy perſons of their army as might fall within his power, ſo that the reſpect due to flags, and to the law of nations, might be better underſtood and obſerved.—He alſo obſerved, that forty of the principal inhabitants of South Carolina had juſtly forfeited their lives, which had hitherto been only ſpared through the clemency of Sir Henry Clinton; but who could no longer, in juſtice, extend his mercy to them, if Major André ſuffered: an event, which would probably open a ſcene of bloodſhed, at which humanity muſt revolt.—He adjured Waſhington, by his own honour, and for that of humanity, as well as from his love of juſtice, not to ſuffer an unjuſt ſentence to touch the life of André. But if that warning ſhould be diſregarded, and André notwithſtanding ſuffer, he called heaven and earth to witneſs, that he alone would be juſtly anſwerable for the torrents of blood that might be ſpilt in conſequence.

It may well be doubted, whether any thing at that time could have increaſed the danger of the unhappy predicament in which André already ſtood; and Gen. Arnold's interpoſition muſt have been well intended; but letters from him, in the then ſtate of things, it was evident could be of little ſervice.

The ſucceeding day was to cloſe the tragedy. Oct. 2d. André was ſuperior to the terrors of death; but that diſgraceful mode of dying, which the uſage of war had annexed to his unhappy ſituation, was, to him, infinitely dreadful. He equally wiſhed to die like a ſoldier, and that, ſo far as it was poſſible, every trace and memorial of the cauſe which led to his fall might be eraſed. He had accordingly written a pathetic letter, fraught with all the feelings of a man of ſentiment and honour, to Waſhington, imploring a mitigation in that reſpect. How far a relaxation of the rigid maxims and uſages of war, might upon this occaſion with propriety have been indulged, is a queſtion that involves too many conſiderations, for us to enter into. But as it was not deemed fitting to grant the requeſt, it was thought humane to evade giving a direct anſwer. He encountered his fate with a compoſure, dignity, and fortitude, which equally excited the admiration, and melted the hearts of all the ſpectators.

The ſympathy which André excited in the American army, is perhaps

perhaps unexampled, under any ſimilar circumſtances. It was ſaid, that the whole board of general officers ſhed tears, at the time of drawing up and ſigning the report; and that even Waſhington's eyes were not dry, upon hearing the circumſtances of his death. His firſt requeſt to that commander, of being treated with the diſtinction due to his rank and character, without regard to his then apparent condition, was, in every inſtance, excepting only what related to the mere manner of dying, moſt fully complied with. All thoſe about him, or that he ever ſaw, treated him with the moſt marked attention, with the greateſt tenderneſs, and the moſt ſcrupulous delicacy. The account of him given by Col. Hamilton, aid de camp to Waſhington, ſeems rather the elegant eulogium of a warm friend, than the narrative of an enemy, deſcribing the conſequences of an attempt which he could not but abhor, and which in its ſucceſs, would have gone to the deſtruction of himſelf, his party, and friends.

This ſacrifice, which, in their ſituation, it is probable the Americans thought abſolutely neceſſary, concluded this unfortunate tranſaction. Waſhington tranſmitted Mrs. Arnold to her huſband at New York; who found himſelf obliged to acknowledge in one of his letters, the protection and kindneſs which ſhe had received from that commander, as well as the obligations ſhe was under to the gentlemen of his family. He likewiſe ſent him his cloaths and baggage, which Arnold had written for. But with reſpect to all other matters, his letters were paſſed over without the ſmalleſt notice.

The failure of Arnold's grand project, the unhappy event of which it was productive (and which deeply affected the whole Britiſh army), with the other peculiar circumſtances in which he was involved, ſeemed to render it indiſpenſably neceſſary, that he ſhould either perform ſuch ſignal ſervice, as would ſerve to ſpread a luſtre upon his preſent ſituation, or at leaſt take ſuch irreconcileable meaſures with reſpect to his old friends, as ſhould convince his new, that he left no room open for a future retreat. He was made a brigadier general in the Britiſh army in America; and it was hoped, that with the aid of the loyaliſts, and the diſcontented of all ſorts, under the allurements of Britiſh pay and promotion, he could raiſe a conſiderable body of forces, to act under his own ſeparate command. If this could be compaſſed, he might again appear with eclat in the field, juſtify his defection by ſucceſs, and by ſplendid action, diſpel the clouds which hung upon his character.

His firſt public meaſure, was the iſſuing an addreſs directed to the inhabitants of America.—In this piece, he takes a review of his own former conduct, aſſigns the motives on which it was founded, and then juſtifies his preſent, by declaring thoſe which had induced him to join the king's arms. He had firſt encountered the dangers of the field upon a conception, that the rights of his country were in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her

her defence. A redreſs of grievances was his only object. He however acquieſced in the declaration of independence, although he thought it precipitate. But the many plauſible reaſons which were urged to juſtify that meaſure, could no longer exiſt, when Great Britain, with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace them as children, and to grant the wiſhed-for redreſs. From the refuſal of thoſe propoſals, and the pretended French alliance, which was made the ground of that refuſal, all his ideas and opinions, with reſpect to the juſtice and policy of the war, were totally changed; and he from thence became a confirmed loyaliſt.

He throws a vaſt weight of cenſure upon the Congreſs, their leaders at large, and that claſs of undefined men, who are ſaid to be criminally protracting the war, from ſiniſter views, at the expence of the public intereſt. He talks of the thouſands who are ſuffering under the tyranny of the uſurpers in the revolted provinces. He repeats many of the arguments which had been uſed by the late commiſſioners in America, and by the writers at that time on the Britiſh ſide, to ſhew the impolicy, tyranny, and injuſtice, which, along with a ſovereign contempt of the people, had operated on the ruling powers, in ſtudiouſly neglecting to take their collective ſentiments on the Britiſh propoſals of peace: and likewiſe to ſhew, that the treaty with France was not then by any means binding. He equally attacks France, and condemns the alliance; laments that the great intereſts of that country were dangerouſly ſacrificed, to the partial views of a proud, antient, and craſty foe; calls her offers inſidious; regards her as too feeble to eſtabliſh their independency; charges her with being the enemy of the proteſtant faith; and with fraudulently avowing an affection for the liberties of mankind, while ſhe holds her native ſons in vaſſalage and ſlavery.

He ſeems to think that a great multitude, if not the body of the people, hold the ſame ſentiments with reſpect to public affairs, which he has himſelf now avowed; and to account for his having ſo long acted directly contrary to this avowal, he openly acknowledges, that in thoſe principles, he had only retained his arms and command, for ſuch an opportunity as he thought fitting for ſurrendering them to Great Britain; and that (according to his own explanation) "in concerting the meaſures for "a purpoſe, in his opinion, as "grateful as it would have been "beneficial for his country, he "was only ſolicitous to accompliſh an event of deciſive im-"portance, and to prevent, as "much as poſſible, in the exe-"cution of it, the effuſion of "blood."

This was followed in about a fortnight, by a proclamation, inſcribed *to the officers and ſoldiers of the continental army, who have the real intereſt of their country at heart, and who are determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of Congreſs, or of France.*

Under a perſuaſion, that the principles he had ſo lately avowed, animated the greateſt part of the continent, he rejoiced in the opportunity

portunity he now had, of inviting thoſe whom he addreſſed, to join his majeſty's arms. He was authorized to raiſe a corps of cavalry and infantry, who, with reſpect to pay, cloathing and ſubſiſtance, were to be upon the ſame footing, with the other troops in the Britiſh ſervice. As an allurement to the private men, they were to receive a bounty of three guineas each, beſides payment, at the full value, for horſes, arms, and accoutrements; and as he had the appointment of the officers, he ſhould with infinite ſatisfaction embrace the opportunity of advancing men whoſe valour he had witneſſed. It was, however, expected, that they ſhould either bring in, or recruit in a reaſonable time, a certain number of men in proportion to their rank.

Great as theſe encouragements, he ſaid, muſt appear, to thoſe who had ſuffered every diſtreſs, of want, of pay, hunger, and nakedneſs, from the neglect, contempt, and corruption of Congreſs, they were nothing to the motives which, he expected, would influence their brave and generous minds. He wiſhed to lead a choſen band of Americans, to the attainment of peace, liberty, and ſafety, and with them to ſhare in the glory of reſcuing their native country from the graſping hand of France, as well as from the ambitious and intereſted views of a deſperate party among themſelves, who had already brought the colonies to the very brink of deſtruction. Could they now want evidence, that the funds of their country were either exhauſted, or that the managers had applied them to their own private uſes? And, in either caſe, could they any longer continue in their ſervice with honour or advantage? The tyranny of their rulers, had robbed them of their property, impriſoned their perſons, drags them to the field of battle, and is daily deluging their country with their blood.

He aſked, what America was now, but a land of widows, orphans, and beggars? Even their laſt ſtake, religion, he repreſented to be in ſuch danger, as to have no other ſecurity, than what depended upon the exertions of the parent country for their deliverance. In proof, or illuſtration of this, he aſſerted a fact upon his own knowledge; viz. That he had lately ſeen their mean and profligate Congreſs at maſs, for the ſoul of a Roman Catholic in purgatory, and participating in the rites of a church, againſt whoſe anti-chriſtian corruptions, their pious anceſtors would have witneſſed with their blood.

On this the writers in the American papers remarked, that no other man in America, had ever paid ſo marked an attention to, or ever entered into ſuch cloſe habits of intimacy and apparent friendſhip with the French agents, conſuls, and reſidents in that country, as he had uniformly done. That his fine houſe at Philadelphia was not only at all times devoted to their ſervice, but that he had maintained Monſ. Gerard, with his whole family and ſuite, for ſeveral weeks in it, in the moſt ſumptuous manner, until the Congreſs were able to provide one proper for his reception. And that his conſtant magnificence and expence, in concerts, balls, and entertainments, for the Gallican

ſtrangers,

ſtrangers, were in a ſtile far ſuperior to any thing of the ſort before known in that part of the world; ſo that the French themſelves conſidered him, as one of the warmeſt friends to their country on the whole continent. How far this is true, we are totally unable to determine. According to our cuſtom, we fairly ſtate the repreſentations on both ſides; and laying facts together, we do our beſt to enable the reader to judge of the true condition of America, and the value of our expectations from the ſtate of parties there.

The only public notice taken of Arnold's defection, on the ſide of America, was a proclamation iſſued by the executive power of the ſtate in Pennſylvania, wherein his name was placed at the head of a liſt of ten ſuppoſed traitors, and of whom five were no higher than the rank of yeomen; who were all ſummoned to ſurrender by a given day, in order to abide trial for the treaſons wherewith they were charged; or, in caſe of failure, to be ſubjected to all the pains, penalties, and forfeitures, of high treaſon.

However diſappointed by the failure of Gen. Arnold's original deſign, and of his ſubſequent proclamations, hopes were ſtill entertained of the diſſentions and diſtreſſes which prevailed in the revolted provinces; and which theſe proclamations appear by no means to have exaggerated. The depreciation of their paper currency was arrived at its ultimate pitch, and it produced all its natural conſequences. Some of the earlier emiſſions of that currency fell infinitely below their nominal value; that is, one hundred ſilver dollars produced as much value at market, as eight or ten thouſand paper ones. And even the later emiſſions, or thoſe which were moſt valued, had fallen at the rate of forty to one. At the ſame time, that the circumſtances of the war had raiſed the price of all foreign commodities, and of many of the moſt eſſential articles, to the moſt enormous pitch. Without ſuppoſing very much of mal-adminiſtration, we muſt ſuppoſe ſuch a depreciation the inevitable conſequence of vaſt paper emiſſions, without an adequate money fund to give them ſtrength, and currency.

This particularly affected, and was indeed exceedingly ruinous to the American officers; for although the ſoldiers were ill clad, and otherwiſe greatly diſtreſſed, they were, however, on the whole, well ſupplied with proviſions. But many, if not moſt of the officers, had been under a neceſſity of mortgaging their ſmall eſtates, to the utmoſt which they could raiſe upon them, in order to ſupport the enormous expences of the ſervice. Theſe grievances they had long and repeatedly remonſtrated upon, both to the Congreſs, and to the governments of their reſpective ſtates; nor were the complaints confined to ſubalterns, but proceeded equally from the field and general officers. After long waiting, with moſt aſtoniſhing patience, the iſſue of hopes and promiſes which were never realized, it was at length ſo much exhauſted, and their wants became ſo urgent, that a great number of the officers were upon the point of throwing up their commiſſions, and ſaid they muſt preſerve themſelves from

utter ruin, by returning to the care and management of their eſtates and private affairs. That they had hitherto freely ſpent their blood, and dedicated their lives to the defence of their country; but that it would be moſt unreaſonable to expect that they alone, of all the members of the community, ſhould be likewiſe deſtined to the ſacrifice of their whole private fortunes for its ſervice.

It may then be well conſidered as a ſingular circumſtance, in this ſtate of great diſcontent, and of no leſs real grievance, that ſuch vaſt offers held out to them, ſhould not have produced ſome very conſiderable effect in the American army. And yet, the matter of fact is, that the example of a man of the higheſt military fame amongſt them, ſo far from being the means of bringing over, even any ſmall body or detachment of troops, does not ſeem to be fairly chargeable with the deſertion of a ſingle ſoldier, much leſs of an officer. It may not be eaſy to trace many inſtances in hiſtory, of an ill paid, and in every reſpect ill provided army, however veteran in ſervice, and elated by former ſucceſs, and however knit together by many bands of union here wanting, which could have been proof to ſuch a trial and temptation.

CHAP. IV.

War in South Carolina. State of affairs after the battle of Camden. Inaction cauſed by the ſickly ſeaſon. Sequeſtration of eſtates. Col. Ferguſon defeated and killed on the King's Mountain. Gen. Sumpter routed by Col Tarleton. Brig. Gen. Leſſie ſent on an expedition from New York to the Cheſapeak. Proceeds to Charles Town, and joins Lord Cornwallis. Gen. Greene arrives in North Carolina, and takes the command of the Southern American army. Colonel Tarleton diſpatched to oppoſe General Morgan, who advances on the ſide of Ninety-Six. Tarleton defeated with great loſs. Unfortunate conſequences of the deſtruction of the light troops under Ferguſon and Tarleton. Lord Cornwallis enters North Carolina by the upper roads. Leaves Lord Rawdon with a conſiderable force at Camden, to reſtrain the commotions in South Carolina. Vigorous but ineffectual purſuit of Morgan. Deſtruction of the baggage in the Britiſh army. Admirable temper of the troops. Maſterly movements by Lord Cornwallis for paſſing the Catawba. General Williamſon killed, and his party routed. Militia ſurpriſed and routed by Tarleton. Rapid purſuits of Morgan, who notwithſtanding paſſes the Yadkin, and ſecures the boats on the other ſide. Britiſh army marches to Saliſbury; from whence Lord Cornwallis proceeds with the utmoſt expedition to ſeize the fords on the river Dan, and thereby cut Greene off from Virginia. Succeeds in gaining the fords. Rapid purſuit of the American army. Their eſcape, by unexpectedly paſſing the Roanoke. Extraordinary exertions and hardſhips of the Britiſh army. Proceeds to Hillſborough. Expedition from Charles

Charles Town to Cape Fear River. Wilmington taken, and made a place of arms and ſupply. Gen Greene, being reinforced, returns from Virginia; and the Britiſh army marches to Allemance Creek. Skirmiſh between Tarleton's corps, and Lee's legion. Greene falls back to the Reedy Fork. Strange defect of intelligence, experienced by the Britiſh general in North Carolina. American army being farther reinforced, Gen. Greene again advances. Movements on both ſides, preparatory to the battle of Guildford. Account of that ſevere and well-fought action. Britiſh officers killed and wounded. Col. Webſter dies of his wound. Gen Greene retires to the Iron Works on Troubleſome Creek. Lord Cornwallis obliged to march to the Deep River, through the want of proviſions and forage. Neceſſities and diſtreſſes of the army oblige Lord Cornwallis to proceed to Wilmington for ſupplies. Unuſual conſequences of victory.

DURING theſe tranſactions on the ſide of New York, the exceſſive heats, and great unhealthineſs of the ſeaſon in South Carolina, had laid an inſuperable reſtraint upon the arms and activity of Lord Cornwallis, for no ſmall time after the battle of Camden. In the mean time he iſſued a proclamation for ſequeſtering the eſtates of thoſe perſons within the province, who were either actually in arms with the enemy, who had abandoned their plantations with a view of joining or ſupporting them, or who, by an open avowal of rebellious principles, and other criminal acts, ſhould manifeſt a deſperate perſeverance in oppoſing the re-eſtabliſhment of his majeſty's government. To give effect to this purpoſe, he appointed a commiſſioner to take poſſeſſion of ſuch eſtates and property, the annual product of which, excepting the part allotted for the maintenance of the families of thoſe defaulters and abſentees, was to be applied to the public ſervice, in contributing to defray the expences of the war.

Sept. 16th, 1708.

During this ſickly ſeaſon, by which the army, notwithſtanding its ceſſation from toil, was much affected, Lord Cornwallis had diſpatched Col. Ferguſon, with his own corps of light infantry, and a body of militia, likewiſe of his training, which was attached to it, to make incurſions on the borders of North Carolina. If no great matter was expected from this expedition, yet, as he was neither incumbered with baggage or artillery, and that his troops were particularly diſtinguiſhed by their activity and alertneſs, as little danger ſeemed to be hazarded in the experiment with a broken and diſpirited enemy; and misfortune was farther guarded againſt by the inſtructions give to the commander, immediately to return upon the apprehenſion of any ſuperior force; though, in fact, none ſuch was reaſonably to be expected. There were ſeveral ſufficient motives for this expedition. For beſides, that the nature of that ſort of troops, requires their being kept in almoſt continual motion and action, it ſeemed neceſſary to keep the war alive in ſome degree upon the frontier; as well to check the confidence of the

enemy, as to prevent the ſpirits of the loyaliſts in that province (where there were many more of the deſcription than in any other) from ſinking under the unavoidable delay and ſlow movement of the army.

Ferguſon was tempted to ſtay longer in the mountainous country which partly borders on, and partly forms a part of, Tryon county in North Carolina, than was abſolutely neceſſary, under the hope of cutting off a Col. Clarke, who was returning with his detachment from an expedition into Georgia; and was the more encouraged in this delay, from his not having an idea that there was any force in the country at all able to look him in the face. A numerous, fierce, and unexpected enemy, however, ſuddenly ſprung up in the depth of the deſerts. The ſcattered inhabitants of the mountains aſſembled without noiſe or warning under the conduct of ſix or ſeven of their militia colonels, to the number of 1600, daring, well mounted, and excellent horſemen.

Col. Ferguſon had already received orders from Lord Cornwallis for his return, and was on his way to paſs the Catawba for that purpoſe. But diſcovering, as he croſſed the King's Mountain, that he was eagerly purſued by a thick cloud of cavalry, he took the beſt poſition for receiving them which time and the place would admit of; and which happened to be by no means a bad one. But his men being neither covered by horſe nor artillery, and being likewiſe diſmayed and aſtoniſhed, at finding themſelves ſo unexpectedly ſurrounded and attacked on every ſide by this cavalry, were not at all capable of withſtanding the impetuoſity of their charge. A total rout enſued. The colonel, with 150 of his men, were killed upon the ſpot; about the ſame number were wounded; and the priſoners, including the latter, exceeded 800. The Americans ſay they took 1500 ſtand of arms; and ſtate Ferguſon's force at 1400 men.

The fall of this officer, who poſſeſſed very diſtinguiſhed talents as a partizan, and in the conduct of irregular warfare, was, independently even of his detachment, no ſmall loſs to the ſervice. He was perhaps the beſt markſman living; and probably brought the art of rifle ſhooting to its higheſt point of perfection. He even invented a gun of that kind upon a new conſtruction, which was ſaid to have far exceeded in facility and execution any thing of the ſort before known; and he is ſaid to have greatly outdone even the American Indians, in the adroitneſs and quickneſs of firing and loading, and in the certainty of hitting the mark, lying upon the back, or belly, and in every other poſſible poſition of the body. It is not certain, that theſe improvements produced all the effect in real ſervice, which had been expected from thoſe aſtoniſhing ſpecimens of them that were diſplayed in England. Humanity cannot, however, but wiſh that this barbarous mode of hoſtility was, by univerſal conſent, baniſhed from the warfare of all nations. It has been reported that General Waſhington owed his life at the battle of Germantown to this gentleman's total ignorance of his perſon; as he had him ſufficiently within

within reach and view during that action for the purpoſe.

This was the firſt reverſe of fortune which Earl Cornwallis had experienced in his military career; but ſhe ſeemed now to take vengeance for the delay; for the ſtate of his force, and the nature of the war conſidered, few things could have been more peculiarly unlucky in the preſent juncture. It was, however, in ſome degree apparently recompenced, by the ſevere blow which Sumpter, not long after, received from Col. Tarleton.

Gen. Sumpter having raiſed about a thouſand men, advanced towards Ninety-Six, with a view of attacking ſome of the poſts in that neighbourhood, if not the place itſelf. Tarleton was then at ſuch a diſtance, as afforded no room for apprehenſion of him, until, at leaſt, ſome conſiderable part of the buſineſs was effected; but his motions were ſo ſudden and unexpected, and he paſſed the Wateree, and the Broad River with ſuch rapidity, that he had nearly ſurprized his too ſecure enemy on the South banks of the Ennoree, before he had the ſmalleſt apprehenſion of his danger. This being, however, prevented, by the lucky information of a deſerter, Sumpter had barely time to paſs that river with the utmoſt precipitation; but could not ſave his rear-guard from being cut to pieces.

He continued his flight to the River Tyger, and was purſued by Tarleton, with the cavalry of his legion, and the 63d regiment mounted on horſeback, with the utmoſt rapidity; the infantry of the legion, with the artillery, conſiſting of a ſingle three-pounder, being ſeveral miles behind. Sumpter perceiving the danger of attempting to croſs the Tyger, with an enemy, fluſhed with ſucceſs, cloſe upon his rear, and having alſo received intelligence that Tarleton had come forward without his infantry, he took a ſtrong poſition at a place called Black Stocks, a little ſhort of the river, and confiding in his own ſuperiority of number, determined to ſtand his attack. This Tarleton did not then intend; for he only wanted to interrupt the flight of the enemy, and keep them in play, until he was joined by the rear; but the eager coming up of the 63d, and their being inſtantly attacked as they threw themſelves from their horſes, obliged him, at no ſmall hazard, to put all at the iſſue, and to fall on directly with his cavalry. Notwithſtanding the cover of ſome log houſes, and the natural advantages of the place, the enemy were driven from their ſtrong poſt, and forced to paſs the river in the utmoſt diſorder.

The Americans loſt about 120 men, killed, wounded, or taken. Three of their colonels were among the ſlain, and Sumpter himſelf was dangerouſly wounded. They were certainly fortunate in bringing on the action before the arrival of the rear, as the whole party muſt otherwiſe have been inevitably cut off. Of the Britiſh troops above fifty were killed or wounded; among the former were ſome promiſing and gallant young officers. Tarleton purſued the blow, as ſoon as he had provided for the wounded; and croſſing the river, did not

quit the purſuit until he had entirely diſperſed Sumpter's corps.

It has perhaps produced no ſmall effect on the fortune of the American war, that every conſiderable ſucceſs obtained in its progreſs, has been eagerly conſidered at home as deciſive and final, at leaſt with reſpect to that quarter or part of the continent where the advantage was gained, if not to the whole. Nor has repeated experience of the miſchief of ſuch confidence, been able to prevent its revival when any new occaſion was offered.

The victory at Camden ſeems to have been conſidered, even in America, as deciſive with reſpect to the ſouthern colonies; and no obſtacle ſeems to have been underſtood in Lord Cornwallis's way from thence to the Cheſapeak. North Carolina was only conſidered as the road to Virginia; the determined reſiſtance, and the oppoſition in every inſtance of the inhabitants, do not appear to have been any more thought of, than the unconquerable diſaffection of thoſe in South Carolina. It muſt have been under theſe perſuaſions, that the commander in chief at New York, diſpatched Brig. Gen. Leſlie, with a corps of near 3000 choice troops, about the middle of October, to the Cheſapeak, in order to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis's operations in Virginia. It was likewiſe farther in view, that Leſlie, with the aid of the marine by which he was convoyed, might, by taking proper ſtations towards the head of the Cheſapeak, or in the vaſt rivers which fall into it, traverſe any ſuccours which were ſent from the northern army to the ſouthward. But in all caſes, he was to act entirely according to the orders which he ſhould receive from Lord Cornwallis.

The troops were landed at Portſmouth, and other neighbouring places in Virginia, where they found ſome tobacco and ſtores; but the veſſels which were ſeized in the harbours and rivers, were the moſt valuable part of the booty. This was, however, by no means an object to compenſate for the delay, which the expedition in the Cheſapeak, inſtead of proceeding directly to Charles-Town, neceſſarily occaſioned to the operations of the ſouthern army.

Lord Cornwallis being at too great a diſtance to profit of any operations upon the Cheſapeak, and it being impoſſible to form a junction with Leſlie's corps by that way, as ſoon as he had received advice from Sir Henry Clinton of the circumſtances, immediately diſpatched inſtructions to the fleet and troops, to proceed without delay to Charles-Town; where they arrived about the middle of December, and Leſlie found orders in waiting, that he ſhould immediately march with about 1500 of his men to join the army; the remainder, it ſeems, being deemed neceſſary, for the ſecurity of the capital, and the ſupport of the communications.

Towards the cloſe of the year, whilſt Lord Cornwallis was making every preparation for a vigorous irruption into North Carolina, Gen. Greene was ſent from the northern army by Waſhington, to take the command of the ſouthern; Gates being now entirely retired; but, as we have here-

heretofore obſerved, not only without any mark of cenſure, but with an honourable teſtimonial of his zeal and ſervices from the aſſembly of Virginia. Greene ſtands ſo high with the Americans as an officer, that he holds the next place to Waſhington in their military eſtimation; and, what does not always happen in ſuch caſes, is at the ſame time the great favourite of that commander. He brought no troops from the northern army; depending upon the reſources of the ſouthern colonies for their own defence; but was accompanied by Col. Morgan, a brave and diſtinguiſhed partizan, who had commanded thoſe riflemen in the northern war, that, beſides being fatal to many brave officers, became ſo terrible to the Indians under Gen. Burgoyne, and were ſo far ſuperior to them in their own way, that, to uſe his own expreſſive words, they could not be brought within the ſound of a rifle ſhot.

Early in the new year of 1781, Lord Cornwallis advanced with the army towards the borders, keeping his courſe between the broad, and the Catawba rivers, until he arrived at a water, called Turkey Creek, which falls into the former. Greene had by this time aſſembled his principal force in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina. In order to impede the progreſs of the royal army, which he was yet in no condition to encounter in the field, he thought it neceſſary to make a diverſion on their left; and for that purpoſe, an attack was made upon the important, and now far from weak poſt of Ninety-Six; while to favour and ſupport the diverſion, Morgan advanced, with about 500 regular troops (moſtly belonging to Virginia), and ſome hundreds of militia, with a detachment of one hundred cavalry, under Col. Waſhington, upon the Pacolet river.

Tarleton was already on that ſide, with the legion, conſiſting of about 300 cavalry, and as many infantry, with the firſt battalion of the 71ſt, which was now annexed to it, and one three-pounder; and being joined by the 7th regiment, which was marching with another three-pounder to the relief of Ninety-Six, he received inſtructions from the commander in chief, to ſtrike a blow, if poſſible, at Gen. Morgan; but at all events, to oblige him to paſs the Broad River, and thereby prevent all future embarraſſment on that ſide. Morgan retreated, and Tarleton purſued; a ſtate of things, which naturally increaſes confidence and ardour on the one ſide, and generally depreſſes them on the other. Morgan at length found his enemy ſo cloſe upon him, that he could not paſs the Broad River, eſpecially as the waters were exceedingly out, without expoſing his troops to greater danger, than he thought he ſhould hazard by an encounter. He accordingly, without heſitation, determined at once upon the part which he ſhould take; and chooſing his ground, boldly prepared for battle.

Tarleton came up with his enemy at eight in the morning, Jan. 18th. 1781. and nothing could appear more inviting than the proſpect before him. They were drawn up on the edge of an open wood without

defences; and though their numbers might have been ſomewhat ſuperior to his own, the quality of the troops was ſo different as not to admit a doubt of ſucceſs; which was ſtill farther confirmed by his great ſuperiority in cavalry; ſo that every thing ſeemed to indicate a more complete victory. His line of attack was compoſed of the 7th regiment, with the foot of the legion, and the corps of light infantry annexed to it; a troop of cavalry covered each flank. The firſt battalion of the 71ſt, and the remainder of the cavalry, formed a ſecond line.

Morgan ſhewed uncommon ability and judgment in the diſpoſition of his force. Seven hundred militia, on whom he placed no great confidence, were expoſed to open view, as we have ſeen, in the firſt line, on the edge of the wood; but the ſecond, compoſed of the continental and Virginia troops, was out of ſight in the wood; where they were drawn up in excellent order, and prepared for all events.

The militia were little capable of ſuſtaining the impetuoſity of their aſſailants; and were ſoon broken, routed, and ſcattered on all ſides. It is not to be wondered at, that thoſe troops who had been ſo long uſed to carry every thing before them, almoſt without reſiſtance, now meeting with the uſual facility, ſhould at once conclude the day to be their own, and purſue the fugitives with the utmoſt rapidity. In the mean time, the ſecond line having opened on the right and left in the wood, as well to lead the victors on, as to afford a clear paſſage for the fugitives, as ſoon as the former were far enough advanced, poured in a cloſe and deadly fire on both ſides, which took the moſt fatal effect. The ground was, in an inſtant, covered with the killed and wounded; and thoſe brave troops who had been ſo long inured to conquer, were, by this ſevere and unthought-of check, thrown into irremediable diſorder and confuſion.

A total defeat was the immediate conſequence. The 7th regiment loſt their colours; and the brave men of the royal artillery, who attended the two pieces of cannon, with the characteriſtic intrepidity and magnanimity of their corps, ſcorning either to abandon or ſurrender their guns, were cut to pieces by them. The loſs every way, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, exceeded 400 men. Tarleton, in the midſt of defeat, exhibited a trait of his character and ſpirit. When all was loſt, he notwithſtanding rallied a part of his routed cavalry, who were ſtill aſhamed to abandon an officer who had ſo often led them to victory; with theſe, he unexpectedly charged and repulſed Waſhington's horſe; and had the fortune of retaking the baggage, the ſlender guard in whoſe cuſtody it was left being cut to pieces. This, however, from the impoſſibility of carrying it off, he was obliged moſtly to deſtroy.

This blow, coming ſo cloſely upon that at the King's Mountain, produced effects worſe than could have been feared from ſuch partial diſaſters. Indeed they ſeemed ſeriouſly to have influenced all the ſubſequent operations of the war, and deeply affected its general fortune. The loſs of the light

light troops, eſpecially of the cavalry, could ſcarcely be repaired; and the nature of the war, rendered this ſort of force one of its moſt effectual arms.

It was the more grievous to Lord Cornwallis, from its being one of thoſe unexpected events, which as it could neither be foreſeen nor apprehended, no wiſdom could poſſibly provide againſt. Moſt of the troops that were now defeated, had been much diſtinguiſhed, and conſtantly ſucceſsful. It is not even clear that there was any diſparity in point of number; and if there had, from long and confirmed experience, it could not have been a matter of much conſideration. Nor was it even to be ſuppoſed, that Morgan would in any poſſible circumſtance have ventured an engagement; for Greene had already, upon the advance of Lord Cornwallis, abandoned Mecklenburgh county, and retired to the eaſtern ſide of the Pedee; which increaſed the diſtance ſo much, that his retreat, under the conſequences of an action, ſeemed extremely hazardous.

The plan adopted by Lord Cornwallis for the winter campaign, was to advance to North Carolina, by the upper, inſtead of the lower roads, or in other words, to make his way on the weſtern ſide, inſtead of keeping the central courſe through both provinces. Among other motives for this choice, was the hope of cutting Morgan off, or if that failed, at any rate to drive him entirely out of South Carolina, and thereby to relieve Ninety-ſix, and all that ſide, from trouble and danger while he puſhed forward. Another motive not leſs cogent for taking the upper road was, that it kept nearer the heads of the rivers, and accordingly led to the fords, which generally lie above their forks; whereas the great rivers were at that ſeaſon, nearly, if not entirely impaſſable below the forks, which was the courſe that the lower road took.

The objects in view with Lord Cornwallis were, by rapid marches, to get between Gen. Greene and Virginia, and by cutting off his reinforcements from that country, either reduce him to a neceſſity of fighting with his preſent force, or of giving up the cauſe altogether, by abandoning North Carolina with precipitation and diſgrace. In either caſe, as he had no doubt of ſucceſs in the former, an opportunity would be afforded, and encouragement given to the loyaliſts, to fulfil their promiſes of a general riſing, in order to aſſiſt in the re-eſtabliſhment of the Britiſh government. In this flattering ſtate of things, government being eſtabliſhed, and the province competent to the maintenance of its own internal ſecurity, it would likewiſe prove the means of ſecuring the tranquillity of South Carolina. And thus every thing being ſecured behind, he might then well look forward, with the warmeſt hopes, and with every proſpect of advantage, to the proſecution of his intended operations in Virginia, Maryland, and even ſtill farther northward.

Lord Cornwallis was not leſs attentive to the ſecurity of South Carolina during his abſence, than he was to the providing for the active operations of the army under his own immediate command.

For

For this purpoſe, beſides the ſtationary force at Charles-Town, he left a conſiderable body of troops under the conduct of Lord Rawdon; whoſe central ſituation at Camden, was equally calculated to repreſs the inſurgents within the province, and to maintain the frontiers. A meaſure indeed that greatly leſſened his active force, already too much weakened by the late loſſes; but which the ſituation of affairs rendered indiſpenſably neceſſary. For Green's ſituation, hanging with his force upon the eaſtern banks of the Pedee, whoſe waters covered him from all near danger, would have afforded him ſuch a command of a great part of the ſouthern frontier, when the main army had puſhed on to the northward, as would have endangered, at leaſt, all the eaſtern ſide of the province, without ſuch a check as was now provided. And to this was to be added, that South Carolina itſelf was ſtill torn to pieces by internal commotions, which indeed ſeemed rather to increaſe than to leſſen with loſs and defeat; and that, as Sumpter, Marion, and their other leaders, had now made it a rule to mount all their adherents, and to act entirely on horſeback; it became a matter of no ſmall difficulty, either to repreſs or to puniſh their irruptions.

Lord Cornwallis, with his uſual alertneſs, immediately diſpatched a part of the army, unincumbered with baggage, in the hope of intercepting Morgan, or at leaſt of recovering the priſoners; while he ſtaid behind a day with the remainder, for the purpoſe of collecting the remains of Tarleton's corps. Nothing could exceed the exertions made by the purſuing troops; but ſuch was the celerity of the enemy, and ſuch the difficulties they encountered, from violent and continual rains, and the conſequent ſwelling of the numberleſs creeks in their way, that all their efforts were fruitleſs; and Morgan had gained the upper fords on the Catawba, before they could poſſibly reach them.

Upon the failure of intercepting Morgan, the army was aſſembled on the 25th of January, at Ramſoure's Mills, on the ſouth fork of the Catawba. And as the loſs of the light troops could only be remedied by the general activity of the whole army, Lord Cornwallis ſpent two days in the deſtruction of all the ſuperfluous baggage, and of every thing whatever, which could retard the celerity of the troops, and which was not abſolutely neceſſary to their exiſtence or action. Upon this principle, all the waggons, excepting thoſe loaded with hoſpital ſtores, ſalt, or ammunition, and four empty ones, reſerved for the ſick or wounded, were deſtroyed. The temper with which they ſubmitted not only to this, but to a number of other unuſual trials and hardſhips, does infinite honour to every part of that army. They beheld the deſtruction of their moſt valuable, and even much of their moſt neceſſary baggage; they beheld their ſpirituous liquors ſtaved, at a ſeaſon when it would be moſt wanted, and upon the entrance of a ſervice, which cut off every proſpect and hope of a future ſupply; and the moderate pittance of flour, which they were able to procure and to carry along with them, was their only certain reſource for ſubſiſtence;

ence; yet theſe difficulties and evils, new and ſtrange as they were, were ſubmitted to with the moſt general and chearful acquieſcence. It ſeemed indeed the leſs irkſome, as the example was ſet by the commander in chief himſelf with the utmoſt rigour. It was a new phenomenon in a modern army, to behold the general's quarters incapable of affording a glaſs of wine, or of any kind of ſtrong liquor, and his table as deſtitute of any thing orderly or comfortable, and even of furniture, as the common ſoldier's.

The north fork of the Catawba had been rendered impaſſable for ſeveral days by the rains; and all the fords for more than forty miles above the fork, were beſides vigilantly guarded by detachments of the enemy; compoſed not only of Morgan's corps, but of the militia of the two neighbouring counties of Rowen and Mecklenburg (both of which were peculiarly inimical to the royal cauſe), under the conduct of a General Davidſon. Lord Cornwallis approached the river by ſhort marches during its height, and by ſeveral movements and feints, which indicated a deſign of forcing his way at different fords before they were yet paſſable, endeavoured to divide and diſtract the attention of the enemy. In the mean time, he ſpared no pains to procure all poſſible information, as well of the nature of the river, and of the country on the other ſide, as of the ſtate and condition of the enemy. His plan being ſettled, and the waters ſomewhat fallen, he detached Colonel Webſter, with a part of the army, and all the remaining baggage, to a ford called Beattie's, which lies ſix miles higher up the river, than another principal ford, which is known by the name of M'Cowens. General Davidſon, was ſuppoſed to be poſted with 500 militia at Beattie's; and Webſter had inſtructions to make every poſſible demonſtration, as well by cannonading as by manœuvres, of his determination to force a paſſage at that ford.

While Webſter was gone upon this ſervice, Lord Cornwallis with the remainder of the army, conſiſting of the brigade of guards, the regiment of Boſe, the 23d, 200 cavalry, and two three-pounders, began his march about one in the morning, to a private ford, about a mile from M'Cowen's, which was the real object of attempt. The morning being very dark and rainy, and part of their way being thro' a wood where there was no road, the artillery were ſo embarraſſed in a ſwamp, that the line of march was puſhed on to the ford without them; where the head of the column arrived juſt at the opening of the day. The general ſoon perceived, by the number of fires on the other ſide, that the ford was much better guarded, and the oppoſition would conſequently be greater than he expected. This rendered the delay of the artillery the more vexatious. But as he knew that the rain then falling would ſoon render the river impaſſable, and had before received intelligence, that Greene was on full march from the Pedee, with his whole force, to join Morgan, he ſaw that ſomething muſt neceſſarily be hazarded at the preſent, Feb. 1ſt.

to

to avoid greater future difficulties; and being likewiſe full of confidence in the zeal and gallantry of Brig. General O'Hara, and of the brigade of guards under his command, which formed the head of the column, he determined on the attempt; and directly ordered them to march on through the river, and, to prevent confuſion, charged them not to fire, until they had gained the oppoſite bank.

The guards, and their commander, fully juſtified the high opinion which Lord Cornwallis had entertained of them. The terrors and difficulties of an untried river, upwards of five hundred yards wide, with a ſtrong current, a rocky bottom, water up to the middle, and expoſed through the whole paſſage, to the deliberate aim, and continual fire of the enemy, were equally incapable of making any impreſſion on their cool and determined valour, and of, in any degree, affecting the excellency of their diſcipline. The light infantry of the guards, being the firſt that were landed, inſtantly formed, and in a few minutes killed or diſperſed every thing that appeared before them. Gen. Davidſon, who unexpectedly, and for himſelf unfortunately, had arrived at this poſt, with 300 militia on the preceding evening, was, with ſome other officers, found among the ſlain. Colonel Hall of the guards was the only officer who fell on the Britiſh ſide; and though a good many private men were wounded, yet the loſs in every reſpect would appear incredibly ſmall to thoſe, who are not accuſtomed to conſider the prodigious difference between real and eſtimated danger, in many parts of military action.

In the mean time, the rear of the column being come up, and the whole paſſed with the utmoſt expedition over the river, Colonel Tarleton was diſpatched with the cavalry, ſupported by the 23d regiment, in purſuit of the fugitives, and likewiſe to ſcour and examine the country. Having received intelligence from the priſoners, that three or four hundred of the militia were to aſſemble that day at a place about ten miles diſtant, he eagerly ſeized that opportunity, as well of avenging, as of effacing the memory of the late diſaſter. He therefore, immediately quitting the infantry, proceeded thither at the head of his cavalry with the utmoſt expedition; his arrival being ſo ſudden and unexpected, that a complete ſurprize, great execution, and total diſperſion, were almoſt the inſtantaneous conſequences. This ſevere ſtroke, along with the preceding defeat at the ford, had ſuch an effect upon the militia, who had hitherto only heard of the rigours and dangers of war, that they not only immediately abandoned all their poſts on the river, but were ſo totally cowed and diſpirited, that they did not once after, in any manner, make the ſmalleſt attempt to interrupt the progreſs of the army in its march to the Yadkin, although its courſe lay (to uſe Lord Cornwallis's own words) through one of the moſt rebellious tracts in America.

Though the enemy had abandoned Beattie's Ford, yet the continual fall of rain, and ſwelling of the river, had rendered the paſſage

ſage both tedious and difficult to Colonel Webſter. It was, however, at length accompliſhed towards the evening; and he was enabled to join the commander in chief, in ſome time after dark, at about ſix miles diſtance from the ford.

Intelligence being received, that Morgan had commenced a forced march in the afternoon, which it was afterwards found that he had continued through the night, to the northward, towards Saliſbury, the deſire of retaliating on that commander, was ſo ſtrong with the army, that they purſued him in the morning with the utmoſt ſpirit and vigour; hoping, notwithſtanding the diſtance he had gained, by dint of exertion, ſtill to overtake or intercept him while he was entangled among the rivers. But the difficulties of bad roads, bad weather, and ſwelled creeks, which they had to ſurmount, were ſo great and ſo numerous, that it could not poſſibly be done, with the effect that was wiſhed. Morgan had arrived at the trading fort on the Yadkin, in the night between the ſecond and third of February, and during the remainder of that, and in the courſe of the following day, had paſſed the body of his infantry, with the cavalry, and moſt of the waggons over the river; ſo that when the guards, by a courſe of the moſt ſtrenuous exertions, had come up in the evening, they could only rout and diſperſe his rear, and take the few remaining waggons.

Morgan having ſecured the boats on the other ſide, and the ford through which he had paſſed his waggons and cavalry being now rendered impaſſable by the ſudden riſe of the river, Lord Cornwallis determined to march to the upper fords, which, as we before obſerved, are generally paſſable; but he was under a neceſſity of making ſome ſhort delay by the way at Saliſbury, for the procuring of a haſty and ſcanty ſupply of proviſions. In the mean time he received intelligence, that Morgan had quitted the banks of the Yadkin, and that Greene was marching with the utmoſt diſpatch to form a junction with him at Guildford. The Britiſh commander knowing that Greene had not yet received his reinforcements from Virginia, nor even had time to collect the North Carolina militia, was ſenſible, that he would by all poſſible means avoid an engagement in the latter, and of courſe endeavour to make his way into the other, where his ſupport lay. To counteract this deſign was therefore his great object; and he accordingly endeavoured with the utmoſt diligence, and every degree of exertion, to get before him to the river Dan; for that river, and the Roanoke into which it falls, form the boundary between the two provinces; and by ſeizing the upper fords on the firſt, he hoped to reduce Greene to a neceſſity either of fighting, or of abandoning his communication with, and all hope of ſuccour from Virginia; while, in the latter caſe, he would run no ſmall riſque of being inextricably encloſed and hemmed in, between the great rivers on the weſt, the ſea on the eaſt, and the forces under the Lords Cornwallis and Rawdon, on the north and ſouth.

It was now a trial of diſpatch between both armies, which ſhould

firſt

firſt gain the northern frontier. The Britiſh ſucceeded, and cut Greene off from the upper fords; and Lord Cornwallis being aſſured, that the lower were impracticable, and that the country could not afford any number of boats, at all ſufficient for the paſſage of Greene's army, thought he could not now eſcape without a deciſive blow, and accordingly purſued him with the utmoſt expedition. This was, however, impeded by great and numerous difficulties. The intelligence to be obtained, was not only extremely defective, but ſeems to have been intendedly deluſive; the want of light troops was now ſeverely felt; and the enemy by their abundance of them, were enabled to break down all the bridges in the line of march, and to throw numberleſs other impediments in the way of the army. Upon their arrival at Boyd's Ferry, they diſcovered to their inexpreſſible grief and vexation, that all their toil and exertions had been vain, and that all their hopes were fruſtrated. The enemy had been furniſhed with boats ſufficient (in direct contradiction to all the intelligence received by the Britiſh general) to convey their whole army and baggage, on the preceding day and night, over the river.

Feb. 15th.

Nothing ever exceeded, except the vigour and perſeverance with which they were encountered and ſurmounted, the hardſhips, and difficulties, which the army endured in this long courſe of march, from Saliſbury to the Dan, and then in the purſuit of Greene to Boyd's Ferry. Their wants and diſtreſſes were not leſs than their toils and fatigues. They traverſed a country, which was alternately a wild and inhoſpitable foreſt, or inhabited by a people, who were at leaſt highly adverſe, however they might venture, or not, to be hoſtile. When to theſe we add all the poſſible incommodities, incident to bad roads, heavy rains, want of cover, and the continual wading through numberleſs deep creeks and rivers in the depth of winter, we ſhall ſtill form only very faint and inadequate ideas of the ſufferings which they endured.

The army being in no condition to venture the invaſion of ſo powerful a province as Virginia, in the preſent circumſtances, and North Carolina being in a ſtate of the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, Lord Cornwallis, after giving the troops a day's reſt, led them by eaſy marches to Hillſborough, where he erected the royal ſtandard, and iſſued a proclamation, inviting all loyal ſubjects to repair to it, and to take an active part in aſſiſting him to reſtore order and conſtitutional government in the colony.

During theſe tranſactions, Colonel Balfour, who commanded at Charles-Town, equipped a ſmall force for an expedition to Cape Fear River, not only to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis by a diverſion on that ſide, and by gaining poſſeſſion of Wilmington, but likewiſe to make that way a conveyance for the furniſhing his army with thoſe neceſſary ſupplies, which, in the preſent ſtate of the war, could ſcarcely be done in any other manner. Major Craig, with about 300 land forces, was diſpatched upon this ſervice towards the latter end of January; and the men were

were convoyed and ſupported by Capt. Barclay, in the Blonde frigate, with the Otter and Delight ſloops of war; the marine force and the troops, being equally partakers in the fortune of the enterprize.

Capt. Barclay landed all the marines, in order to ſupply the weakneſs of the land force, about nine miles ſhort of Wilmington; the inhabitants ſent a deputation to propoſe terms, which were not liſtened to; and the town being abandoned by its defenſive force, conſiſting of about 150 men, was taken without reſiſtance. The inhabitants delivered up their arms, were admitted to parole, and ſecured in their property. The Britiſh commanders being informed, that ſeveral veſſels loaded with proviſions, ammunition, and the effect of thoſe who were in arms, as well as of ſome Spaniards and French, who had lately ſettled at Cape Fear, had eſcaped up the north-eaſt branch of that river, purſued them both by land and water; four or five were accordingly taken, and ſome others burnt by the enemy. The batteries being cloſed in, and the works repaired or completed, Wilmington was made a poſt of ſome ſort of ſtrength, and continued for ſome little time to be of importance.

Lord Cornwallis being informed, that a conſiderable number of loyaliſts inhabited the country between the Haw and the Deep rivers, he diſpatched Col. Tarleton with the cavalry, and a ſmall body of infantry, to prevent any interruption in their aſſembling or moving. But it happened moſt unluckily, that a part of the enemy's light troops had entered the country on one ſide, at the very time that the Britiſh detachment entered it on another; and that they fell in with a body of about 200 of theſe people, who, under the conduct of a Colonel Pyle, were on their way to join the royal army at Hillſborough. Theſe unfortunate royaliſts, who had notice of Tarleton's approach, miſtaking the enemy for his detachment, and not being yet apprehenſive of the wiles and circumvention of war, ſuffered themſelves, without the ſmalleſt effort, to be encloſed and ſurrounded; when, without reſiſtance, and, it is ſaid, crying out for quarter, a number of them were moſt inhumanly put to the ſword!

In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis having received intelligence, that Greene being reinforced in Virginia had repaſſed the Dan, he thought it neceſſary to collect his force by recalling Tarleton; and forage and proviſions growing ſcarce in the neighbourhood of Hillſborough, and the poſition being too diſtant to afford countenance and protection to the well affected upon the advance of the enemy, he thought it expedient to make a movement to the Haw River, which he paſſed, and encamped near Allemance Creek; having puſhed Tarleton a few miles forward towards the Deep River, with the cavalry, the light company of the guards, and 150 of Webſter's brigade. Greene's light troops ſoon made their appearance; upon which Tarleton received orders to move forward, and, with proper precaution, to make what diſcovery

diſcovery he could of the motions and deſigns of the enemy.

March 2d. Tarleton had not advanced far when he fell in with a conſiderable corps of the enemy, whom he inſtantly attacked, and ſoon routed; but being ignorant of their force, how they were ſupported, and grown circumſpect from experience, he with great prudence reſtrained his ardour, and deſiſted from the purſuit. He ſoon learned from the priſoners, that thoſe he had defeated were the corps called Lee's legion, with three or four hundred Back Mountain men, and ſome militia, under a Colonel Preſton. He likewiſe diſcovered through the ſame intelligence, that Greene, with a part of his army, was at no great diſtance.

It appeared afterwards, though it does not ſeem to have been then known to the Britiſh general, that Greene had yet only received a part of the reinforcements he expected; and that a more conſiderable body were then on their way to join him from Virginia. This induced him to fall ſuddenly back to Thompſon's Houſe, near Boyd's Ford, on the Reedy Fork. It is remarkable, and deſerving of particular notice, that although this part of the country, where the army now was, was conſidered and diſtinguiſhed, as being peculiarly and zealouſly attached to the Britiſh cauſe and intereſt; and yet, that Lord Cornwallis ſhould have had occaſion pathetically to complain, that his ſituation was amongſt timid friends, and adjoining to inveterate rebels; and, that between them, he had been totally deſtitute of information; by which means, he loſt a very favourable opportunity of attacking the rebel army.

Though Greene had thus fallen back with his main body, he left his light troops and militia to forage and occupy the country in the front of the Britiſh army; and thoſe, in defiance of repeated examples, which might well have ſerved to keep them conſtantly alert and upon their guard, ſeeming totally to forget the ſort of enemy, to whoſe eye and obſervation they were expoſed, were diſperſed, and poſted careleſsly at ſeveral plantations, conſulting only their convenience, and the facility of ſubſiſtence. This ſituation induced Lord Cornwallis to put the army ſuddenly in motion; with a view, not only of beating up their quarters, and driving them in upon the army, but of attacking Greene himſelf, if any fair opportunity ſhould offer. He completely ſucceeded in the firſt part of his deſign; and at Weitzell's Mill, on the Reedy Fork, where they ventured to make a ſtand, the Back Mountain men, and ſome Virginia militia, ſuffered conſiderably; and the ſecond part only failed, through Greene's making a timely and precipitate retreat over the Haw River. 6th.

The vicinity of the fords on the Dan, which lay in the rear of the enemy, and the extreme difficulty of ſubſiſting the army, in the intermediate exhauſted country, rendered it in vain for the Britiſh general to purſue them over the Haw, under any hope of being able to force them to action. He thought therefore, the moſt eligible courſe which he could in the preſent

preſent ſtate of things purſue, was, by effectually covering their country, to afford the friends of the royal cauſe time and encouragement to aſſemble, and to join the army; keeping an eye at the ſame time to Cape Fear River; the communication with which it would ſoon become indiſpenſably neceſſary to open, through the grievous diſtreſſes of the army, which were now become nearly inſupportable, under the want of ſupplies of every ſpecies. He was, however, determined to fight the enemy in the mean time, if their army at all approached, under a full conviction, that nothing leſs than a clear and decided ſuperiority in arms, could anſwer the great purpoſe and end of their exceedingly toilſome and arduous winter campaign, which was to draw forth into action the ſuppoſed numerous loyaliſts who inhabited that province.

In purſuance of this plan, the army encamped, on the 13th of March, at the Quaker-Meeting-houſe, within the forks of the Deep River. On the following day, Lord Cornwallis was informed, that General Butler, with a body of North Carolina militia, together with the expected reinforcements from Virginia, had all joined Greene; this was accompanied with a very exaggerated repreſentation of his force, which was ſtated at no leſs than nine or ten thouſand men; and intelligence, which was conſiderably nearer the truth, that he was in full march to attack the Britiſh army. On the ſame evening he received authentic intelligence, that Greene had advanced to Guildford, which was only about twelve miles from the Britiſh camp.

Lord Cornwallis being now pretty well perſuaded that the enemy intended to venture an engagement, thought it neceſſary to ſend the waggons and baggage, under a ſtronger eſcort than he could well ſpare, to Bell's Mill, which was conſiderably lower down on the Deep River, in the heart of the well-affected country; and on the following morning, at day-break, he March 15. marched with the remainder of the army, either to meet the enemy on the way, or to attack them in their encampment. About four miles from Guildford, the advanced guard, under Col. Tarleton, fell in with Col. Lee's legion, and thoſe other light troops whom they had before engaged. Theſe Tarleton again attacked and routed; and the army continuing its march, ſoon diſcovered the enemy drawn up in order of battle, upon a riſing ground, about a mile and a half from Guildford Court-houſe. The light troops who had been defeated, having been ſeveral days entirely detached from Greene's army, the priſoners now taken could give no manner of account of the order, numbers, or diſpoſition of the enemy; and the country people, who were examined as to the nature of the ground, whether from ſtupidity or deſign, were ſo exceedingly inaccurate, if not unintelligible in their deſcriptions, as to afford very little ſatisfaction upon the ſubject. Indeed the difficulty of procuring intelligence, and the little reliance to be placed upon that

which was obtained, ſeem to be among the diſtinguiſhing features of the war in this province.

Under theſe embarraſſing circumſtances, the Britiſh General was obliged to adapt his diſpoſitions and meaſures, principally, to the apparent face of the country and diſpoſition of the enemy. The country in general preſented a wilderneſs, covered with tall woods, which were rendered intricate by ſhrubs and thick underbruſh; but which was interſperſed here and there, by a few ſcattered plantations and cleared fields. In the ſpace immediately between the head of the column and the enemy, was a conſiderable plantation, one large field of which was on the left hand of the line of march, and two others, with a wood, of about two hundred yards broad, lying between them, was on the right of it; and beyond theſe fields, the wood continued for ſeveral miles to the right. In the front, beyond the plantation, was another wood, of about a mile in depth; and its back opened into an extenſive ſpace of cleared ground which ſurrounded Guildford Court-houſe. The woods on the right and left were reported to be impracticable for cannon: the enemy's firſt line appeared drawn up on the ſkirts of that in the front.

The wood on the right, appearing to be ſomewhat more open than its oppoſite, induced Lord Cornwallis to direct his attack againſt the enemy's left wing; and the artillery were brought up the road to cannonade their center, whilſt he was making his diſpoſitions in the following order. On the right, the Heſſian regiment of Boſe, with the 71ſt Britiſh, were led by Major-General Leſlie, and ſupported by the firſt battalion of guards. On the left, the 23d and 33d regiments were led by Col. Webſter, and ſupported by the grenadiers, and the ſecond battalion of guards, under the conduct of Brigadier-General O'Hara. The German yagers, with the light infantry of the guards, remained in the wood, on the left of the guns; and the cavalry, under Col. Tarleton, were drawn up in the road, in readineſs to act as circumſtances might require.

Gen. Greene's army was drawn up in three lines; the front line, which was only in ſight, was compoſed of the two North Carolina brigades of militia, under their own Generals Butler and Eaton. The ſecond line, drawn up at a proper diſtance in the wood, was compoſed of two brigades of Virginia militia, commanded by the Generals Stephens and Lawſon. But the hope and main ſtrength of the army, was placed in the third line, which conſiſted of two brigades of Virginia and Maryland continental (or regular) troops, under the conduct of Gen. Huger and Col. Williams. Col. Waſhington, with his dragoons, a detachment of continental light infantry, and Lynch's regiment of riflemen, formed a ſeparate corps to cover the right flank; and Col. Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and Campbell's riflemen, were appointed to cover the left.

It is probable that Greene's whole force did not fall much, if any thing, ſhort of 6000 men; and it ſeems as probable, from the long ſervice they had gone through, and the conſequent thinneſs of the batta-

battalions, as well as from other preceding and ſubſequent circumſtances, that Lord Cornwallis's forces could ſcarcely exceed a third of that number. The accounts publiſhed at the time, on either ſide, being always calculated to make certain impreſſions, and to anſwer immediate purpoſes, can never afford a clue to accurate eſtimate in ſuch caſes. The ſimilarity between Greene's diſpoſitions on this day, and thoſe which had lately ſucceeded ſo well with Morgan, cannot fail of ſtriking every one who attentively conſiders both; the reſemblance will likewiſe appear in ſome parts of the action, as well as in the plan or deſign.

The action began about half an hour paſt one o'clock in the afternoon; when Major-General Leſlie found himſelf ſo much out-flanked by the enemy's left, that he was obliged to bring the firſt battalion of guards forward into the line, to the right of the regiment of Boſe; after which he was not long in defeating every thing that yet appeared before him. At the ſame time, Colonel Webſter, who advanced with equal vigour on Leſlie's left, was no leſs ſucceſsful in his front; but finding that the 33d was expoſed to a very heavy fire from the enemy's right wing, he ſuddenly and judiciouſly changed his front to the left, and being ſupported by the yagers, and light infantry of the guards, attacked and routed them on that ſide; while the grenadiers, and ſecond battalion of guards, moved forward to occupy the ground in the center, which he had juſt quitted.

All the infantry being now in the line, Col. Tarleton was directed to keep his cavalry entire and compact, and not to charge by any means without orders, excepting only the moſt evident neceſſity of protecting ſome corps from defeat or ruin. In fact, notwithſtanding this beginning ſucceſs, all the ſeverity and danger of the action was yet to come. For, although the North Carolina militia, in the firſt line, had ſhamefully abandoned their poſt, and ran away, without at all ſtanding the conflict; the Virgnia militia, in the ſecond line, were by no means influenced by their example; they, on the contrary, ſtood their ground for a conſiderable time, and fought with great reſolution; and when they were at length broken, and driven back upon the continental troops in the third line, the battle then became only the more arduous and doubtful. It was indeed an action of almoſt infinite diverſity. The exceſſive thickneſs of the woods, had rendered the bayonet in a great meaſure uſeleſs; had enabled the enemy, however broken, to rally, to fight in detachment, and to make repeated and obſtinate ſtands; it had neceſſarily and entirely broken the order of battle; and ſeparated and disjoined the Britiſh corps, who could know no more of each other, than what they gathered from the greatneſs, the continuance, or the courſe of the firing, in different quarters. Thus the battle degenerated into a number of irregular, but hard-fought and bloody ſkirmiſhes.

On the right, the firſt battalion of guards, with the regiment of Boſe, after they imagined that they had nearly carried every thing before them, were warmly en-

gaged in front, flank and rear, not only with ſuch parts of the routed or broken enemy who had again rallied, but with a part of the extremity of their left wing, which, through the cloſeneſs of the wood, had been paſſed, unbroken and unobſerved. A ſimilar firing was continued on the left, where Webſter's corps was engaged. In the mean time, the 71ſt regiment, with the grenadiers, and the ſecond battalion of guards, which were in the center, being uncertain what was paſſing on either hand, but hearing the fire advance on the left, continued to move on along the road through the wood, being accompanied by the artillery, which kept pace with them, and followed by the cavalry. The guards firſt gained the cleared ground, near Guildford Court-houſe, where they found a corps of continental infantry, formed in the open field on the left of the road.

Though the enemy were much ſuperior in number, the ſecond battalion of guards, glowing with impatience to ſignalize themſelves, inſtantly attacked, and routed them with ſuch effect, as to take their cannon; but purſuing them with too much ardour into the wood, they were ſuddenly thrown into confuſion by a very heavy and unexpected fire; and being inſtantly charged by Col. Waſhington, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, the diſorder was irretrievable, and they were driven back, and purſued into the field, with the loſs of the two ſix-pounders which they had juſt taken. The fortune of the day, at this inſtant, ſeemed only to hang by a ſingle hair. The critical bringing up of two three-pounders, and their well-timed and well-directed fire, under the conduct of Lieutenant Macleod of the artillery, ſerved to repulſe, or at leaſt to keep at bay, the cavalry for the preſent, and afforded ſome leiſure for breathing and recovery to the guards. In the mean time, the grenadiers, with the 71ſt regiment, whoſe paſſage had been impeded by ſome deep ravines they fell in with on their way, began to appear, coming out of the wood on the right; which, as it could not fail to damp the enemy, ſerved equally to inſpirit the royal troops, and to facilitate the endeavours of Brig.-Gen. O'Hara; who, notwithſtanding his being ſorely wounded, was uſing the moſt ſpirited and ſucceſsful exertions in rallying the guards. They accordingly, being now confirmed and ſupported by the coming up of the grenadiers, returned to the charge with freſh ardour; and to render the affair deciſive, the 23d regiment arrived at that inſtant from the left, and Tarleton came ſweeping on with his cavalry. Such a conjunction of favourable circumſtances could not but produce their effect. The enemy were attacked on all ſides; defeated; and not only loſt the two firſt ſix-pounders, which they had ſo lately recovered, but two others, being the whole artillery which they had brought into the field.

About the ſame time, the 33d regiment, and the light infantry of the guards, after long action, and overcoming many difficulties, had entirely routed the corps which were oppoſed to them on the left; ſo that the action being now

now entirely ended on that ſide, the 23d and 71ſt regiments, with part of the cavalry, were diſpatched in purſuit of the flying enemy. In the mean time a heavy firing was ſtill continued in the woods on the right, where the firſt battalions of guards, and the regiment of Boſe, had their hands fully engaged with the militia, in a ſort of action which was entirely ſuited to the habits and genius of the latter. The appearance of the cavalry, and the ſpirited attack made by Tarleton, contributed much to extricate thoſe regiments, and to occaſion the diſperſion of the militia in the woods.

Thus ended the very ſharp, hard-fought, and exceedingly diverſified action at Guildford. An action, in which the perſevering valour, and admirable diſcipline of the Britiſh troops, were moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed. Nothing leſs, indeed, than an unlimited portion of the one, and an unequalled perfection in the other, could have triumphed againſt ſo great a ſuperiority of force, and ſuch inſuperable difficulties of ground. Lord Cornwallis declared, in public orders, that he ſhould ever conſider it as the greateſt honour of his life, to have been placed at the head of ſo gallant an army; and the merit was ſo general, that every corps, and almoſt every officer above the rank of a ſubaltern, received his public thanks and acknowledgments for their particular and diſtinguiſhed ſervices. Among theſe, we muſt not forget the brave Heſſian regiment of Boſe, and their gallant commander, Major de Buy.

No public acknowledgment could be made (nor would it have been adequate if there could) of the noble commander's own merits; which, if poſſible, were more highly diſtinguiſhed on this day, than in the moſt brilliant of his former actions. Notwithſtanding an exceeding bad ſtate of health, he ſeemed to be every where preſent; and afforded ſupport and relief to every corps that was hard preſſed. It was then no wonder, that two horſes were ſhot under him; but it may well be deemed ſuch, that he eſcaped himſelf unhurt.

On the other ſide it muſt be acknowledged, that ſeveral of the American corps diſputed the day with great conſtancy; and that they rallied, returned to the charge, and ſtood ſeveral ſevere ſhocks, with a perſeverance and courage, which would have done honour to veteran troops. The rebel cavalry very much diſtinguiſhed themſelves. It would likewiſe ſeem, that Greene ſhewed no common ſhare of ability, in the drawing up of his army, the choice of his ground, and ſuch a diſpoſition of his force, as was ſuited both to its nature and theirs. Nor does any want of generalſhip appear in the courſe and conduct of the action. The exceeding bad behaviour of the firſt line, both with reſpect to effect and example, was ſufficient to have introduced diſorder and diſmay in any army; and could not but greatly influence the fortune of the day.

The loſs on the Britiſh ſide, in any comparative eſtimate, drawn from the length, circumſtances, and ſeverity of the action, would appear very moderate; but if conſidered, either with reſpect to the number of the army, its ability to

bear the loſs, or the intrinſic value of the brave men who fell or were diſabled, it was great indeed. In the whole it exceeded 500 men; of whom, though ſcarcely a fifth were killed on the ſpot, many died afterwards of their wounds; and undoubtedly, a much greater number were diſabled from all future ſervice. At any rate, the army was deprived of about one-fourth in number (and that by no means the leaſt effective) of its preſent force. The guards loſt Col. Stuart, with the Captains, Schutz, Maynard, and Goodricke, beſides ſubalterns. Col. Webſter, a brave, experienced, and diſtinguiſhed officer, who commanded the brigade on the left, died of his wounds, to the no ſmall loſs of the ſervice, and the very great regret of the general as well as the army. The Brigadier-Generals O'Hara and Howard, as well as Col. Tarleton, and ſeveral other officers, were wounded.

The Americans gave no fair ſtate of their loſs; which would have been alone a ſufficient reaſon for concluding it to be very conſiderable. They only publiſhed an account of the killed and wounded of the continental troops, who formed but a ſmall part of their army. It was ſaid, that all the houſes for many miles round were filled with their wounded. The action was ſpread through ſo wide an extent of country, and that ſo thickly wooded, that the victors could form no eſtimate of the ſlain. But whatever that might be, their principal loſs conſiſted in the deſertion of that part of the militia who were within any reach of home; for they, according to eſtabliſhed cuſtom, ſeized the opportunity of being diſperſed in the woods by an action, to make the beſt of their way, without once looking back. Gen. Greene beſtowed great praiſes upon the bravery of the Virginia militia, and of the light troops under Lee and Waſhington, as well as of the Virginia and Maryland regulars. In a very modeſt letter to the Preſident of the Congreſs, he ſatisfies himſelf with attributing the Britiſh ſucceſs to the ſuperiority of their diſcipline.

Greene retreated, with the continental forces and ſuch part as could yet be collected of the Virginia militia, to the Reedy-Fork River, which he paſſed; and ſays himſelf, that he halted on the other ſide of the ford, which was only three or four miles from the laſt ſcene of action, until he was joined by the ſtragglers; but by Lord Cornwallis's account, we are to underſtand, that he did not ſtop until he arrived at the iron works on Troubleſome Creek, 18 miles from the field of battle. Indeed Greene himſelf dates his letter, on the following day, from thoſe very iron works; but eſtimates the diſtance at little more than half what we have ſtated. Without entering at all into this queſtion, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that however the Americans were routed, the royal forces were in no condition to maintain a purſuit. Beſides that the troops were worn down by the exceſſive fatigue of a conſiderable march in the firſt inſtance, without baiting, and that immediately ſucceeded by ſo long and ſo toilſome an action, their numerous wounded, who were ſcattered over an extenſive ſpace

of

of country, required the moſt immediate attention; but to render the impediments to a purſuit utterly inſurmountable, the enemy were greatly ſuperior in cavalry, as well as in every ſpecies of light troops.

Such was the penury and miſerable ſtate of the country, that the troops were without bread for two days that they continued at Guildford; nor could even forage be procured at a nearer diſtance than nine miles. And though this victory was gained at the entrance of the country in which the loyaliſts were ſuppoſed to be numerous, it does not appear, that it was capable of inducing any body of that people, deſerving of name or conſideration, to join the royal army. Under theſe circumſtances, Lord Cornwallis moved with the army to Bell's Mill, on the Deep River; whither the baggage had been ſent before the action; and was obliged to leave 70 of the worſt of the wounded behind, at the New-Garden, Quaker Meeting-houſe, with proper aſſiſtance and accommodation, but of neceſſity in the power of the enemy.

18th.

A march of two days brought the army to Bell's Mill, where they continued two more, as well to afford reſt to the troops, as to procure ſome ſcanty ſupply of proviſions. The neceſſities of the army in general, and the diſtreſſes of the ſick and wounded, left the marching towards Wilmington, in order to obtain thoſe ſupplies and accommodations which were indiſpenſably neceſſary to both, no longer a matter of choice. They accordingly moved, by ſuch eaſy marches as ſuited the eaſe and convenience of the wounded, towards Croſs-Creek, upon the north-weſt branch of the Cape Fear River; being the ſame, which in its origin, and long after, is known by the name of the Haw. On the way, Lord Cornwallis iſſued a proclamation, and uſed every other poſſible means, as well to conciliate the enemies, as to encourage and call forth the friends of the royal cauſe, to the taking an active part in its ſupport. It does not, however, appear, that his endeavours upon this occaſion were attended, even after a very ſplendid victory, with any greater effect than they had hitherto been, in the courſe of his long peregrination through different parts of that province.

Such was the ſtrange and untoward nature of this unhappy war, that victory now, as we have already ſeen in more than one other inſtance, was productive of all the conſequences of defeat. The news of this victory in England, for a while, produced the uſual effects upon the minds of the people in general. A very little time and reflection gave riſe to other thoughts; and a ſeries of victories cauſed, for the firſt time, the beginning of a general deſpair. The fact was, that while the Britiſh army aſtoniſhed both the old and the new world, by the greatneſs of its exertions and the rapidity of its marches, it had never advanced any nearer even to the conqueſt of North Carolina. And ſuch was the hard fate of the victors, who had gained ſo much glory at Guildford, as, in the firſt place, to abandon a part of their wounded; and, in the ſecond, to make a circuitous retreat of 200

miles, before they could find ſhelter or reſt.

Lord Cornwallis had been taught to expect, from all the information which he received, that Croſs-Creek lay in ſo plentiful a country, that it would be an exceedingly proper place for affording ſome days' repoſe and refreſhment to his troops. But, to his great diſappointment, he found, upon his arrival, that this intelligence was of the uſual value, and that neither proviſions nor forage were to be procured. This was rendered the more grievous, upon alſo diſcovering, that the windings of the river rendered the navigation ſo tedious, that the troops could not benefit of that mode of conveyance. At length, the arrival of the army in the neighbourhood of Wilmington, on the 7th of April, put an end for the preſent, to the unceaſing toils, and unſpeakable hardſhips, which they had undergone during the three paſt months.

CHAP. V.

Expedition to Virginia under General Arnold. State of grievances which led to the mutiny in the American army. Penſylvania line, after a ſcuffle with their officers, march off from the camp, and chuſe a ſerjeant to be their leader. Meſſage, and flag of truce, produce no ſatisfactory anſwer from the inſurgents, who proceed firſt to Middle-Brook, and then to Prince-Town. Meaſures uſed by Sir Henry Clinton to profit of this defection. He paſſes over to Staten Iſland, and ſends agents to make advantageous propoſals to the mutineers. Propoſals for an accommodation, founded on a redreſs of grievances, made by Gen. Reed, and favourably received by the inſurgents; who march from Prince-Town to Trenton upon the Delaware, and deliver up the agents from Sir Henry Clinton. Grievances redreſſed, and matters finally ſettled by a committee of the congreſs. Ravages made by Arnold in Virginia, draw the attention of the French, as well as the Americans, to that country. Gen. Waſhington diſpatches the Marquis de la Fayette with forces to its relief. Expedition to the Cheſapeak, concerted by M. de Ternay, and the Count Rochambeau, at Rhode Iſland, for the ſame purpoſe, and to cut off Gen. Arnold's retreat. Admirals Arbuthnot and Graves encounter the French fleet, and overthrow all their deſigns in the Cheſapeak. Lord Cornwallis's departure to Wilmington, enables Gen. Greene to direct his operations to South Carolina. Situation of Lord Rawdon at Camden. American army appears before that place. Greene attacked in his camp, and defeated. General revolt in the interior country of South Carolina. Difficulties of Lord Rawdon's ſituation, notwithſtanding his victory. Obliged to abandon Camden, and retire to Nelſon's Ferry, where he paſſes the Santee. Britiſh poſts taken, and general hoſtility of the province. Great havock made by the Generals Phillips and Arnold in Virginia. Extreme difficulties of Lord Cornwallis's ſituation at Wilmington. Undertakes a long march to Virginia; arrives at Peterſburgh, and receives an account of Gen. Phillips's death. Arrival of three regiments from

from Ireland at Charles-Town, enables Lord Rawdon to march to the relief of Ninety-Six. Gen. Greene, having failed in his attempt to take the fort by ſtorm, raiſes the ſiege, upon the approach of the Britiſh army, and is vigorouſly, but ineffectually purſued. Works at Ninety-Six deſtroyed, and the place abandoned. Lord Rawdon marches to the Congarees; is diſappointed in the expected junction of Col. Stuart, and narrowly eſcapes being ſurrounded by the enemy, who had intercepted the intelligence of Stuart's failure. He forces his way through Congaree creek, and is joined by Col. Stuart at Orangeburgh. Gen. Greene advances to attack the Britiſh army, but retires again in the night. Campaign cloſes, and ſituation of the hoſtile forces during the ſickly ſeaſon. Incredible hardſhips ſuſtained, and difficulties ſurmounted, by the Britiſh troops in the two Carolinas.

DURING theſe tranſactions in the Carolinas, Mr. Arnold, who acted as Brigadier-General in the Britiſh ſervice, was diſpatched by Sir Henry Clinton to make a diverſion in Virginia; and perhaps likewiſe under an expectation, that his former name and character would have drawn large bodies of thoſe, who were repreſented as having a diſpoſition to return to their allegiance, to his ſtandard. His force, upon this expedition, conſiſted of the Edinburgh regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas, eſtimated at 600 men; of a mixed American corps, compoſed of horſe and foot, called the Queen's Rangers, of about the ſame number, under the command of Col. Simcoe; of Col. Robinſon's provincials, and of a ſmall corps of 200 men, which Arnold himſelf had been able to raiſe at New York; the whole force amounting to near 1700 men. This expedition being conducted and ſupported, by ſuch a naval force as was ſuited to the nature of the ſervice, enabled Gen. Arnold, who arrived in the Cheſapeak at the opening of the new year, to do infinite miſchief on the rivers, and along the coaſts of Virginia.

In the mean time, the Americans had many internal, as well as external, difficulties and dangers to encounter. We have already taken notice of the well-founded complaints, and the great diſcontents which prevailed in the American army. Theſe in a great meaſure proceeded from the flowneſs of ſeveral of the ſtates, in furniſhing their reſpective quotas, whether of men, money, proviſions, or cloathing, for the ſupply of the army. This evil was the more intolerable, from the hopeleſſneſs of redreſs; as the nature of their government did not admit of any coercive power, equal to its remedy. But though this was in a great meaſure beyond the reach of congreſs, they did not eſcape much cenſure with reſpect to matters which fell immediately within their power as well as cognizance.

Their ignorance in finance, and their many errors in the whole œconomy of the war, were often animadverted on with great ſeverity by their warmeſt partizans. It is not indeed eaſy to conceive, how a body annually elected, continually changing in almoſt all its parts, and drawn from countries remote

remote from the ſeat and center of buſineſs, could avoid falling into many. The annual election ſecured the fidelity of the deputies; but it neceſſarily detracted ſomething from the uniformity and ſyſtem of public buſineſs. The fall of the currency was a grievous blow to the Americans, which perhaps no ability could perfectly prevent or remedy. From hence the grievances and diſtreſſes of the army equalled, if not exceeded, their complaints and diſcontents; and occaſioned the reſignation of many of their beſt officers, as well as the deſertion of ſome faithful ſoldiers, who thereby gave up the whole of their long due arrears, and whom nothing leſs could have induced to abandon their colours. To render their condition the more grievous, while the troops were little leſs than literally naked, it was ſaid, that cloathing for 5000 men had been purchaſed and paid for in France long before; and that, through ſome unaccountable ſupineneſs, another large quantity had lain at Cape François for above eighteen months. But the moſt intolerable grievance to the ſoldiery, was an act of real injuſtice, as well as a violation of the public faith; for through the failure of ſeveral of the ſtates in not ſending their allotted ſupply of new troops, many of the ſoldiers were compelled to ſerve far beyond the term of their enliſtment, without being able to obtain any ſatisfaction, with reſpect to their arrears, or even any hope of a diſcharge.

Under all theſe circumſtances, the mutiny which took place in Waſhington's army, at the opening of the new year, is much leſs a matter of ſurprize, than its not having happened earlier, being more general, and much more ruinous in its conſequences.

The Penſylvania line, which was hutted at Morris-Town, in the Jerſies, unable longer to ſuppreſs their diſcontents, turned out to the number of about 1300 men, Jan. 1, 1781. declaring that they would not ſerve any longer, unleſs their grievances were redreſſed; particularly with reſpect to their pay, cloathing, and proviſions, the two firſt of which they had not received at all, and there were great deficiencies in the account of the laſt. The intervention of the officers occaſioned a riot, in which one of them was killed, and four wounded; ſome of the mutineers were likewiſe wounded. They then collected the artillery, ſtores, proviſions, and waggons, appertaining to their diviſion, with all of which they marched in good order out of camp. As they paſſed General Wayne's quarters, he ſent to requeſt of them to deſiſt, and to remonſtrate with them on the fatal conſequences which muſt attend their proceeding any farther, His repreſentations produced no effect; they continued their march until evening, and then choſe an advantageous piece of ground for their encampment, with the ſame caution as if they had been in an enemy's country. They likewiſe elected officers from their own body; and appointed a ſerjeant-major, who had been a deſerter from the Britiſh army, to be their commander, with the rank and title of Major-General; on the following day they marched to Middle-Brook, and on the third

to

to Prince-Town. A meſſage was ſent to them on the ſecond day from camp, deſiring to know their intentions; but this they refuſed to receive. A flag of truce was afterwards ſent; but no general or ſatisfactory anſwer could be obtained; ſome ſaid, that they had ſerved three years againſt their inclination, and would ſerve no longer; whilſt others made a full redreſs of their grievances, the price of return.

As ſoon as Sir Henry Clinton had received intelligence of this defection in the army of the enemy, he left no means untried that could turn it to advantage; and indeed it ſeemed to lead to conſequences of no ſmall importance. Three Americans went as agents to the inſurgents; and were empowered to make the following propoſals to them from the commander in chief, viz. To be taken under the protection of the Britiſh government; to have a free pardon for all paſt offences; to have the pay due to them from congreſs faithfully paid, without any expectation of military ſervice in return, although it would be received if voluntarily offered; and the only conditions required on their ſide, were to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance. It was alſo recommended to them, to move behind the South River; and an aſſurance was given, that a body of Britiſh troops ſhould be in readineſs for their protection, whenever they deſired it. The inability of congreſs to ſatisfy their juſt demands, and the ſeverity with which they would be treated if they returned to their former ſervitude, were points to be ſtrongly urged by the agents; and the inſurgents were required to ſend perſons to Amboy, to meet others who would be appointed by the general, in order to diſcuſs and ſettle the treaty, and bring matters to a final concluſion.

In the mean time, the commander in chief, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, paſſed over to Staten Iſland, with a large body of troops, where they were cantoned in ſuch a manner, as to be in readineſs for moving at the ſhorteſt notice; while ſuch meaſures were taken in the naval department, as were neceſſary for their immediately paſſing over to the continent, whenever circumſtances might require their acting. This was as much as Sir Henry Clinton could yet venture to do. If he had attempted more, it would have been liable to have overthrown every hope in the outſet. If he had paſſed over to the continent, beſides exciting a general alarm, it would have been the probable means of throwing the mutineers directly back into the arms of the enemy. The meaſures purſued, were thoſe only which with ſafety and prudence could be ventured upon, until the temper and deſigns of the inſurgents were farther known: the revolt was properly encouraged, an aſylum, with other advantages, were held out, and it was eaſily ſeen that greater would be granted. Various other meſſages and propoſals, but much to the ſame effect or tendency with the former, were afterwards ſent; though the Jerſey militia had grown ſo watchful both of the coaſts and the interior roads, that the communication became extremely difficult.

After ſeveral days' ſtay at Prince-Town,

Town, the mutineers, inſtead of returning towards the Britiſh boundaries, as was on our ſide propoſed and hoped, gave an unerring indication of the unfavourableneſs of their diſpoſition, by advancing to Trenton, on the Delaware; a diſtance which cut off every idea of connection, or of their at all acceding to Sir Henry Clinton's propoſals; and a meaſure which held out a moſt fatal omen to two of his unfortunate emiſſaries, who were ſtill in their hands. For, previous to their departure from Prince-Town, a printed paper of propoſals for an accommodation, ſigned by General Reed, the preſident of the executive council of ſtate in Penſylvania, was circulated among the inſurgents; and on the day after their arrival at Trenton, an anſwer, in general very favourable, but requiring ſome auxiliary conditions (and thoſe not unreaſonable), was returned, with the approbation of the whole, by the board of ſerjeants, who formed their grand committee, or council; and as an earneſt of their conciliatory diſpoſition, or, as they ſaid, to remove every doubt of ſuſpicion and jealouſy, they delivered up the two unhappy emiſſaries from New York, who were accordingly hanged without ceremony.

Jan. 9.

A committee of the congreſs, of which Gen. Sullivan and Dr. Witherſpoon were members, was at length ſent to treat with them at Trenton, and the matters in difference were finally ſettled towards the end of the month. Beſides a total oblivion with reſpect to the paſt conduct of the mutineers, the matters with reſpect to pay, cloathing, proviſions, and arrears, were adjuſted to their ſatisfaction; and, however grievous it was to the committee, and weakening to the ſervice, they were obliged to conſent to the diſcharge of thoſe, who had duly ſerved out the term of their enliſtment. A ſimilar diſturbance in the New Jerſey line, which was ſtationed on the ſame ſide of the North River, was accommodated in the ſame manner; but in much leſs time, and with leſs trouble.

It was not a little remarkable, that Waſhington, who was encamped on the New York ſide of the river, did not make the ſmalleſt movement on account of theſe diſorders; not does it appear that he took any part at all in the tranſactions or meaſures that enſued. It ſeemed either as if he could not rely upon the temper of the troops under his own immediate command, or as if he conſidered the claims of the inſurgents to be well founded, and admitted their wrongs as a juſtification of their irregularities. Perhaps, upon the whole, he was not ſorry that the congreſs, as well as the governments of the ſeveral ſtates, ſhould have been in ſome degree rouzed and enlivened by ſuch a ſpur.

Nothing could afford a more ſtriking inſtance of the general unfavourable diſpoſition of the Americans, with reſpect to the Britiſh government, than the conduct of the inſurgents upon this occaſion; who, ſmarting under their wrongs, in that heat of temper which could alone produce and ſupport their violences, and ſurrounded by the dangers to which they had rendered themſelves liable, yet, not only rejected the

the ſecurity and favourable offers held out to them by Sir Henry Clinton, but, as an indelible mark of their irreconcileable enmity, delivered up to deſtruction the unhappy men who had acted as his agents.

The ravages made by Arnold in Virginia drew the attention of the Americans, as well as of the French at Rhode Iſland, particularly to that quarter. The former were now attacked, in their moſt ſenſible, as well as moſt vulnerable part. The havock made in that country went directly to the deſtruction of the very ſources of the war, and to the annihilation of all their hopes of independency. With a numerous and warlike people, with conſiderable reſources, more perhaps than any province in America, that country, from its peculiar ſituation, and from the modes of building, planting, and living, adopted by the inhabitants, is more open and expoſed than any other, and, unleſs protected by a conſiderable army, is exceedingly weak in every point of defence. In a word, it muſt in its preſent ſtate, lie at the mercy, in all its moſt valuable parts, of whatever enemy is maſter of the bay of Cheſapeak, and conſequently of the rivers.

This circumſtance was ſo well underſtood, that thoſe who cenſured the conduct of the Britiſh commanders, and the plan of the war, had frequently made it one of their principal grounds of attack, that they had not more early adopted operations of a ſimilar nature. They pretended, that a powerful army was kept idle and uſeleſs at New York, whilſt a right application of a proper part of that force to the ſouthward, would have brought the war to a ſpeedy and happy concluſion. They went ſo far back in their ſtrictures, as to the time of Lord Cornwallis's being left to proſecute the war in South Carolina, when, they ſay, that he was not only left in too weak a ſtate to proſecute it with effect and deciſion, but that he was particularly ſtripped of the beſt and moſt active part of the forces; of that part which was peculiarly ſuited to the nature of the war and of the country, and which, if not totally uſeleſs, could not at all be wanted, in that quiet and defenſive kind of ſervice which prevailed at New York. They likewiſe ſaid, that the expedition under Gen. Leſlie ſhould have taken place much earlier, and that the force ſhould have been three times greater than it really was; by which means, as they pretend, Greene would not only have been prevented from paſſing to the ſouthward, but, if Lord Cornwallis had the force which he ought in the Carolinas, nothing could prevent his junction with Leſlie in the heart of Virginia, and the reduction of all the ſouthern colonies muſt have been the immediate and inevitable conſequence. They even carried their ſtrictures to the preſent expedition under Arnold; which, they ſaid, ſhould have been committed to Gen. Phillips, with a force adequate to the greatneſs and importance of the object; a meaſure, according to them, which would in a very conſiderable degree have compenſated for ſome of the former errors and neglects.

To this it has been anſwered, that the commander in chief could not

not have known, when he returned with part of the army from Charles-Town, that the campaign would have been inactive on the ſide of New York; and that the meaſures which he immediately purſued on his arrival, ſufficiently indicated an intention of rendering it otherwiſe. The arrival of the French at Rhode Iſland, the expectation of the great force under Guichen, and the plan laid between them and the Americans, of putting an end to the war, by a deciſive blow upon himſelf at New York, could not but greatly have affected all his meaſures, and neceſſarily reſtrained his operations. The numerous and extenſive poſts of New York and its dependent iſlands, required nothing leſs than an army for the mere purpoſe of defence.

Time and events have ſhewn, that theſe divided operations, which were long called for by ſeveral military critics, when at length they were adopted, were far from making good the plauſible arguments on which they were undertaken.

The diſtreſſes and danger of Virginia obliged Waſhington, notwithſtanding his weakneſs, to detach 2000 of his beſt troops, under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, to the relief of that, his native, country. The French at Rhode Iſland thought an opportunity now offered of atoning for their paſt inactivity, by a moſt eſſential ſervice to their allies, in cutting off the retreat of Arnold and his party from the Cheſapeak; an event, in which the taking him priſoner would not, perhaps, have been the leaſt pleaſing part of the ſervice. Beſides ſome late increaſe to their naval force, they were the farther encouraged to this enterprize, by the misfortune which the Britiſh ſquadron had newly ſuſtained, in a dreadful tempeſt. In this calamity, the Culloden, a fine new ſhip of 74 guns, was totally loſt; the Bedford, of the ſame force, was diſmaſted and much damaged; and the America had been ſeparated, and driven ſo far to ſea, that her ſituation, and even exiſtence, were for ſome time matters of uncertainty.

But previous to the intended expedition, in which 2000 land forces were to bear a part, the French diſpatched a ſhip of the line, with ſome frigates, to the Cheſapeak, with a view as well of ſurprizing the ſmall marine force in that bay, as of diſcovering the exact ſtate of affairs in Virginia. This ſmall ſquadron, beſides greatly alarming Arnold, who was returned from an expedition up the river James to his principal poſt at Portſmouth, had the fortune to fall in with and take the Romulus man-of-war of 44 guns, which was totally unſuſpicious of danger.

The Bedford's maſts being ſpeedily replaced by thoſe of the Culloden, which had been fortunately ſaved from the wreck, the Britiſh fleet, under the Admirals Arbuthnot and Graves, was much ſooner in a condition to oppoſe the deſigns of the enemy, than they had by any means apprehended. Count Rochambeau, having embarked with the land forces, the French fleet, under M. de Ternay, ſailed from Rhode Iſland on the 8th of March, and were intercepted off Cape Henry on the 16th, by the Engliſh, who had departed two days later from Gardner's Bay. The oppoſite fleets were well poiſ-

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ed in point of ſtrength; the ſuperiority of a few guns on the ſide of the Engliſh, being more than counterbalanced by the much greater number of men on the other. The line was compoſed of eight ſhips on each ſide, including the Romulus of 40 guns in the one, and the Adamant of fifty in the other.

A partial engagement took place, in which nearly the whole weight of the action fell upon the Robuſt, Europe, and the Prudent. The coming up of the ſhips in the center, at length relieved the van, who had been expoſed to the whole of the enemy's fire. The French line being then ſoon broken, they gave way, and began to form a new one at ſome diſtance. The admiral endeavoured to purſue his advantage, by preſſing upon the enemy, and renewing the action; but the three ſhips which were firſt engaged had ſuffered ſo much in their rigging, that two of them were become ſo abſolutely unmanageable, as to be taken in tow, and even the third was too much diſabled, in any degree to ſuſtain a purſuit. Theſe circumſtances prevented the admiral from being able to render the action deciſive. The enemy, without an abſolute flight, had by their manœuvres gained a diſtance of three or four leagues in the forming of their line; and as they were determined not to come to cloſe action, it was now out of his power to force them to it.

He, however, obtained, in part, the eſſential benefits and the demonſtrations of victory. He cut the enemy off from the Cheſapeak, who were accordingly obliged to return without landing their troops, and without effecting any one of the purpoſes of the expedition; and they were reduced to ſubmit to the hard neceſſity and very grievous mortification of ſeeing the whole plan of the Virginia campaign diſconcerted, and all the ſanguine hopes and wiſhes of their allies fruſtrated.

Such was Arnold's eſcape from, probably, the moſt imminent danger in which he had ever been involved. The loſs of men was but trifling on the Britiſh ſide, and was almoſt entirely confined to the three ſhips which were firſt engaged; thirty only were ſlain, and about ſeventy wounded. This, like every other naval action in the war, underwent much criticiſm. It appears that the weather was very ſqually and unfavourable; and, beſides other, perhaps, more cogent reaſons, it has or may be advanced, in favour of the admiral, that there are few circumſtances, in which it is not exceedingly difficult to force an enemy to cloſe and deciſive action at ſea, who is abſolutely determined to uſe all poſſible means for evading that reſult; and that all vigorous attempts for the purpoſe, muſt be liable to the riſque of engaging under ſome diſadvantage.

The fleet were detained, by the badneſs of the weather, for ſome time in the Cheſapeak; which neceſſarily delayed their purſuit of the enemy. During that interval, a convoy arrived from New York, with Major-Gen. Phillips, and about 2000 choice troops on board. The long durance which that diſtinguiſhed officer, with his fellows of the convention army, had undergone, having been happily terminated

March 26.

nated, by a new cartel, which had been ſome months before concluded, he was now appointed to take the chief command in Virginia.

The departure of Lord Cornwallis to Wilmington, having left South Carolina open, Gen. Greene did not neglect the opportunity of directing his views to that province. An experiment upon an untried enemy was ſatisfactory in the deſign, and afforded room for hope in the execution; at the worſt, he could not reaſonably apprehend falling into rougher hands, than thoſe which he had ſo recently encountered. But it was alſo, in reality, that vulnerable part, to which a judicious commander muſt neceſſarily have directed his operations. He had, however, ſtill, a vigilant enemy to encounter, from whom no advantage could be cheaply purchaſed.

The communications were ſo entirely cut off, that Lord Rawdon had no manner of knowledge of the movements of the Britiſh army after the battle of Guildford; much leſs could he have the moſt diſtant idea, of the hard neceſſity which compelled Lord Cornwallis to fly from the arms of victory, abandon the line of operation, and by a moſt difficult march of 200 miles, retire out of the way to Wilmington. He could not therefore but be aſtoniſhed at receiving intelligence, that Greene, whom he looked upon as ruined, or at leaſt as having fled to Virginia, was in full march to South Carolina, with a view of attacking him at Camden. He was likewiſe informed, about the ſame time, that Col. Lee had croſſed the Pedee, and joined Marion on the Black Creek, or river, with an apparent view of entering the province on the eaſtern border. Lord Rawdon judiciouſly conceived, that this movement was only a feint, ſubſervient to the principal deſign; intending thereby, to induce him to a diviſion of his ſmall force, and to draw him away from Camden, whilſt Greene ſhould in the mean time, by forced marches through a deſerted country, from whence no intelligence of his approach could be received, ſurprize that weakened poſt in his abſence. From this right conception of the deſign, the meaſure produced a directly contrary effect to that which was intended; for inſtead of Lord Rawdon's going himſelf or detaching, to reſiſt the diverſion on that ſide, it occaſioned his immediately recalling Lieut.-Col. Watſon, who had been long employed with a conſiderable detachment, for the protection of the eaſtern frontier.

In the mean time, the doubtful reports which had before reached him were now confirmed, and he received clear information of Greene's approach; and though he was totally ignorant of his force, yet being equally in the dark with reſpect to Lord Cornwallis's ſituation, and having no particular inſtructions for his guidance, he thought it his duty, at all events, to maintain his poſt. In theſe circumſtances it was highly vexatious, that although ſome of the militia ſhewed great zeal and fidelity, in coming from conſiderable diſtances to offer their ſervices, yet the ſcanty ſtate of proviſions prevented him from being able to benefit of their aſſiſtance,

ance, excepting only those, whose particular situation exposed them to suffer from the enemy, and who were, on that account, received within the post.

April 19th. At length, Gen. Greene appeared in full view. The paucity of troops, and the extensiveness of the posts which they had to defend, were sufficient motives with the British commander, for not risquing the loss of men, by any attempt to harass the enemy in their approach. The same causes had obliged him to abandon the ferry on the Wateree, although the South Carolina regiment was on its way to join him from Ninety-Six, and that was its direct course. He had however taken his measures so well, as to secure the passage of that regiment, upon its arrival, three days after. In these circumstances, he received a letter from Colonel Balfour at Charles-Town, acquainting him of Lord Corwallis's situation; and likewise signifying to him, that the commander in chief, being fully sensible of the danger to which he would be exposed in his present position, wished that he might abandon Camden, and retire for security, within the cover of the great River Santee. The necessity of the measure was, upon this information, sufficiently obvious; but the accomplishment of it, was not now within his power.

The efforts made by the enemy to examine the British works, and particularly an attempt to destroy their mill, necessarily brought on some skirmishes. By the prisoners taken in these excursions, Lord Rawdon had the satisfaction to learn, that General Greene's army was not by any means so numerous as he had apprehended; but that considerable reinforcements were daily expected. To balance this, he received the unfavourable intelligence, that Marion had taken such a position, as rendered it impracticable for Col. Watson to join him, whose arrival he had till then impatiently expected.

In this state of things, it seemed, that some immediate and decisive effort was become little less than absolutely necessary, in order to evade much greater, and not far distant, evil and danger. Greene himself had the fortune to make an opening for the operation of this necessity, in a manner which was, in appearance, far from being consistent with his usual conduct. With a view of a general assault upon the British posts, he had sent off his artillery and baggage, a day's march in the rear of the army; but soon after he abandoned that resolution, and detached all his militia to bring back the artillery. Such irresolution, or indecision of mind, can never be displayed under the eye of a vigilant enemy, without great, if not certain danger.

Lord Rawdon's intelligence was tardy; but he instantly perceived the importance of the occasion, and determined as instantly, if possible, to seize it. By arming the musicians, drummers, and every being in the army that was able to carry a firelock, he mustered above nine hundred for the field, including sixty dragoons. With this force, and two six-pounders, he April 25th. boldly marched to attack the assailing enemy in their camp, in open daylight, at ten o'clock in

the morning; committing the redoubts, and every thing at Camden, to the cuſtody of the militia, and of a few ſick ſoldiers. The enemy were poſted about two miles in front of the Britiſh lines, upon a very ſtrong and difficult ridge, called Hobkirk's Hill. By filing cloſe to the ſwamps on their right, the Britiſh column got into the woods unperceived; and by taking an extenſive circuit, came down on the enemy's left flank; thus depriving them of the principal advantage of their ſituation. They were ſo fortunate, and the enemy ſo ſhamefully remiſs and inattentive, that they were not in all this courſe diſcovered, until the flank companies of the volunteers of Ireland, which led the column, ſuddenly poured in upon their pickets. Theſe, though ſupported, were almoſt inſtantly driven in, and purſued to their camp.

Although the enemy were in much viſible confuſion, yet they formed with expedition, and received the Britiſh column bravely. As if it had been in ſome meaſure to countervail the diſadvantages incident to their ſurprize, they were cheered, early in the action, by the arrival of three ſix-pounders; a circumſtance, which ſhowers of grape-ſhot ſoon announced to the Britiſh troops. The attack on that ſide was led with great ſpirit by Lieut. Col. Campbell, at the head of the 63d, and of the king's American regiment; but the extent of the enemy's line, ſoon obliged the commander in chief to puſh forward the volunteers of Ireland from the reſerve. Theſe three corps puſhed the enemy with ſuch reſolution, that they drove them to the ſummit of the hill; and having made room for the reſt of the troops to come into action, their rout was then quickly decided. They purſued them about three miles; but the enemy's cavalry being ſuperior to the Britiſh, their dragoons could not riſque much; and Lord Rawdon, duly conſidering his inferiority in number, would not ſuffer the infantry to break their order, for any benefit that might be expected from the purſuit of the fugitives.

During the purſuit, a part of the enemy's cavalry under Col. Waſhington, whether by deſign, or through ignorance of the ſtate of the action, came round to the rear, and exacted paroles from ſeveral of the Britiſh officers who lay wounded on the field; they likewiſe carried off ſeveral wounded men. The enemy's killed and wounded were ſcattered over ſuch an extent of ground, that their loſs could not be aſcertained; Lord Rawdon thinks the eſtimate would be low if it were rated at five hundred; Greene's account makes it too low to be credited. Above an hundred priſoners were taken; beſides that, a number of their men, finding their retreat cut off, went into Camden, and claimed protection, under the pretence of being deſerters. The enemy's cannon eſcaped by great fortune. Being run down a ſteep hill, among ſome thick bruſh wood, they were eaſily paſſed without notice, in the warmth of the purſuit, by the Britiſh troops; and before their return, they were carried clean off by Waſhington's cavalry.

This defeat was attributed by Gen. Greene to the miſconduct of a part

a part of the Maryland regiment. This may be true. But it is plain that his army was ſurprized. The American diſcipline, after ſo much experience, is far from perfect. There have been but few indeed of their commanders, who have not ſmarted ſeverely under that negligence which laid them open to ſurprizes. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that the facility with which Greene rallied and formed his troops under the circumſtances of their ſurprize, and the vigorous efforts which he made to retrieve the diſaſter, ſufficiently ſhewed him to be a brave and able officer in action.

The loſs on the Britiſh ſide, however moderate in other reſpects, was much greater than they could afford, and exceeded one fourth of their whole number. It amounted in killed, wounded, and miſſing, to 258. Of theſe, only 38 were ſlain; but the wounded were equally a detraction from immediate ſtrength; and in the preſent circumſtances a very heavy incumbrance. Only one officer fell; but twelve were wounded, and moſt of them were diſcharged upon parole. The ſpirit and judgment ſhewed by the young commander of the Britiſh forces, deſerves great commendation. He was moſt gallantly ſeconded by his officers and troops.

Moſt of theſe actions would in other wars be conſidered but as ſkirmiſhes of little account, and ſcarcely worthy of a detailed narrative. But theſe ſmall actions are as capable as any of diſplaying military conduct. The operations of war being ſpread over that vaſt continent, by the new plan that was adopted, it is by ſuch ſkirmiſhes that the fate of America muſt be neceſſarily decided. They are therefore as important as battles in which an hundred thouſand men are drawn up on each ſide.

Greene retired behind the farther branch of a creek about fourteen miles from Camden, where he took poſt in order to collect his ſcattered forces. Whatever credit was obtained by the Britiſh forces in this action, like moſt of the other victories obtained in Carolina, it produced no effect correſpondent to its brilliancy. It produced rather the contrary. The firſt fruit of Lord Rawdon's victory over the enemy in his front, was the general revolt of the whole interior country at his back; ſo that the difficulties of his ſituation, inſtead of being removed or leſſened by ſucceſs, were increaſed to ſuch a degree, as ſeemed to render them inſurmountable. He was ſenſible of the neceſſity of his retiring within the Santee; but Lee and Marion were by this time full in his way; and whilſt they would have retarded his march in front, his rear would have been expoſed to Greene's purſuit; ſo that the meaſure for the preſent, however highly neceſſary, appeared impracticable; at leaſt, without ſuffering the loſs and diſgrace, of abandoning his ſtores at Camden, as well as his wounded. On the other hand, Greene was now too diſtant for a ſudden attack; nor could he at all be come at, but by a circuitous march to turn the head of the creek by which he was covered, and that would carry the troops ſo far out of the way, as to leave Camden open to his attack, without the poſſibility of their pre-

vention. We have already ſeen, that Lord Rawdon's force was far too weak, to afford ſuch a detachment as would be equal to the attack on Greene, and at the ſame time to retain ſuch a ſtrength behind, as would be ſufficient for the defence of Camden. In this ſtate of difficulty, environed on all ſides by enemies, he ſaw that he would be able to make his poſt good, againſt any force that could yet be brought to attack it; and he judged it to be far more prudent and ſafe to wait with patience for a reinforcement, than to riſque the conſequences of another line of conduct.

May 7th. At length, he was joined by Col. Watſon, after a long, circuitous, exceedingly difficult, and no leſs dangerous march; in the courſe of which he had been obliged to paſs the Santee twice; the firſt time going down almoſt to its mouth for that purpoſe, and then marching up again nearly to the confluence of the Congarees with that river, in order to repaſs it. All things conſidered, this march has been exceeded by few operations of that nature. The detachment was much reduced in point of number, and a ſmall poſt called Fort Watſon, ſituated at Wright's Bluff, where they depoſited their baggage, had been taken by the enemy.

On the day of the arrival of this reinforcement, intelligence was received, that the enemy in the rear had inveſted, and opened batteries againſt the poſt, at Motte's houſe; which was ſituated near the junction of the Congaree with the Santee. The relief of this poſt, as well as the cauſes which before operated, all concurred in determining Lord Rawdon to make a retreat to Nelſon's Ferry upon the Santee, which was ſixty miles from Camden, and not a great deal lower than the poſt at Motte's houſe; a meaſure which, beſides the relief of the place, and the cover of that great river, would throw the flat and open country, which ſpreads between it, the Combahee, and the ſea-coaſt, of courſe including Charles-Town, entirely into his hands. But before he put this deſign in execution, he wiſhed to draw ſome preſent advantage from the additional ſtrength which he now poſſeſſed; and which would be a means of facilitating his intended movements, by the ſecurity which it would afford to his rear.

On his ſide, Gen. Greene was not idle, nor inattentive to the game he was to play; he had quitted his former ground, and croſſing the Wateree, took a new poſition at the back of Twenty-five-mile Creek. On the very night of the day, upon which Watſon's detachment had joined Lord Rawdon, that active commander croſſed the Wateree at Camden Ferry, with a view of turning Greene's flank, and attacking the rear of his army; that being the moſt, or only vulnerable part, the ground in his front being particularly very ſtrong. It does no ſmall honour to Greene's penetration, that as ſoon as he received intelligence of the reinforcement (which was in a very ſhort time after its arrival), he immediately foreſaw, and conſidered as inevitable the conſequence; and in this opinion, without waiting for farther information, ſuddenly aban-

abandoned his poſt, ſome hours before the Britiſh troops had paſſed Camden Ferry, and continued his retreat with the utmoſt expedition.

Lord Rawdon received this intelligence by the way, but he notwithſtanding purſued him with the utmoſt eagerneſs and rapidity; and at length found him ſtrongly poſted at the back of a water called Sawney's Creek. Upon the ſtricteſt examination of his ſituation in that poſt, he, to his great diſappointment and vexation, found it in every point ſo ſtrong, that if ſucceſs could be purchaſed, it muſt be at ſuch an expence, as would cripple his force with reſpect to all future enterprize; whilſt the means of retreat were ſo fully poſſeſſed by the enemy, that the advantages of victory, could not in any degree compenſate for the loſs with which it muſt be attended. The creek runs far into the country, and if he attempted to get round it, the enemy, by quitting his ſtation, could ſtill evade all his attempts; and thus much time (which at that juncture was to him of the utmoſt importance) would have been unprofitably waſted. Under theſe conſiderations, Lord Rawdon returned to Camden; after having in vain endeavoured to draw the enemy into action by an affectation of concealing his retreat.

9th. On the following day, he publiſhed to the troops and to the militia, the deſign of abandoning Camden; offering to ſuch of the latter as choſe to accompany the army, all poſſible aſſiſtance. The night was ſpent in deſtroying the works, and in ſending off, under a ſtrong eſcort, the baggage. The remainder of the troops continued at Camden, until the following day was pretty far advanced, in order to cover the march. The moſt valuable part of the ſtores were brought off, and the reſt deſtroyed. The mill, priſon, and ſome other buildings, were burnt; and Greene ſays the town was little better than a heap of ruins. The ſick and wounded, who were in too bad a ſtate to bear a removal, were of neceſſity left behind; and the American priſoners were left to accompany them as an exchange. The army brought off, not only the militia who had been attached to them at Camden; but the well affected, who were afraid to fall into the power of the enemy, whether in that neighbourhood or on the way, were likewiſe, with their families, negroes, and moveable effects, taken equally under protection. Thus incumbered, the only attempt made by the enemy, was with ſome parties of mounted militia to haraſs the rear; but one of theſe being circumvented into an ambuſcade, their chaſtizement prevented all farther diſturbance on the march.

On the night of the 13th the army began to paſs the river at Nelſon's Ferry, and by the following evening, every thing was ſafely landed on the other ſide. The firſt intelligence Lord Rawdon received on paſſing the Santee, was the unwelcome news, that the poſt at Motte's houſe, after a gallant defence, had already fallen into the hands of the enemy. This was a heavy ſtroke, as that place had been made a depoſit for all the proviſions that were intended for the ſupply of Camden. Things were, however,

worſe, than he yet knew, for the ſtrong poſt at Orangeburgh was already taken, and Fort Granby not long after. Thus the Britiſh force in the province was exceedingly weakened, by the number of brave officers and ſoldiers who fell into the hands of the enemy, through this ſudden and unexpected attack upon their detached poſts in every part of the country.

Lord Rawdon was met at Nelſon's by Col. Balfour, the commandant of Charles-Town; who came thither to repreſent to him, and to conſult upon, the ſtate and circumſtances of that city, as well as of the province in general. He ſtated, that the revolt was univerſal; that from the little room there had been to apprehend ſo ſerious and alarming a turn of affairs, the old works of Charles-Town had been in part levelled, to make way for new ones which were not yet conſtructed; that he had full conviction of the diſaffection, in general, of the inhabitants; and that, under theſe circumſtances, his garriſon was inadequate to its defence, againſt any force of conſequence that might attempt that city.

The concluſions drawn from a full conſideration of this untoward ſtate of affairs were, that if any misfortune happened to the corps under Lord Rawdon, the probable conſequence would be, the total loſs of the province, including the capital; but that, although the higheſt degree of prudence and caution were upon that account indiſpenſably neceſſary, yet, as he was juſt joined by Major M'Arthur, with about 300 foot and eighty dragoons, he conceived he might, without hazarding too much, endeavour to check the operations of the enemy on the Congaree.

A ſingular inſtance now occurred, of the general, if not univerſal diſaffection of the country. For five days after Lord Rawdon had paſſed the Santee, not a ſingle perſon of any ſort whatever, whether with intelligence, or upon any other account, came near the army; although he had advanced directly from Nelſon's Ferry, that night and the following day's march into the country, to a certain point, where the roads from Nelſon's and M'Cord's Ferry meet. Nor could the emiſſaries and ſpies which he detached on all hands procure him any true intelligence, as to the ſituation of the enemy, or the ſtate of the country. A number, however, of reports, which were contradictory in other reſpects, ſeemed to concur in one point, which was, that Greene had paſſed the Congaree River, and was preſſing down the Orangeburgh road with a ſtrong force. This intelligence was of too great moment to be ſlighted; and not only obliged the Britiſh commander to relinquiſh his deſign of advancing to the Congaree, but laid him under a neceſſity of falling back to the Entaws, and afterwards of moving to Monk's Corner, for the protection of Charles-Town, and of the rich intervening country.

As the dereliction of the Upper Country, left the poſt at Ninety-Six entirely expoſed to the enemy, Lord Rawdon was under great anxiety for the ſafety of that garriſon. The objects now at ſtake were, however, too great to be hazarded,

hazarded, for the purpoſe of protecting that place, or even of extricating the troops; but if no ſuch reſtraint had been laid upon his activity, it ſtill would have been a queſtion of great doubt, whether, in the preſent ſtate of things, the deſign would have been practicable. For beſides the growing force of the enemy, and their poſſeſſion of the poſts on all hands, there were no magazines, no depoſits of proviſions of any kind, for the ſupport of the army on the way; and to truſt to the uncertain gleanings of a waſted and hoſtile country on a march, ſurrounded on every ſide by ſwarms of light troops, and of militia on horſeback, with an enemy much ſuperior in number ſtill to encounter, would have been hazardous in the extreme. Thus circumſtanced, he diſpatched ſeveral meſſengers by different routes; and to guard as much as poſſible againſt miſchance, applied to Col. Balfour to ſend others from Charles-Town, with inſtructions to Lieut. Col. Cruger, who commanded at Ninety-Six, to abandon that place, and to remove with the garriſon, as ſpeedily as poſſible, to Auguſta, upon the Savannah, which was the neareſt poſt of Georgia.

So bad was the intelligence, and ſo difficult to be obtained, that it was not until after the arrival of the troops at Monk's Corner, that Lord Rawdon diſcovered, that it was not Gen. Greene, but Sumpter, who had taken poſſeſſion of Orangeburgh; the former being then occupied in taking a Britiſh poſt at the Congarees. While the troops were employed in covering the diſtricts from which Charles-Town drew its ſupplies of proviſion, Lord Rawdon was preparing for more active ſervice, by unceaſing efforts for the augmentation of his cavalry; an arm of force, indiſpenſably neceſſary for the proſecution of a war in the ſouthern colonies: but that country, which abounded ſo much in horſes, had been ſo ſtripped of them by the diſaffected, and by the plundering parties of the enemy, that this was now become a meaſure of no ſmall difficulty.

In the mean time, the Generals Philips and Arnold, carried every thing before them in Virginia; and ſucceſſively defeated all thoſe bodies of militia which could be ſuddenly brought together, and were hardy enough to venture the encounter; whilſt their beſt troops were fighting the battles of others in the Carolinas. The long navigation of James River, and of its numerous dependent rivers, branches, and creeks, laid the country open to them, on either hand, as well as to its interior and central parts, for a great extent. At Peterſburgh, on its ſouthern branch, otherwiſe called the Appomatox River, they deſtroyed four thouſand hogſheads of tobacco; being the principal part of the whole annual remittance of the country for France, which had been collected at that place. The damage done by the deſtruction of ſhipping and veſſels of every ſort, both in the rivers and on the ſtocks, of ſhip yards, docks, and all their dependencies, of public buildings, barracks, and warehouſes, of timber, ſtores, flower, and every ſpecies of proviſions, was prodigious, and indeed ſeemed almoſt incredible, after ſo long a ſtate of war and trouble; and ſo much

much particular ravage, as that quarter had already undergone. It; however, afforded a melancholy teſtimonial, of the former proſperity of a country, which had ſtill ſo much left to loſe.

The enemy's marine ſtrength in the river, having, we preſume, retired as far as the depth of water would admit, at length drew up in a ſtate of defence, about four miles above a place called Oſborne's, on the ſouth, or Appomatox Branch. Gen. Arnold ſent a flag to treat with the commander about the ſurrender of his fleet, which the other refuſed to liſten to, declaring he would defend it to the laſt. Arnold having ordered up ſome artillery, advanced them to the bank of the river, within an hundred yards of a ſtate ſhip of 20 guns; his troops being not only expoſed to her fire, but to that of another of 26 guns, of a ſtate brigantine, of 14, beſides a number of other ſhips and veſſels, more or leſs armed; at the ſame time that a party of militia kept up a heavy fire of muſquetry from the oppoſite ſide of the river. The defence was by no means anſwerable, either to this formidable appearance, or to the ſeemingly reſolute anſwer of the commander. The fire of the artillery from the ſhore took place ſo effectually, that it ſoon drove the militia from the oppoſite ſide, and compelled the ſhips, not long after, to ſtrike their colours. The want of boats, together with the height of the wind, prevented Arnold from being able to take poſſeſſion of the ſhips, until the ſeamen had not only made their eſcape, but had ſcuttled and ſet fire to ſeveral of the veſſels. Two ſhips, and ten leſſer veſſels, loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour, and other articles, fell, however, into his hands. Four ſhips, five brigantines, and a number of ſmall veſſels, were burnt and ſunk. The whole quantity of tobacco taken or deſtroyed in this fleet, exceeded 2000 hogſheads.

April 27th.

The troops then advanced up the Fork, until they arrived at Manchieſter, which lies on the north branch, or properly the main river, and is, including the windings, at leaſt 150 miles from its mouth, where it falls into the Cheſapeak. There they deſtroyed 1200 hogſheads of tobacco; the Marquis de la Fayette with his army, who had arrived at Richmond, on the oppoſite ſide, the preceding day, being ſpectators of the conflagration, which they probably could not, or at leaſt did not, attempt to prevent. The army, on their return, made great havoc at Warwick; where, along with the ſhips on the ſtocks and in the river, a large range of rope walks were deſtroyed; and a magazine of flour, with a number of warehouſes containing tobacco and other commodities, of tan-houſes, full of hides and bark, were, along with ſeveral fine mills, all conſumed in one general conflagration. The army then returned to the ſhipping (which ſeem not to have aſcended ſo far as the Fork), and the whole fell down towards the mouth of the river.

The war was now parcelled out in a ſtrange manner, and the Britiſh force broken into ſmall diviſions, and placed in ſuch diſtant ſituations, as to be little capable of concert and mutual ſupport. We

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have ſeen that it raged pretty equally in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia; while the force ſeems every where to be ſufficient for deſtroying conſiderable tracts of country, and accumulating a great deal of ſpoil, but wholly inadequate to the main purpoſe; and incapable of bringing matters to any deciſive concluſion. Thus numbers of brave men were continually loſt without any equivalent effect; and the veteran battalions were worn down and conſumed, by incredible but fruitleſs exertions of valour, and by a ſeries of the moſt brilliant ſucceſſes, which produced no permanent advantage.

The ſituation of Lord Cornwallis at Wilmington was exceedingly difficult and grievous. His force was by this time reduced very low; and probably did not greatly exceed a thouſand effective men. He was informed of the unfortunate turn which affairs had taken in South Carolina; and notwithſtanding his reliance on the ability and gallantry of Lord Rawdon, he had too much room for apprehenſion that they would become ſtill more critical. The attempt to return to his relief, through ſuch vaſt tracts of an exhauſted, hoſtile, or deſart country, would have been attended with inſuperable difficulties. The Pedee was full in his way, and was impaſſable in the face of an enemy; ſo that, beſides the impracticability of procuring ſubſiſtence for his troops in ſuch a length of march, he would run the hazard of being hemmed in by Greene, in ſuch a manner among the great rivers, that mere neceſſity and diſtreſs might at length compel them to the diſgrace of laying down their arms.

He might indeed have waited at Wilmington, for tranſports to proceed by ſea to Charles-Town. But this would have been a meaſure ſo little reputable, and in the end productive of ſo little advantage, that nothing leſs than the moſt extreme neceſſity, could induce him to ſubmit to it. Along with its other ill conſequences, much time would be loſt, and the cavalry would have been of neceſſity ſacrificed. It would beſides totally change the nature of the war; reduce it to be merely defenſive; and ſeem no leſs than a dereliction of its hope and fortune. All the flattering ideas of the reduction of the ſouthern colonies, and even of a co-operation in Virginia, would have been no more.

Under theſe embarraſſing circumſtances, and environed with the moſt perplexing difficulties, he formed the bold and vigorous reſolution of marching to Virginia, and endeavouring a junction with General Philips. This meaſure, in a ſituation which afforded only a choice of difficulties and dangers, was undoubtedly the beſt that could have been adopted; but yet was a reſolution of ſuch a nature, as could have been only conceived or entertained by an enterprizing, and determined mind. It was indeed a perilous adventure. The diſtance was great, the means of ſubſiſtence uncertain, and the difficulties and hazards were ſufficient to appal the boldeſt. The troops had already experienced the miſeries of traverſing an inhoſpitable and impracticable country, above 800 miles

miles in different directions; and they were now to encounter a new march of 300 more, in much worſe circumſtances, and under much more unfavourable auſpices, than at the outſet. Notwithſtanding the ſupplies which they had received at Wilmington, they were ſtill ſo deſtitute of neceſſaries, that, in the noble commander's own words, his cavalry wanted every thing, and his infantry every thing but ſhoes. Neither, ſays he, are in any condition to move, and yet they muſt march to-morrow! He had already himſelf a ſore experience, as he pathetically obſerved, of the miſeries of marching ſeveral hundreds of miles through a country, chiefly hoſtile, frequently deſart, which did not afford one active or uſeful friend, where no intelligence was to be obtained, and where no communication could be eſtabliſhed.

The ſituation of affairs was, however, ſo urgent, as to admit of no heſitation or delay; for if Greene ſhould return from South Carolina, the junction with Philips would be impracticable; and Lord Cornwallis was in no condition to maintain the war where he was. To guard againſt the worſt that might happen, he diſpatched inſtructions to Colonel Balfour, to ſend tranſports and proviſions to Wilmington, in order that they might be in readineſs to receive the troops in caſe of misfortune. Having thus provided for every poſſible contingency, he began his march on the 25th of April, and arrived at Peterſburgh, in Virginia, in ſomething leſs than a month.

He there received the unwelcome news, of the loſs of Major Gen. Philips; who, to the great detriment of the ſervice, had died of a fever a little before his arrival. That gentleman had been diſtinguiſhed in early life, by the full approbation which his ability in the conduct of the artillery had received from that great commander, the Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, on different occaſions of the late war in Germany; a commendation which he juſtified in every part of his ſubſequent conduct, but particularly in the unequalled toils, duties, and dangers, of the northern war under General Burgoyne.

The command had devolved immediately upon General Arnold, on Philips's death; and Sir Henry Clinton was ſending General Robertſon, the Governor of New York, to aſſume it, when he received the account of Lord Cornwallis's arrival, which rendered the meaſure unneceſſary. He likewiſe diſpatched a reinforcement of from 1500 to 2000 men, to the Cheſapeak, in order to ſupport the war with vigour in Virginia. In this central province, all the ſcattered operations of active hoſtility began at length to converge into a point. The plot thickened a-pace; and here the grand cataſtrophe of the American war, began at length to open to the fatigued attention of the world. The Marquis de la Fayette, with a very inferior force, kept on the north ſide of James River; and with a degree of prudence and caution, which does not always ſuit the military vivacity of his country and time of life, acted ſo entirely on the defenſive, and at the ſame time made ſo judicious a choice of poſts, and ſhewed ſuch

May 13th.

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vigour and design in his movements, as prevented any advantage being taken of his weakness. He had been in long and anxious expectation of being joined by General Wayne, with the Pensylvania line; and hoped that junction would have been soon followed by the arrival of Gen. Greene from South Carolina.

Upon the falling down of the British forces towards the mouth of the river, with a view of collecting contributions at Williamsburgh, and in the adjoining country, De la Fayette shewed no small activity in counteracting their design; and upon their sudden return up James River, and landing at Brandon, on the south side, he immediately conceived their object to be the forming of a junction with Lord Cornwallis, of whose marching through North Carolina, he had received some faint intelligence. He accordingly made a rapid movement, in order to get before them to Petersburgh, where the advantages of situation would in some considerable degree have compensated for the want of force, and would have rendered the junction troublesome, if not difficult. In this design he was foiled, through the vigilance and foresight of the British commanders; and the last act of Gen. Philips, was the taking possession of Petersburgh, four days only before his death. It does not appear that the Virginia militia displayed any great exertion at this time; and those who joined Fayette, being mostly without arms, could be of little use to him who had not the means of supplying them.

During these transactions, the important post at Ninety-Six, in South Carolina, was closely invested, and held to be in the most imminent danger. It seemed ominous (but such was the hostile state of the country) that none of the messengers, which Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour had dispatched to Col. Cruger, with orders for abandoning that place, had been able to reach him. The fort was, however, in a better state of defence than had been expected. The works were completed and strong; and the garrison amounted to near 400 regular troops, besides militia. In these circumstances, Greene found himself obliged to sit down before it in form, on the 22d of May; the garrison made a gallant defence, and the failure of provisions afforded the principal cause of apprehension.

The fortunate arrival of three regiments from Ireland, under the conduct of Col. Gould, afforded an opportunity for the relief of this garrison which would otherwise have been desperate. For though they were destined to join Lord Cornwallis, the good disposition and promptness of the commander to concur in the immediate defence of the province, as a more urgent service than any other in view, prevented those difficulties which must otherwise have arisen. These circumstances suddenly changed the face of affairs, and enabled Lord Rawdon to undertake the relief of Ninety-Six. June 3d.

Augusta had also been for some time besieged; and the whole province of Georgia was deemed to be in such imminent danger, that Lord Rawdon found himself under a necessity, even in that state

ſtate of weakneſs which preceded the arrival of the troops from Ireland, to part with the king's American regiment, and to commit it to the hazard of paſſing in ſuch ſmall craft as were at hand, and without convoy, from Charles-Town, in order to reinforce Sir James Wright at the town of Savannah. Thus the buſineſs of the war ſeemed every where to multiply in proportion to the means and proviſion that were provided from all quarters for its ſupport.

Lord Rawdon marched from Charles-Town, with ſomething more than 1700 foot, and 150 horſe, for the relief of Ninety-Six, in four days after the arrival of the troops from Ireland. He was joined on the way by Col. Doyle, with the troops which he had left at Monk's Corner; and he preſſed his march with all the rapidity which the exceſſive heat of the weather would permit. To prevent the enemy's detachments on the Congaree, and other parts on the eaſtern ſide, from reinforcing Greene, while he was puſhing forwards, he deviated from the courſe which he otherwiſe would have taken, and keeping conſiderably more to the right, paſſed the little Saluda, near its junction with the greater river of that name. This route, however, enabled a Colonel Middleton, who was on his way from the Congarees, with about 300 cavalry and mounted militia, to endeavour to haraſs his rear, and particularly to obſtruct the parties which were neceſſarily engaged in collecting cattle for the ſupport of the army. After giving ſome trouble of this nature, Middleton being trained into a well-laid ambuſh, was ſpiritedly charged by Major Coffin, at the head of the royal cavalry, and his party was ſo completely routed and diſperſed, as never again to appear during the march.

Lord Rawdon received intelligence on his march of the loſs of Auguſta; that the forces employed in the reduction of that place had joined Greene; and that the latter was determined, rather than give up his point at Ninety-Six, to ſtand an action. But that commander did not think himſelf in condition to hazard the encounter of ſo formidable a foe from without, while his hands were fully occupied by the exertions of an enemy within, who had from the beginning given conſtant proofs of their determined courage and reſolution; and ſtill much leſs, could his force admit of ſuch a diviſion, as would enable him, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, to encounter Lord Rawdon on his way, and at the ſame time to leave ſuch a ſtrength behind, as would be neceſſary for guarding the works, and overawing the garriſon. He was likewiſe diſappointed by Sumpter, to whom he had ſent inſtructions to join him with all the force that could be collected on the ſide of the Congaree, with a view, as he ſays himſelf, of fighting the Britiſh army on its way; but whether it proceeded from ſome ſlowneſs in his movements, or from unavoidable delay, the junction was not effected in time, and the route taken by Lord Rawdon for the purpoſe, rendered it afterwards impracticable.

But excluſive of theſe cauſes, he was not now to learn, the great ſuperiority of his enemy, in all field

field or general engagements. Nor in fact, was his force very conſiderable in reſpect even to number, and it was ſtill much leſs ſo in point of eſtimation. His continental, or regular troops, formed but a diminutive part of the whole; and the others, whatever ſervice they might be of in their own way, were of very little in regular action. On the other hand, he knew that the troops that were marching againſt him, were freſh, excellent, and that thoſe who were newly arrived were particularly full of ardour for an opportunity to ſignalize themſelves.

He however ſaw, that ſomething muſt neceſſarily be attempted; and that even the running of ſome riſque, which would not be too deciſive in its worſt conſequences, could ſcarcely, in the preſent circumſtances, be conſtrued into imprudence. He had already puſhed his ſap very cloſe to the principal redoubt of the fort at Ninety-Six, and had nearly completed a ſubterraneous paſſage into the ditch; but his artillery had failed in their effect, and the works of the fort had yet ſuffered little. The nearneſs of Lord Rawdon left no time for proceeding farther by regular approach; and as he could not venture an engagement, he muſt either abandon the place ſhamefully without an attempt, or hazard a premature aſſault.

June 19th. Gen. Greene determined upon the latter. The attack was made before day; and the Americans who were appointed to ſtorm the redoubt diſplayed an undaunted courage. The garriſon received them with equal gallantry. Scarcely an officer or private man who entered the ditch, but was either killed or wounded; and yet, though the impracticability of the attempt ſoon became as obvious to all as its danger, no one betrayed by a ſingle movement, the ſmalleſt indication of quitting his ground. The commander ſeeing ſo many brave men fruitleſsly fall, and that fortune or chance, which ſo often befriend bold enterprize, ſhewed no diſpoſition at all of acting in their favour, put an end to the combat, before it became more ruinous, by calling off the remainder ſoon after day light.

As Greene ſcarcely leſs than expected what now really happened, he had accordingly provided for the event. All the heavy baggage and incumbrances of the camp, had been previouſly diſpatched acroſs the Saluda; whither, upon this repulſe, he alſo immediately retired with his whole force. Though the Americans loſt ſome valuable officers, and not a few private men, in this attack, yet the number actually ſlain (as frequently happens in ſuch caſes) was much below what might have been expected. Nothing could exceed the conduct and firmneſs of the governor and garriſon, whether in the aſſault, or during every previous part of the ſiege.

Lord Rawdon arrived at Ninety-Six on the 21ſt of June; and having received intelligence that Greene had halted in a ſtrong poſition behind Buſh River, at about 16 miles diſtance, and that he was likewiſe ſtill incumbered with ſome waggons and baggage, that active commander put his fatigued troops again in motion, and croſſed the Saluda on the following night in his purſuit; every kind of baggage,

gage, even the men's packs, being left behind at Ninety-Six. Greene was, however, ſo well acquainted now with the character of his enemy, and ſo well guarded againſt ſurprize, that the Britiſh troops had ſcarcely paſſed the Saluda, when he moved with the utmoſt expedition from Buſh River. Lord Rawdon purſued him with the utmoſt rapidity; and arrived at the fords of the Ennoree, forty miles from Ninety-Six, within two hours of the time that Greene's army had paſſed them. The troops were ſo ſpent with fatigue, and overcome by the heat, that it was impoſſible to do more; but Greene was ſo apprehenſive of his enemies, that he continued his retreat, or rather flight, without ceaſing, until he had paſſed both the Tyger and the Broad Rivers.

The Britiſh commander found it neceſſary to abandon the poſt of Ninety-Six; but as he would not omit any mark of attention to the loyaliſts of that country, much leſs have it imagined that they were abandoned, he ordered that the principals ſhould be convened, and propoſals made to them—That if they would keep together, and undertake the defence of the diſtrict againſt their own diſaffected inhabitants, a ſmall party ſhould be left to keep them in countenance, with the farther encouragement, that detachments from the Congarees ſhould at all times be ſent to their ſupport, equivalent to any force which Greene might diſpatch to invade their territory; and that on the other hand, care ſhould be taken to provide for the removal of ſuch families as ſhould prefer to be fixed upon the abandoned plantations, within the new frontier, which was now intended to be eſtabliſhed.—The reſult was, that the loyaliſts determined, for the ſecurity and preſervation of their families, to bring them away under the protection of the army; with the farther view, when they were ſettled within the aſſigned limits, that the men ſhould be embodied, in order to make incurſions into the diſaffected ſettlements.

As Lord Rawdon's impatience to proſecute the buſineſs of the campaign, would not admit of his waiting for this determination, he left Colonel Cruger behind, with much the greater part of his force, for the purpoſe of carrying it into execution; while he marched himſelf, with 800 infantry, and ſixty horſe, for the Congarees.

He had previouſly written, when on his way to Ninety-Six, to Col. Balfour, ſtating the expediency of ſending a ſtrong corps from Charles-Town to Orangeburgh, as a proviſion againſt any ſiniſter event that might poſſibly happen. Upon Balfour's application to Colonel Gould, he immediately granted a battalion of his corps for that purpoſe; and Lord Rawdon, before his departure from Ninety-Six, had, in conſequence, received advice from the commandant of Charles-Town, not only of Gould's compliance, but that the 3d regiment was under orders to arrive at Orangeburgh by a ſpecified day, and there to wait his inſtructions; and, as if it were to remove every poſſibility of doubt, he received a ſucceeding letter from Col. Stuart, who commanded that regiment, with

informa-

information, that he was already considerably advanced on his way to Orangeburgh. This information, and a full confidence in the expected support, were the grounds upon which Lord Rawdon founded his immediate plan of operation; and were particularly the cause of his leaving so great a part of his force behind, and advancing with rather an unequal corps to the Congarees. In the same persuasion, he dispatched a number of messengers by different routes, to meet Colonel Stuart at Orangeburgh, and appointing their junction at the Congarees on the 3d of July.

Through some error or misapprehension, which has not been explained, Colonel Stuart was not only stopped on his march by orders from Charles-Town, but was so far recalled, that he fell back to Dorchester, on his return to that place. It may be observed, that the expectation and apprehension of a French fleet and army on the coast, in order to co-operate with Greene, and to put a final end to the war in that quarter by the reduction of Charles-Town, had a great influence on the operations of this campaign, and on the conduct and movements of the commanders on both sides; it may not therefore be unreasonable to suppose, that this apprehension, perhaps revived by some new report, occasioned the recal of Col. Stuart. But, however that may be, it certainly was a measure which, under other circumstances, might have proved fatal in the event to Lord Rawdon; and which was attended with no small danger even in the present instance.

Greene had early information of the state of force in which the British commander marched from Ninety-Six; and had the fortune likewise to intercept a letter from Colonel Stuart, signifying the change that had been made in his instructions, and the consequent impossibility of meeting him at the time and place appointed. These circumstances led him to the design of surrounding Lord Rawdon so effectually that he could not extricate himself, while he continued lingering in the vain expectation of a reinforcement which was not to arrive.

Lord Rawdon by forced marches, in order to surprize a body of militia, of which he had received some intelligence, arrived at the Congarees two days before the appointed time; a rapidity of movement, which probably had no small effect upon the issue of Greene's scheme. He soon discovered that the enemy's light troops were in the neighbourhood, and took the necessary precautions on that account; but his cavalry, regardless of express orders to the contrary, went out by themselves to forage on the morning of the very day upon which Col. Stuart was expected. They were soon surrounded by Lee's legion, and two officers, with forty dragoons, and their horses, were all taken without a blow. This, which in other circumstances would not have been much thought of, was in the present a most grievous stroke; and more particularly so, as the means of procuring intelligence in this crisis of so much danger, was thereby cut off almost entirely. This loss, with the unexpected

July 1st.

assem-

aſſemblage of the enemy, which had already been diſcovered in the neighbourhood, and the unexpected failure on Stuart's ſide, happily laid open at once to Lord Rawdon, all the danger of his own ſituation. He accordingly determined inſtantly to begin his march towards Orangeburgh; and to meet or find Stuart wherever he was.

His route lay acroſs Congaree Creek, at about three miles diſtance; a broad piece of water, in moſt parts deep, and encloſed by difficult banks. Colonel Lee, who had been appointed to the guard of this paſſage, having deſtroyed the bridge, and felled trees to render the fords impracticable, had then poſted himſelf behind the creek, with a conſiderable body of cavalry, and ſome infantry of his legion. The intenſe heat of the ſun about noon, which ſeemed almoſt to diſable every ſort of motion, and in every ſpecies of animal, had thrown the Americans off their guard; and the unexpected arrival of the Britiſh forces, in that critical period, ſerved much to facilitate the paſſage. After the exchange of only a few ineffectual ſhots, a body of infantry were thrown over, who having diſperſed the enemy without trouble, the troops ſoon cleared the fords, and paſſed them without interruption.

Lord Rawdon was joined on the day after his arrival at Orangeburgh by Col. Stuart, with his own regiment; but was greatly diſappointed at finding that he was unaccompanied by a body of cavalry, which had been promiſed, and which were ſo particularly wanted. At the ſame time advice was received, that Greene had paſſed the Congaree, and was in full march to attack the Britiſh army. That commander, having miſſed, what he little leſs than conſidered as a certain prey, had collected all the force which the country afforded, and ſeemed determined, before they were farther ſtrengthened, to try his fortune in the field. He accordingly led his army within four miles of the Britiſh camp; and in the evening, at the head of his cavalry, cloſely reconnoitred their poſition. As their ſituation had but little of ſtrength in it, excepting that the winding of the river, which lay in their rear, would in ſome meaſure remedy the total want of cavalry, by ſerving as a cover to their flanks, and reducing the enemy to a direct attack, Lord Rawdon flattered himſelf, that Greene's ſuperiority of numbers, would in the morning have tempted him to the trial. July 10th.

While the Britiſh forces were impatient for that wiſhed event, their diſpoſition and countenance had produced a directly contrary effect. For Greene had abandoned his camp, and retired with ſuch expedition in the night, and his movement was ſo long and effectually covered by his numerous light troops, that he had ſecured his paſſage back acroſs the Congaree, before Lord Rawdon had received notice of his retreat. —An unſucceſsful attempt made by Sumpter, Lee, and Marion, upon the 19th regiment at Monk's Corner, along with this retreat of Greene, cloſed the campaign in South Carolina; the intemperateneſs of the climate, for a ſeaſon, over-

overcoming the violence of man. Greene being joined by Marion and the reſt, took poſt on the high hills of Santee, to the eaſtward of that river. The Santee, the Congaree, and the Ediſto, were the eſtabliſhed boundaries on the Britiſh ſide.

It is impoſſible to do juſtice to the ſpirit, patience, and invincible fortitude, diſplayed by the commanders, officers, and ſoldiers, during theſe dreadful campaigns in the two Carolinas. They had not only to contend with men, and theſe by no means deficient in bravery and enterprize, but they encountered and ſurmounted difficulties and fatigues from the climate and country, which would appear inſuperable in theory, and almoſt incredible in the relation. They diſplayed military, and, we may add, moral virtues, far above all praiſe. During renewed ſucceſſions of forced marches, under the rage of a burning ſun, and in a climate, at that ſeaſon, peculiarly inimical to man, they were frequently, when ſinking under the moſt exceſſive fatigue, not only deſtitute of every comfort, but almoſt of every neceſſary, which ſeems eſſential to his exiſtence. During the greater part of the time, they were totally deſtitute of bread, and the country afforded no vegetables for a ſubſtitute. Salt at length failed; and their only reſources were water, and the wild cattle which they found in the woods. Above fifty men, in this laſt expedition, ſunk under the vigour of their exertions, and periſhed through mere fatigue. We muſt not, however, confine the praiſe entirely to the Britiſh troops, as a detachment of Heſſians, which had been lent upon this occaſion by General de Boſe, deſervedly come in for their proper ſhare. The ſame juſtice requires, that the Americans ſhould not be deprived of their ſhare of this fatal glory. They had the ſame difficulties to encounter, joined to a fortune in the field generally adverſe. Yet, on the whole, the campaign terminated in their favour: General Greene having recovered the far greater part of Georgia, and of the two Carolinas.

It is a melancholy conſideration, that ſuch talents, bravery, and military virtue, ſhould have been exerciſed in vain. This inauſpicious war, was the only one, in which they would not have produced their proper effect.

CHAP. VI.

Great loſs ſuſtained by the Spaniſh fleet in a hurricane, on its way to the attack of Weſt Florida. Is refitted, and again proceeds from the Havannah. Penſacola inveſted by ſea and land. Gallant defence. Principal redoubt blown up by accident, which compels Governor Cheſter and General Campbell to ſurrender. Weſt Indies. Ineffectual attempt on the Iſland of St. Vincent. Dutch iſland of St. Euſtatius taken by the Britiſh fleet and army, under Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan. Prodigious booty. Iſlands of St. Martin and Saba ſurrender. Dutch man of war and convoy on their return to Europe, purſued and taken. The ſettlements of Demerary, Iſſequibo, and the Berbices, on the coaſt of Surinam, make a tender of ſubmiſſion to the Britiſh government, and are granted favourable conditions. Diſcontents, complaints, and law ſuits, occaſioned by the confiſcation of private property at St. Euſtatius. M. de Graſſe arrives with a fleet and great convoy in the Weſt Indies from Europe. Engagement between him and the Admirals Sir Samuel Hood and Drake, in the Channel of St. Lucia. Sir George Rodney departs from St. Euſtatius to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy. Ineffective attempt made by the Marquis de Bouille on the iſland of St. Lucia. French invaſion of the iſland of Tobago. Vigorous defence. Public ſpirit of the planters. Surrendered by capitulation. M. de Graſſe, having eſcorted a vaſt convoy on its way to Europe, proceeds with his fleet to the Cheſapeak. Sir George Rodney returns to England; and Sir Samuel Hood ſails with a ſquadron to counteract the deſigns of De Graſſe at the Cheſapeak.

WHILST Engliſhman was thus fighting againſt Engliſhman in the Carolina's and Virginia; ſtill farther to the ſouthward, Spain was proſecuting her views with effect againſt England in Weſt Florida. We have already ſhewn the ſucceſs that had attended Don Bernardo de Galvez, Governor of Louiſiana, in his different expeditions, in the years 1779, and 1780, firſt againſt the Britiſh ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi, and afterwards againſt the town and fort of Mobille. Theſe ſucceſſes, and the conſequent reduction of General Campbell's ſmall force, naturally extended his views to the taking of Penſacola, and thereby completing the conqueſt of the province. The involved ſtate of the Britiſh affairs (which were every day, and in every part of the globe, becoming more embarraſſed) afforded every encouragement that could quicken him in the proſecution of that deſign.

After ſome unſucceſsful attempts in the laſt year, which had failed in the outſet, Don Galvez went himſelf to the Havannah, in order to forward, and take upon him the command, of a great expediton from thence, which was intended for the beginning of the preſent. Fortune ſeemed at firſt to ſmile upon Penſacola; but unluckily no means were, or probably could be afforded, to profit of the occaſion,

ſion. A violent hurricane had nearly ruined the Spaniſh fleet. Four capital ſhips, beſides others of different denominations, were totally loſt, and all on board periſhed. The loſs of lives was rated conſiderably above two thouſand. The remainder of the ſhattered fleet put back to the Havannah; ſeveral of them being much torn and diſmaſted, and the whole conſiderably injured.

The critical arrival of four ſtore-ſhips from Spain during their abſence, enabled them to refit ſpeedily; and knowing there was no Britiſh naval force in the way to oppoſe them, without waiting till the whole fleet was in condition, they diſpatched five ſail of the line, with ſeveral ſmaller veſſels of war, to conduct Don Galvez, with between ſeven and eight thouſand land forces, on the expedition. This force arrived before Penſacola on the 9th of March, 1781; and were followed in time by Don Solano, with the remainder of the fleet, the whole amounting to 15 ſail of the line.

The principal ſtrength of the place ſeems to have lain in the defence of the harbour; for while that was made good, the enemy would not only be expoſed to great difficulties and diſadvantages in their landing, but afterwards in the covering and carrying on of their approaches; and which would ſtill be too diſtant from the works to produce much effect. But the land batteries were not ſufficient to guard the entrance without ſome naval ſupport; and that which they now had was weak indeed, conſiſting only of two ſloops, or other ſmall veſſels of war. Theſe, however, gallantly ſeconded the batteries; and both together gave much trouble, and cauſed no ſmall delay to the enemy. Their vaſt ſuperiority of force, when it could be brought properly to bear, was, however, irreſiſtible. The paſſage was accordingly at length forced; the landing effected; ground broken; and the ſiege commenced in form by ſea and land. The garriſon was weak; and compoſed of almoſt all ſorts of men. Detachments from, or rather the remains of different Britiſh regiments; Maryland and Penſylvania loyaliſts; ſome of the German troops of Waldeck; together with ſailors, marines; inhabitants (for every man was of neceſſity a ſoldier); negroes; and, before the place was cloſely inveſted, a few Indians; formed the motly aſſemblage, who were to defend Penſacola, againſt ſo formidable a force.

It was much to the honour of Gen. Campbell, the governor, that there was not the ſmalleſt diſcordance in ſo various a garriſon; and it was no leſs praiſe to themſelves, that the whole behaved bravely, patiently, and obediently, through every part of the ſiege. It would be unneceſſary to mention, only that their fate might otherwiſe appear doubtful, that the captains, officers, and crews of the two royal ſloops of war, after burning their veſſels, bore a diſtinguiſhed part in the defence of the fort. Indeed every part of the defence was vigorous; and notwithſtanding the weakneſs of the garriſon, ſome well-directed ſallies were gallantly made, and ſucceſſfully executed. In the firſt week of May, the beſiegers had yet done nothing that looked to a deciſion.

ciſion. They were not, however, at all ſlack in advancing their works, and the fate of the place was inevitable; but it would ſtill have coſt them conſiderably more time and trouble, if an untoward accident had not fruſtrated the hopes of the beſieged.

The principal defence of the place conſiſted in a ſtrong advanced redoubt, by which it was covered, and which commanded the narrow approach to it on the land ſide. This was accordingly to be ſupported to the laſt; which had hitherto been done with great ſpirit, and the works had ſuffered leſs than might have been expected. The accidental falling of a bomb, near the door of the magazine belonging to the redoubt, and which lay under its center, decided the fate of Penſacola. The burſting of the bomb forced open the door, ſet fire to the powder within, and in an inſtant, the whole body of the redoubt preſented nothing but a heap of rubbiſh. Of about an hundred men who ſuffered by this exploſion, three parts loſt their lives, and the fourth were miſerably maimed and wounded. Two flank works ſtill remained entire; and through the extraordinary coolneſs and intrepidity of the officers who commanded in theſe, and the excellent uſe they made of their artillery, the beſiegers, who ruſhed on pellmell to take advantage of the confuſion, and to ſtorm the place, were, in the firſt onſet, repulſed. By this brave exertion, time was obtained to carry off the wounded, and ſuch artillery as were not buried in the ruins. But the enemy now bringing up their whole force to attack the flank redoubts, they were of neceſſity abandoned.

May 8th.

The enemy then made a ſhew of advancing to ſtorm the body of the place; but the countenance they obſerved, and the ſtate of preparation they perceived, induced them to relinquiſh the deſign. They, however, now derived ſuch advantages from the poſſeſſion of the ruined redoubt, and of the flank works, that the place was no longer tenable; for they commanded ſome of the principal batteries ſo effectually with their ſmall arms, that the ſoldiers and ſeamen could no longer ſtand to their guns. In theſe circumſtances, and without the moſt diſtant hope of relief, it would have been madneſs to contend longer. It was ſingular, that in this ſtate of imminent and apparent danger, and with all the horrors of the recent deſtruction before their eyes, not a ſingle word about a ſurrender was heard in the garriſon. An honourable capitulation was obtained, by Mr. Cheſter, the governor of the province, and Major Gen. Campbell; and that was all that could have been expected, or even hoped. The place was delivered up, on the day two months, that the enemy had firſt made their appearance.

May 9th.

Thus fell the province of Weſt Florida, which had been held among the principal acquiſitions obtained to Great Britain by the treaty of Paris.

Whilſt the war thus alternately raged and languiſhed in different parts of the continent of North America, it will be neceſſary to take a view of thoſe tranſactions in the Weſt-Indies, which led in no ſmall degree in their conſe-

quences,

quences, to that fatal event which was to close the campaign in Virginia, and seemed to threaten no less than the total extinction of the British power in that part of the world.

Upon the return of Admiral Sir George Rodney from New York to St. Lucia, towards the close of the year 1780, the reports which were received, of the ruinous and dismantled state of the island of St. Vincent, through the effects of the late hurricane, induced that commander and Gen. Vaughan, to undertake an expedition for the recovery of that island. Some troops, with the marines of the fleet, were accordingly landed; but after a day's continuance on the island, the enemy were found in such force, and their works in such condition, that the commanders suffered the mortification of being obliged to re-embark the troops, without venturing to hazard an attack.

It was not much more than a month after this ineffective attempt, when the commanders in chief by sea and land, in consequence of instructions from England, directed their views to the reduction of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. This island, barren and contemptible in itself, has long been the seat of a lucrative and prodigious commerce; and indeed might be considered as the grand free port of the West Indies and America, and as a general market, and magazine, to all nations. Its richest harvests were, however, during the seasons of warfare amongst its neighbours; owing to its neutrality and situation, with its unbounded and unclogged freedom of trade. So strong was the spirit of commerce, and so immersed were its checkered and transient inhabitants in traffick and gain, that when Holland herself was engaged in a war, the same freedom of trade continued, and the enemy were not only supplied with all manner of common necessaries, but even with naval and military stores, as if no rupture with the parent state had taken place.

This island is a natural fortification; and has but one landing place, which might be easily rendered impracticable to an enemy. But hostility and war, with respect to themselves, being totally out of the ideas of such a people, defence could not be thought of. It will be easily conceived, that the inhabitants of such a barren rock were not very numerous; and from the circumstances we have related, it will not appear surprizing, that they should notwithstanding include in their number, some less or greater portion of the natives of almost all trading countries.

The British fleet and army, after exciting an alarm on the coasts of Martinique, with a view only of disguising their real design, suddenly appeared before and surrounded the island of St. Eustatius with a great force; when Sir George Rodney, and General Vaughan, sent a peremptory summons to the governor, to surrender the island and its dependencies within an hour; accompanied with a declaration or threat, that if any resistance was made, he must abide by the consequences. Mr. de Graaff, the governor, totally ignorant of the rupture between England and Holland,

Feb. 3d. 1781.

Holland, could ſcarcely, at firſt, believe the officer who delivered the ſummons to be ſerious. He however, returned for anſwer, that being utterly incapable of making any defence againſt the force which inveſted the iſland, he muſt of neceſſity ſurrender it; only recommending the town and inhabitants to the known and uſual clemency of Britiſh commanders.

The wealth found in the place was ſo prodigious, as to excite the aſtoniſhment even of the conquerors, notwithſtanding their intimate previous knowledge of its nature and circumſtances. The whole iſland ſeemed to be only one vaſt magazine. All the ſtore-houſes were not only filled with various commodities, but the beach was covered with hogſheads of ſugar and tobacco. The value of the commodities was eſtimated, by a looſe, but ſuppoſed moderate calculation, as being conſiderably above three millions ſterling. But this was only a part. The capture of ſhipping was immenſe. Above 250 veſſels of all denominations, and many of them richly loaded, were taken in the bay; excluſive of a Dutch frigate of war, of 38 guns, and five leſſer ones.

The neighbouring ſmall iſlands of St. Martin and Saba, were reduced in the ſame manner; and Sir George Rodney having information, that a fleet of about 30 large ſhips, richly laden with ſugar, and other Weſt-India commodities, had juſt before his arrival ſailed from St. Euſtatius for Holland, under convoy of a flag ſhip of 60 guns, he immediately diſpatched the Monarch and Panther, with the Sybil frigate, in purſuit of them. Theſe ſoon overtook the convoy; and the Dutch admiral refuſing to ſtrike his colours (for he had refrained, as he ſaw he could not ſupport it, from hoiſting his flag, upon a principle of naval if not national honour), and all remonſtrances proving ineffectual to ſubdue his obſtinacy, a ſhort engagement took place between him, in the Mars, and Capt. Reynolds in the Monarch; in which the former died bravely in defence of his ſhip. The Mars then immediately ſtruck; and the Panther and Sybil having in the mean time reſtrained the flight and ſeparation of the merchantmen, the whole convoy was taken.

This was one of the ſevereſt blows that Holland could have received. The Dutch Weſt-India company, with the magiſtracy and citizens of Amſterdam, were undoubtedly great ſufferers upon the occaſion. But the greateſt weight of the calamity ſeems to have fallen upon the Britiſh merchants, who confiding in the neutrality of the place, and in ſome acts of parliament, made to encourage the bringing of their property from the iſlands lately taken by the French, had accumulated a great quantity of Weſt-India produce, as well as of European goods, in this place. For all the property was indiſcriminately ſeized, inventoried, and declared to be confiſcated.

The keeping up of Dutch colours in the nominal fort at St. Euſtatius, rendered it for ſome time a decoy to French, Dutch, and American veſſels; a conſiderable number

number of which fell accordingly into the hands of the conquerors without trouble.

As the immediate paſſion uſually preſides over, if it does not entirely ſuperſede all former, ſo our new enemy ſeemed now to abſord the whole body of our wrath. In the Weſt-Indies particularly, the late ſucceſſes, and the immenſe rewards which they afforded, directed all the views of rapine, if not of ambition, to the Dutch ſettlements, which were totally defenceleſs; and indeed, it ſeemed for a time, as if it had been entirely forgotten, that we had any other enemy to encounter. It was impoſſible that this dream could laſt long. And, like other illuſions of the ſame nature, the awaking was attended with diſappointment, trouble, and diſmay.

A ſquadron of privateers, moſtly belonging to Briſtol, as ſoon as they heard of the rupture with Holland, boldly entered the rivers of Demerary and Iſſequibo, which were deemed highly dangerous, if not utterly unnavigable to ſtrangers, and with no ſmall degree of courage and enterprize, brought out, from under the guns of the Dutch forts and batteries, almoſt all the veſſels of any value in either river. The prizes were conſiderable. And as it was impoſſible for the privateers to be yet provided with letters of marque and reprizal againſt the new and unexpected enemy, they truſted to the honour of government not to take any advantage of that defect, in doing, what appeared to them, to be good ſervice to their country as well as to themſelves.

The ſettlements of Demerary and Iſſequibo, as well as the neighbouring one of Berbices, appertain to the Dutch colony, which is known by the general name of Surinam, and which forms a moderate part of that vaſt country on the continent of South America, antiently called Guiana; for ever rendered memorable by the unhappy fate of Sir Walter Raleigh. The principal ſettlement, properly called Surinam, and which takes its name, like the reſt, from the great river on which it is ſituated, was firſt cultivated (but not in any great degree) by the Engliſh; and being taken by the Dutch in the wars with Charles the Second, was ceded to them by a peace, as ſome ſort of compenſation for their valuable colony of New York. We are not certain, whether a law ſuit is not yet in ſome degree kept alive, by the deſcendants or aſſignees of a Mr. Clifford, at that time the moſt conſiderable planter in the colony, and who laid large claims upon the Dutch Weſt-India company for the loſſes which he then ſuſtained, and which have never yet been properly adjuſted.

The governors and principal inhabitants of thoſe ſettlements which we firſt mentioned, being ſenſible of their defenceleſs ſituation, and being terrified at the apprehenſion of falling a prey to adventurers, who are as ſeldom conſidered as being ſtrict obſervers, as of being proper judges, of the laws and cuſtoms of nations, had already made a tender of their ſubmiſſion to the Governor of Barbadoes; requiring no other terms but a participation of thoſe which had been granted to St. Euſtatius

and its dependencies. As both parties were equally ignorant of theſe terms, the newly propoſed ſubjects were neceſſarily referred to the commanders in chief; who could alone tell the nature of conditions which had never been ſpecified, and of which they were conſequently the only interpreters and judges. A deputation was accordingly ſent by the Dutch coloniſts to St. Euſtatius for that purpoſe.

There they found that they had made a very improvident demand, as in effect, the terms which they required were, that they might be deſpoiled of all their goods, and baniſhed from their habitations. For this was the general treatment of the greater part of the inhabitants of St. Euſtatius. But the odium which this rigorous proceeding began already to excite, the embarraſſments which it created, and the impoſſibility of applying it, though nominally required, to a people who had voluntarily put themſelves under the Britiſh dominion, obtained another ſort of treatment for the inhabitants of theſe colonies.

A nice line of diſtinction was drawn, between the honeſty and good properties of Dutchmen inhabiting the continent, and of thoſe living in iſlands; and the point of comparative merit was decided entirely to the honour and advantage of the former. They were accordingly fully ſecured in their property; were allowed to be governed by their own laws and magiſtrates; and had every other indulgence granted, which could have been reaſonably or fairly expected. At the ſame time that their unfortunate fellows in St. Euſtatius were obliged to undergo the opprobium, of having the atrocious crimes of perfidiouſneſs and perjury publicly charged and recorded againſt them in the gazettes; and were accordingly treated as men unworthy of any degree of protection or ſecurity, much leſs of indulgence or favour.

The Britiſh merchants in the Weſt-Indies, as well as at home, having been great ſufferers by the indiſcriminate confiſcation of all private property which took place at St. Euſtatius, and the former, who from their vicinity were more early and fully acquainted with the tranſactions at that place, being likewiſe greatly irritated at the ſuppoſed injuſtice and oppreſſion, and the certain ruin, which individuals of their own country, as well as their friends and correſpondents of others, had ſuffered, all theſe matters at firſt drew out ſtrong repreſentations to the commanders in chief, and were at length productive of numberleſs law ſuits, which probably, are not likely to be ſoon ended. Theſe circumſtances by degrees occaſioned a great coolneſs, which at length carried too many marks of growing up to a ſettled diſlike between the naval commander in chief, and thoſe old Britiſh iſlands which were committed to his charge and protection; than which, nothing more unhappily could have taken place, in ſo critical a ſeaſon of the war.

Fretted and teized by remonſtrances which he deſpiſed, and by legal diſquiſitions, which he could not attend to, the indignation of the admiral appeared, in ſtrong charges, and an unuſual tone and language, even in thoſe parts of his

his public letters which were held out in the gazette. That gazette made him declare, that the ſettlements of Demerary and Iſſequibo would, in a few years, under proper encouragement, employ more ſhips, and produce more revenue, than all the Britiſh Weſt-India Iſlands put together. In another of the ſame date, and printed in the ſame paper, he lays the moſt dangerous charge againſt the Britiſh Weſt-India merchants, of their having, regardleſs of the duty which they owed to their country, contracted with the enemy to ſupply them with proviſions and naval ſtores; and he ſtrengthened the charge by an aſſurance, that his utmoſt attention ſhould be directed to prevent the treaſon from taking place.

It would be an injuſtice to the mercantile intereſt, not to take notice, that (after a large reward had been long publicly offered by the aſſembly of St. Chriſtopher's, for the diſcovery of thoſe ſuppoſed traitors) a juſtification, or refutation of the above charge, has been publicly and ſtrongly, but without effect, demanded. It is however, too much to be apprehended, that the diſtaſte and heart-burnings ariſing from theſe matters, as well as from the unhappy diſputes which have ſubſiſted between the governments and the people in ſome of the Weſt-India iſlands, contributed, in no ſmall degree, to the loſſes we have ſuſtained in that quarter of the globe.

The merchants of St. Chriſtopher's, who had ſuffered greatly by the confiſcation of property at St. Euſtatius, and even the legiſlature of that iſland, took up the buſineſs, ſo far as it was in their power, with great ſpirit. Several ſtrong remonſtrances were preſented to the commander in chief, in which they ſtated, that their connections with that iſland, and the property they had lodged in it, were all in purſuance to, and under the ſanction of, repeated acts of the Britiſh parliament; and that their commerce had beſides been entirely founded upon the fair principles of merchandize, and conducted according to the rules and maxims adopted by all trading nations. Theſe remonſtrances produced as little effect, as the laconic anſwers, which were at ſome times with difficulty obtained by the committees who were deputed upon the buſineſs, afforded of ſatisfaction. At length, after much application, and rather as an act of favour to an individual, a note was given in writing, the ſtrength of which lay in the following words, viz. that the iſland was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it ſhould be treated.

It is painful to go through all the circumſtances of a buſineſs, which drew upon us (whether the acts were defenſible or not) the odium of all Europe. Suffice it to ſay, that all the horrors of ſo univerſal an havock of property, which might be expected, were fully realized. The beginning of this ſtorm fell chiefly upon the Jews, who were numerous and wealthy in the iſland. Several of theſe, with many indignities, were torn from their habitations, and baniſhed without knowing the place of their deſtination; and were, in that ſtate of nakedneſs and

and wretchedneſs, tranſported, as outlaws, and landed on the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's. The aſſembly of that iſland, to their great honour, paſſed an immediate act for their preſent relief, and future proviſion, until they ſhould have time to recover from their calamitous ſituation. The Jews were ſoon followed by the Americans, ſome, at leaſt, of whom had been obliged to fly their native country, through the part which they had taken in ſupport of the Britiſh cauſe and government. Theſe unhappy people were ſent to St. Chriſtopher's, in much the ſame plight and condition with the former; and were received and entertained with the ſame humanity and liberality, by the people and legiſlature of that iſland. The French merchants and traders were next baniſhed; and, at length, the native Dutch, or at leaſt the Amſterdammers, met with the ſame fate.

In the mean time, public ſales were advertiſed, invitation given, and protection afforded, to purchaſers of all nations and ſorts; and the iſland of St. Euſtatius became one of the greateſt auctions that ever was opened in the univerſe. Never was a better market for buyers. The goods were ſold for a trifling proportion of their value; and it is ſaid, that the French agents made the greateſt and the moſt lucrative purchaſes. The greateſt part of the goods were conveyed to French and Daniſh iſlands; and left to find their way to thoſe enemies, for having ſupplied whom, in the way of ordinary commerce, this iſland ſuffered ſo ſeverely.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the accounts we have of theſe tranſactions are derived either from the immediate ſufferers, thoſe Britiſh Weſt Indians, who, if not partakers in the loſs, were more or leſs connected with thoſe who were loſers, or thoſe public accounts given by foreigners. It muſt be acknowledged, that reſentment, prejudice, or partiality, may be ſuppoſed to operate, in a leſs or greater degree, in all thoſe modes of information. But it muſt likewiſe be obſerved, that this kind of evidence has, upon this occaſion, derived great force, from the weightineſs of the matter, and from its having neither been controverted, nor any other account ſubſtituted in its place, by thoſe who were moſt, and indeed very deeply, intereſted in its refutation.

Whilſt the conquerors of St. Euſtatius were bewildered in the immenſity of their plunder, matters were tending to a criſis, which was to ſhake the Britiſh power, both in the Weſt Indies and America, to the center.

For towards the end of March, M. de Graſſe had 22d. ſailed from Breſt, with a fleet of 25 ſail of the line, the Sagittaire of 54 guns, 6000 land forces, and a prodigious convoy, amounting to between two and three hundred ſhips; the whole compoſing one of the largeſt and richeſt fleets that ever ſailed from France. Of this formidable armament, five ſhips of the line, under M. de Suffrein, with part of the land forces, were deſtined for the Eaſt Indies; with a view likewiſe of intercepting Commodore Johnſtone's ſquadron and convoy on their way. M. de Graſſe, with 20 ſail of the line, the

the 50-gun ſhip, and the remainder of the convoy, proceeded directly for Fort-Royal-Bay in Martinique.

Though the departure of Commodore Hotham, with a ſmall ſquadron, in the month of March, for the protection of the convoy, which bore a great part of the St. Euſtatius treaſure, on its way to England, reduced Sir George Rodney's fleet to 21 ſail of the line; yet, we ſee, that it was not unequal to the encounter of the outward-bound French force under M. de Graſſe. But the French had already eight ſhips of the line, and one 50, at Martinique and St. Domingo; ſo that the arrival of De Graſſe muſt give them a decided ſuperiority; for Sir Peter Parker had only four ſail of the line at Jamaica; and neither the protection of that iſland, nor its ſituation ſo far to leeward, would admit of any reinforcement to the windward iſlands fleet. Every thing ſeemed therefore to depend upon the intercepting of De Graſſe's ſquadron and convoy; as his junction, freſh and without action, with the French ſhips already on the ſtation, muſt evidently afford the means of endangering moſt, if not all, of the neighbouring Britiſh iſlands.

Sir George Rodney, accordingly, detached the Admirals Sir Samuel Hood and Drake, with 17 ſail of the line, to cruize off Fort Royal Bay, for that purpoſe. He ſtill continued himſelf, with his own ſhip the Sandwich of 90, and the Triumph of 74 guns, at St. Euſtatius; as did General Vaughan, with the ſtrong body of troops, which ſeem to have been, from the firſt, not at all neceſſary to the reduction of a place in ſo poor a ſtate of defence. The Prince William, of 64 guns, was then at St. Lucia; and the Panther, of 60, on a cruize.

The courſe of the French fleet from Europe to Fort Royal, lay through the channel of St. Lucia; which is about ten leagues over, and ſeparates that Iſland from Martinique. The Cape, or Point of Salines, in the latter, marks the opening of the channel, on the eaſtern, or windward end, which is the courſe from Europe; Fort-Royal lies towards the bottom of the channel, where it widens into the main ſea, at its weſtern or leeward end. The Diamond Rock lies about half way between, being detached from the point of a ſtrangely-notched and broken neck of land, which ſtretches into the channel; the weſt ſide of that peninſula or neck forming one of the limits of a large bay, which takes its name from Fort-Royal; and that town and noble harbour lying on the oppoſite ſide of the bay.

It has been reported (but we know not upon what authority) that Sir Samuel Hood made ſome remonſtrance, againſt the ſquadron's being ſtationed in the channel off Fort-Royal Bay, as being continually liable to fall to leeward, and conſequently of being rendered incapable of intercepting the enemy; and that he therefore propoſed, that they ſhould cruiſe to windward of Point Salines, a ſituation which would render it impracticable for any fleet to enter the channel without their encounter; but, it is likewiſe added, that this advice or propoſal was ſo far from being attended

attended to, that he was peremptorily ordered to adhere to his inſtruction. However that was, whether the propoſal was made, rejected, or not, the ſubſequent events fully ſhewed, that the cruize off Point Salines was the meaſure which ſhould have been adopted.

On the 28th of April, ſome of Sir Samuel Hood's headmoſt cruizers returned haſtily in ſight, with ſignals, which announced the appearance of a ſuperior fleet and a numerous convoy, to the windward of Point Salines. Notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of force now denounced, the admiral immediately made a ſignal for a general chace to windward, and in ſome time after, when the ſhips were pretty well come up, he formed the line a-head. The importance and emergency of the occaſion, occaſioned a conſultation between the admirals in the night, when it was determined to continue the line a-head, ſo that, getting as much as poſſible to windward, they might be enabled to cloſe in with Fort-Royal at day-light, ſo as to cut off the enemy from that harbour.

April 29. In the morning the enemy appeared; their convoy keeping cloſe in under the land, were turning round the Diamond's Rock, while De Graſſe drew up his fleet in a line of battle a-breaſt, for their protection; and notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions of the Britiſh commanders to gain the wind and prevent it, four ſhips of the line and a fifty, in Fort-Royal harbour, were enabled to join him. The Prince William likewiſe, with great celerity and diligence, opportunely joined Sir Samuel Hood at this critical moment; but the French had ſtill a ſuperiority of ſix ſhips of the line.

Notwithſtanding this great inequality of force, every poſſible manœuvre was gallantly uſed by the Britiſh commanders to bring the enemy to cloſe action. As the Count de Graſſe was to windward, the option lay entirely with him, both as to action and diſtance. He choſe, in the ſeaman's phraſe, a *long ſhot* diſtance. The French fired half an hour before their ſhot could take effect, and conſequently before their fire was returned. At half paſt eleven their balls began to reach, and the engagement commenced; but ſtill at too great a diſtance, and continued ſo to the laſt. Never, ſaid Sir Samuel Hood, was more powder and ſhot thrown away in one day.

Although the engagement ſeemed, in point of firing, to be general, the diſtance preſerved by the enemy, and the ſtrenuous, though ineffectual efforts, made, upon every occaſion that offered, by the Britiſh ſhips, to cloſe with them, rendered it partial. Thus ſome of the beſt ſhips in the fleet, under the conduct of captains of the moſt undoubted bravery, did not loſe a man; and the loſs ſuſtained by ſeveral others in the ſame circumſtances, was ſo trifling as not to deſerve mention. On the other hand, the van, and the neareſt ſhips of the center, in their conſtant ſtruggles to cloſe the enemy, and get to windward, were expoſed to a long and heavy weight of fire. By this means, a few ſhips ſuffered very conſiderably; but this was more with reſpect to their

their maſts, hulls, and rigging, than to the loſs of men.

The action laſted, from firſt to laſt, about three hours; when the Britiſh commander, finding that not one ſhot in ten of the enemy reached, and that all his endeavours to gain the wind were fruitleſs, ceaſed firing entirely; and his example was, not long after, followed on the other ſide. The loſs in men amounted only to 36 ſlain, and 161 wounded; but the ſervice ſuffered conſiderably in the death of the brave Captain Nott of the Centaur, who, with his firſt lieutenant, Plowden, gallantly fell in this action. The damage ſuſtained by the Ruſſel, and at leaſt four other ſhips, which rendered them unfit for immediate ſervice, was the great loſs ſuſtained in this engagement. The former had received ſo many ſhot between wind and water, that ſhe was obliged to bear away for St. Euſtatius; and was with difficulty preſerved from ſinking in her paſſage.

From theſe unfortunate circumſtances, the gallant exertions made by the Britiſh officers, for bringing an unwilling enemy to that deciſive action, which they ſo much wiſhed, but were not able to compel him to, had the ſingular fortune of being productive of ſome of the actual conſequences of a defeat; and of affording ſo decided a ſuperiority to the French, as could not for ſome time be reſiſted.

The French admiral was not blind to the great advantage, which the preſent comparative ſituation of both fleets afforded. He accordingly continued in ſight, and ſeemed diſpoſed, on the following day, to bring matters to that deciſive concluſion, which he had before ſo much evaded. But this deſign was totally diſconcerted by the unexpected manœuvres of Sir Samuel Hood. That judicious commander, ſeeing that the French line was very irregular, and that the van, and a part of the center, were greatly ſeparated from the reſt, made one of thoſe bold movements, which, by throwing the fleet into the greateſt apparent confuſion, would, to a common eye, have appeared to be full of danger, at the ſame time that it could only have been directed by the greateſt judgment. The object was to gain the wind, in which he was very near ſucceeding; and in that caſe, he would have cut off and deſtroyed one half of the French fleet, before it could have been ſuccoured by the other. Fortune failed in her uſual favour to bold enterprize. This movement, however, totally changed the appearance of things; and the Britiſh fleet, inſtead of being on the defenſive, carried the face of being the aggreſſor during the reſt of the day.

But the condition of the wounded ſhips, which grew continually worſe by motion, induced the Britiſh commanders, in the night, to a determination of bearing away for Antigua, inſtead of loſing any more time, in daring or tempting the enemy to an engagement. The French, elated at any thing which carried the appearance of a flight, and might afford ſome room for boaſting of a victory, purſued in the morning with a vigour which they had not before ſhewn; and the Torbay having fallen conſiderably a-ſtern, ſhe received

ceived ſeveral ſhot, and ſome damage, before ſhe could be relieved, although that was both ſpeedily and boldly done. The French, in order to keep up the name and appearance of a purſuit, continued in ſight for the reſt of the day.

The arrival of the Ruſſel, indicated to the conquerors of St. Euſtatius, the danger of attending any longer to the ſale of the effects in that iſland. Great exertions were employed to fit her again for ſervice; her damages, though the water had riſen above the platform of her magazine, were ſpeedily repaired; and in three days after her arrival, the admiral and general, with the Sandwich, Triumph, Ruſſel, and ſome land forces, proceeded to join Sir Samuel Hood, and to protect the iſlands. Some time was neceſſarily ſpent at Antigua, after the junction, for the repair and ſupply of the ſhips which had ſuffered in the late action; and that buſineſs being done, the commander in chief proceeded with the whole fleet to Barbadoes.

In the mean time, the Marquis de Bouille, with a body of troops under the Viſcount Damas, landed in the night on the iſland of St. Lucia, which, though otherwiſe ſtrong, was in no great condition of defence in point of garriſon. They took poſt at the town of Groſs-Iſlet, where they hoped to ſurprize and cut off the 46th regiment. By ſome fortune or accident they failed in this; though they ſurprized a centinel before day-light, who was killed in the ſcuffle; they likewiſe took an officer priſoner, who, with the ſick ſoldiers in the hoſpital, they ſent off to Martinique. They then ſummoned the officer who commanded in Pigeon-Iſland, threatening the utmoſt ſeverities of war, if he did not immediately ſurrender. This poſt was of the utmoſt importance, particularly with reſpect to their intended naval operations. The ſpirited anſwer which was returned, and the vigorous preparation they perceived for an obſtinate defence, ſeems to have given the firſt check to their hopes, if not to their progreſs.

May 10.

The accidental arrival of a frigate, and of two ſloops of war, who immediately landed their ſeamen and marines to man the batteries, contributed much to the preſervation of the iſland. In the mean time, the moſt ſoldierly diſpoſitions, and vigorous preparations, were made by Brig. Gen. St. Leger, for the defence of the different poſts; which were ſufficiently ſtrong, but too numerous and extenſive for his ſmall force. He was admirably ſeconded by his officers; and the merchants, with the maſters and crews of the trading veſſels, all went, with a degree of alacrity and ſpirit which did them the higheſt honour, to man and defend their reſpective poſts. Thus, every Engliſh, and conſequently military part of the iſland, carried the appearance of the moſt determined reſiſtance. The natives were naturally on the ſide of the enemy.

In the night, the French troops took a moſt painful and toilſome march, to ſeize the ſtrong grounds about Morne-Fortune, which was the grand or principal poſt. And on the ſucceeding day, the danger of the iſland ſeemed imminent indeed;

deed; for it was inveſted by a French fleet of 25 ſail of the line. Theſe bore down, with a view of anchoring in Groſs-Iſlet Bay; but they were received with ſo ſevere and well directed a fire, from the batteries on Pigeon-Iſland, that they were obliged to abandon their deſign, and to retire, with evident marks of confuſion and diſmay, to leeward. The Marquis de Bouille, notwithſtanding, continued to make ſuch diſpoſitions, as indicated a determined deſign of attacking the ſtrong poſt of the Morne on the following day. But to the aſtoniſhment of the whole iſland, and the no ſmall diſmay of the French natives, he re-embarked all his troops in the night, and the whole fleet was ſeen ſtanding over to Martinique in the morning.

The French pretend that this was only a feint, intended to diſguiſe their real deſign upon Tobago. But this ſeems calculated merely to cover the diſgrace of an ineffectual attempt, and of a retreat. The attempt upon St. Lucia was likely to produce a directly contrary effect to that pretended, and to interrupt, inſtead of furthering, their deſigns upon Tobago. It was to be expected that the firſt report of it would have drawn Sir George Rodney to that quarter, and that his arrival would have been about the time when they leaſt wiſhed it with reſpect to Tobago. The probability ſeems to be, that the French inhabitants, in their eagerneſs to return to their natural government, had repreſented things, with reſpect to the ſtrength and ſituation of the iſland, to be worſe than they really were, and, on the other hand, that the ſpirit and vigour diſplayed by the commanding officer and his garriſon, made them appear much better. Thus, meeting with a countenance and preparation which they ſo little expected, it is very probable, that the conſideration of Tobago might then have operated with no ſmall effect, and that they deemed it prudent not to waſte their force, where the reſiſtance was ſo determined, and the event ſo doubtful, while they had a greater, and perhaps leſs difficult, object in view.

On the very day that Sir George Rodney, with the fleet, arrived from Antigua at Barbadoes, a ſmall French ſquadron, with a conſiderable body of land forces, under the conduct of M. de Blanchelande, late governor of St. Vincent's, appeared off the iſland of Tobago. Governor Ferguſon immediately diſpatched the Rattleſnake, which was a very ſwift ſailer, with the intelligence to Sir George Rodney, at Barbadoes; and Captain Barnes had the fortune to deliver the diſpatch, at twelve o'clock on the night of the 26th. It is not our buſineſs to enter any farther into the controverſy which aroſe upon this ſubject, than merely to ſtate the facts as they appear. The commander in chief ſeems to have conceived, that the force of the invaders was much leſs, and that of the iſland conſiderably greater, than they really were. Under the influence of this opinion, the commander in chief contented himſelf with ſending Admiral Drake, with ſix ſail of the line, ſome frigates, with a regiment, and two additional companies, May 23.

panies, under the conduct of Gen. Skeene, to its relief. At the ſame time, ſome light and expeditious veſſels were diſpatched, to give the governor notice of the intended ſuccour.

As the commander in chief had received intelligence, that M. de Graſſe, with his whole fleet, had quitted Fort Royal, and were cruizing between the Diamond Rock and St. Lucia, he gave Mr. Drake notice of the enemy's ſituation; cautioning him at the ſame time to be upon his guard, and by no means to riſque an engagement with a ſuperior force; but after landing the forces for the relief of Tobago, and endeavouring to deſtroy the ſquadron by which it was inveſted, to rejoin him without a moment's loſs of time.

29th. On the day after Drake's departure, the admiral received intelligence, that the French fleet had been ſeen to the windward of St. Lucia, and were apparently ſtanding towards Tobago. Upon Admiral Drake's making the iſland, on the morning of the 30th, he diſcovered the enemy's fleet, of 27 ſail, to leeward, between him and the land. He, however, like a bold and good officer, did not haul his wind, until he had fully explored their ſituation and ſtrength, and ſaw that it was utterly impoſſible for him to land the troops, or to afford any relief whatever to the iſland. He was purſued to a conſiderable diſtance; while the garriſon and inhabitants, beſides the mortification of perceiving that they could not be relieved, were farther comforted with a report, that the whole ſquadron and reinforcement had fallen a prey to the enemy.

Admiral Drake diſpatched his ſwifteſt frigates to inform Sir George Rodney of what had paſt, and of his own return; and arrived in ſight of Carliſle Bay on the 2d of June; the fleet did not come out until the following day. General Vaughan himſelf, with, probably, an additional reinforcement of troops, now embarked on board the fleet.

Upon their arrival off Tobago, they ſoon received intelligence of the loſs of the iſland, and on the following day were in ſight of the French fleet, conſiſting of 24 ſail of the line. The Britiſh amounted either to 20, or 21; for the accounts vary in that degree. Notwithſtanding this diſparity, never were ſhips cleared with more alacrity for action, nor a greater diſpoſition ſhewn to it, both by officers and private ſeamen, than was now done. As the enemy were to leeward, and ſeemed more diſpoſed to ſeek than to ſhun an action, the option ſeemed to lie on our ſide. It is probable, that the loſs of the iſland operated in deterring the Britiſh commander in chief from hazarding an action againſt a ſuperior force, when the great object of ſuch a riſque was then no more.

Sir George Rodney, in his public diſpatches, ſeems to think that the enemy's deſign was to entangle him in the night among the Granadillas, and by decoying him among certain currents which would have carried him far to leeward, thereby gain an opportunity of reducing the valuable

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iſland of Barbadoes, without the poſſibility of his being able to arrive in time to its ſuccour.

During theſe tranſactions at ſea, the French met with more trouble and difficulty in the reduction of the iſland, than they could have expected. After failing in their attempts on the firſt day, they made their landing good in Courland Bay, on the morning of the 24th. Their force was eſtimated at between two and three thouſand men; whilſt, according to the governor's public account, the whole of that for the defence of the iſland of Tobago, including regulars, militia, and ſeamen, amounted only to 427 whites, of all ſorts, who held arms in their hands; but to theſe were added a ſmall party of forty armed negroes, who behaved with undaunted courage in ſome deſperate ſervice.

After ſome emulation about poſts, and attempts to impede the progreſs of the enemy, Gov. Ferguſon, with the troops and militia, retired to a poſt called Concordia: which is a naturally ſtrong high ground, that commands a view of both ſides of the iſland; a circumſtance which made it particularly intereſting to the defendants. There they were inveſted, as cloſely as the nature and difficulty of the ground would admit; M. de Blanchelande having in vain endeavoured to terrify the militia into a deſertion of their arms, by threatening plunder and confiſcation to their plantations, if they did not return within a ſhort given time to them.

The ſpirit and patriotiſm ſhewn by the planters in general during this unequal conteſt is highly deſerving of praiſe; but the extraordinary inſtances of magnanimity afforded by individuals, claims particular notice. On the firſt advance of the enemy, and diſpute about poſts, Mr. Collow generouſly propoſed to the governor, to ſet fire to his own canes, in order to diſtreſs them on their march, and to impede their progreſs through a faſt and narrow country. During the ſiege of Concordia, Mr. Law, underſtanding that the governor was unwilling to deſtroy his dwelling-houſe and the adjoining buildings, although they afforded ſome cover to the enemy, not only made the propoſal himſelf to burn them, but carried it inſtantly into execution under their fire, being aſſiſted only by his own negroes, who ſuffered not a little in the conflict. And when the garriſon were retired to their laſt faſtneſs, the way to which was exceedingly narrow, difficult, and utterly unknown to the enemy, neither the threats of immediate deſtruction to his property, nor of inſtant death to himſelf, could in any degree bend his mind to the taſk, of conducting the French army againſt his friends.

The ſiege of Concordia, if ſuch may be called the attack on an open hill, where the garriſon had no cover or ſhelter from the weather, continued from the 25th of May, until the morning of the 1ſt of June. During the greater part of that time, the governor and garriſon were buoyed up by the hope, and impatiently expected the arrrival, of that ſuccour, on which their preſervation ſeemed

ſeemed to depend. We have already ſeen that they were diſappointed.

The whole French fleet, with the Marquis de Bouille, and a ſtrong reinforcement of troops from Martinique, had arrived off the iſland before the Engliſh ſuccours; and Admiral Drake's letter, which was received in the morning of the 30th, and announced his bringing 528 land forces to their relief, was accompanied with, or ſpeedily followed by intelligence, that he had fallen in with, and was therefore moſt probably taken by the enemy. The Marquis de Bouille, with his forces, were landed on that evening; and on the following day joined thoſe before Concordia.

In the mean time, the French had taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the neighbouring hills, ſome of which overlooked that place, and of other near and advantageous poſts and approaches, which led to their deſign of carrying it by ſtorm in the night; a meaſure which they had already tried, but had failed through the error of their guides, in miſſing the right path in the dark. Under a knowledge of all theſe circumſtances, a council of war was called in the garriſon, and the engineers being of opinion that the place was no longer tenable againſt ſo ſuperior a force, it was unanimouſly determined to retreat to a poſt on the Main Ridge, where a few huts had been built, and ſome proviſions and ammunition previouſly lodged for the purpoſe. The retreat was ſo well conducted, that the place was evacuated at one in the morning of the firſt of June, and notwithſtanding the nearneſs of the enemy, the Marquis de Bouille ſent a flag after day-break to ſummon the garriſon.

But the patience and conſtancy of the militia, and even of the regular forces, began now to be exhauſted. Fretted by long expectation, vexed by continued diſappointment, worn down by fatigue, hardſhip, and the inclemency of the climate, the former beheld their whole preſent and future proſperity at the brink of ruin; they felt that their obſtinacy would render the deſtruction inevitable, whilſt they could not found a hope in favour of farther exertion; they conſidered that their proviſions would be exhauſted in a few days, which would render their laſt ſtrong hold of no longer avail; and all ideas of relief, if not quite eraſed, were now grown ſo faint as to be ſcarcely perceptible.

The meaſures purſued by the Marquis de Bouille, could not but ſtrengthen theſe diſpoſitions. Enraged at the eſcape of an enemy whom he had conſidered as in his hands; and ſtill more provoked through the apprehenſion of the war being protracted, from that enemy's getting into a difficult country, and an impracticable poſt, theſe circumſtances occaſioned his departing from thoſe principles of lenity which had hitherto ſo much diſtinguiſhed his conduct. To the operation of theſe circumſtances may be added, as not leaſt, or weakeſt, his open and avowed reſentment for the late tranſactions at St. Euſtatius; having made himſelf a direct party in that buſineſs by his fruitleſs interpoſition

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in behalf of the inhabitants, and by a correſpondence of mutual irritation and defiance on the ſubject.

The marquis accordingly purſued the garriſon with the utmoſt eagerneſs; but finding his troops overcome by the heat, while the fugitives were ſtill four miles ahead of him, and that he could not even procure any perſon who would conduct his army thro' the ſtrong country and intricate ways which they had to paſs, he determined to make terror unite with force in the ſhortening of a buſineſs, which was likely otherwiſe not only to become troubleſome and tedious, but might in the iſſue obſtruct thoſe great objects which the fleet had ſtill in view. He accordingly ordered two capital plantations, which were at hand, to be reduced to aſhes; and finding their deſtruction did not produce the deſired effect, he ordered that four more ſhould meet with a ſimilar fate at the commencement of every four hours, until the iſland was laid waſte, or that a ſurrender ſhould be made.

The garriſon had halted at a place called Caledonia, which lies about the centre of the iſland. From thence, acroſs the Main Ridge to the north ſide, is a road or path, ſix miles long, and ſo narrow, that two men cannot walk abreaſt. It is evident, that a few men might defend this long and narrow paſs againſt, almoſt, any force; and at its farther end was the poſt which we have mentioned, where the huts were conſtructed, and the proviſions lodged, as the laſt reſort. Whilſt the forces reſted at Caledonia, the governor, with the engineers, puſhed on to the huts, in order to make ſuch preparations as were neceſſary for their reception and diſpoſition.

During his abſence, the plantations were ſet on fire, and the threats held out which we have mentioned. Some account of theſe tranſactions brought the governor haſtily back; but he found the face of affairs totally changed upon his return. The militia, before ſo reſolute and determined, now abſolutely refuſed to hold out any longer. All his remonſtrances were in vain. The deſpair of relief, and the ſight or the immediate apprehenſion of ſeeing their eſtates in flames, made them deaf to every thing. It would ſeem, though it does not abſolutely appear, that a treaty was already opened, and perhaps far advanced, with the Marquis de Bouille; and it is evident, that the regular forces were no more diſpoſed than the inhabitants to meet the ideas of the governor, in protracting a deſperate defence to the laſt poſſible moment, and that too at the price of irretrievable deſtruction to the whole iſland. The governor repreſents, that the commanding officer accordingly refuſed to obey his orders in taking poſſeſſion of the paſs which led to the huts; and that the regular forces determined to capitulate without his conſent.

The governor, as firſt, refuſed to have any ſhare in the capitulation; but finding that the current was too ſtrong to be by any means reſiſted, and conſidering that the people, in the preſent ſtate of apprehenſion, hurry, and danger, were liable to agree haſtily to worſe terms than might otherwiſe

be obtained, he at length acceded. The conditions were exceedingly favourable and advantageous to the iſland. Thoſe of Dominique were laid as the ground-work by the governor; and though they differed in ſome things, the inhabitants thought the preſent, upon the whole, to be more favourable. The French boaſt highly in their accounts, of the generoſity of their commanders; who inſtead of being irritated by the difficulties of the conqueſt, and the extreme perſeverance of the inhabitants, who had thereby ſubjected all their property to the fate of war, were, on the contrary, charmed with ſuch courage and fidelity; and in thoſe generous ſentiments granted the moſt liberal conditions. A conduct, they ſay, which affords a noble example for all ſucceſsful commanders; as it will ſtand an eternal reproach to their enemies, who have diveſted themſelves of every principle of benevolence and juſtice.

The ſeaſon was now far advanced; the French had done their buſineſs in the Weſt Indies with equal ſucceſs and eclat; but the great object of the campaign was ſtill to be purſued on the coaſts of North America. M. de Graſſe accordingly departed with his whole fleet and a large convoy, from Fort Royal Bay in Martinique, on the 5th of July, and arrived at Cape François, in Hiſpaniola, or St. Domingo, by the middle of the month; where he was reinforced by five ſail of the line. In the beginning of the following month he ſailed from the Cape with a prodigious convoy; which having ſeen out of danger, and touched at the Havannah for money, he then directed his courſe, with 28 ſail of the line, and ſeveral frigates, for the Cheſapeak; where he arrived by the end of the month.

Aug. 5th.

The naval operations of this time may be conſidered as the great hinges, upon which the whole fortune of the war, at leaſt in America, was to turn. It is not therefore a wonder, that hot and violent altercations aroſe upon the conduct of the naval campaign in the Weſt Indies, and its ſubſequent effect upon the fate of North America. Theſe matters are in the end to be determined by opinion; and as they rely too upon facts variouſly ſtated and repreſented, an hiſtorian, ſo near the time, whilſt heats ſubſiſt, and the true ſtate of evidence cannot be ſufficiently aſcertained, finds it difficult to determine any thing concerning them. We can, therefore, only repreſent the arguments of the different ſides in this diſcuſſion.—Thoſe who attacked the conduct of that campaign ſaid, that the Britiſh commander had pretty ſtrongly pledged himſelf in his public account of the loſs of Tobago, that M. de Graſſe ſhould not have much to boaſt of at the end of the campaign. But, ſay they, did the proceeding of M. de Graſſe, with ſo little interruption, firſt to leeward, through the whole extent of the Weſt-India ſeas, and quite round to the Bay of Cheſapeak, ſupport that promiſe? Had, ſay they, Sir George Rodney directly purſued the enemy with his whole fleet, only touching at Jamaica to be reinforced by Sir Peter Parker, the

the ſquadron already at New York would have given him ſo decided a ſuperiority, that De Graſſe muſt either have relinquiſhed his deſign, abandoned the coaſts of North America, and thereby defeated the whole ſcheme and hope of the campaign, or otherwiſe have fallen a victim to his own temerity. The leaſt fortunate of theſe events, they ſay, would, in a great meaſure, have changed the nature and fortune of the war; but the other would have done it entirely.

Inſtead, they added, of purſuing theſe vigorous and happy meaſures, the admiral abandoned his charge at the moſt critical period, that had been, or could have been, in this or any war; and at the ſame time brought away the beſt ſhip in the fleet from the ſcene of action and ſervice, merely for the conveyance of his own perſon to England. But this was but a trifle, they ſay, compared with the conſequences of the arrangement and diſpoſition of the fleet which he made before his departure.—That he frittered away its force into ſmall parts without an object. That, inſtead of drawing any ſtrength from Jamaica to aſſiſt in counteracting the grand deſign of the enemy, he ſent three ſhips of the line there, at a time when they could not be wanted; and left others in the Leeward Iſlands, where they had no longer an enemy to encounter; the French not having left a ſingle ſhip of the line in all that quarter. That even the ſending of a convoy to Europe, in ſo critical a ſeaſon of emergency and danger, was a meaſure which ſhould have been deferred, until the great objects of the campaign were decided. And that theſe various errors, which were finally concluded and wound up by the ſending of Sir Samuel Hood, with a force totally inadequate, to oppoſe De Graſſe at the Cheſapeak, opened the way, and led directly to, that fatal cataſtrophe, which ſoon ſucceeded in Virginia.

On the other ſide it has been anſwered, that the admiral's ſtate of health rendered his return to England a matter of neceſſity. But that if no ſuch neceſſity exiſted, the expedition to the Cheſapeak, or any other, could not have been committed to a braver or better officer, than to Sir Samuel Hood: a man, who the admiral could not hold himſelf ſuperior to in any reſpect. That, although the Cambridge was undoubtedly a prime ſhip, and a capital ſailer, yet, that ſome part of the iron work of her rudder had been ſo much worn, that its repair was indiſpenſable before ſhe proceeded upon farther ſervice. That conſidering the great convoy which De Graſſe had under his charge, the ſeaſon of the year, and the crazy ſtate of many of his ſhips, it was not to be expected or ſuppoſed, but that he would have ſent the greater part of his fleet along with the merchantmen to France, and it was fairly to be preſumed, that he would only have retained thoſe which were in condition to undergo the American ſervice. But that independent of that circumſtance, Hood's force was tantamount to its purpoſes; and that was all a commander in chief had to conſider. For if Admiral Graves had kept his ſquadron en-

tire, and had met Hood, as was expected, at the Cheſapeak, they would not only have been in poſſeſſion before De Graſſe's arrival, but they would have encountered him with a ſufficient force, along with great advantages of ſituation. But by his fruitleſs and unfortunate cruize before Boſton, he not only miſſed the proper time of joining, but his force was impaired and weakened by the bad weather which he met; ſo that it was the lack of the ſhips which, upon that account, were left behind at New York to repair, that afforded a ſuperiority to De Graſſe in the ſubſequent engagement, and not any defect on Sir Samuel Hood's ſide. It indeed now appeared, that no timely notice had been received at New York, either of De Graſſe's motions, or of Hood's deſtination to the Cheſapeak. But if the expreſſes which Sir George Rodney had diſpatched for that purpoſe, were taken by the enemy, or otherwiſe detained, it was no fault on his ſide; it was a misfortune to be regretted; but which could neither have been abſolutely foreſeen, nor prevented if it could.

CHAP. VII.

Lord Cornwallis's progreſs in Virginia. Paſſes the River James, and the South Anna. Parties detached to ſcour the interior country. Arms and ſtores deſtroyed. Army falls back towards the ſea. Rear attacked on the march to Williamſburg. Action previous to paſſing the River James. Lord Cornwallis fortifies the poſts of York Town, and Glouceſter Point. Tranſactions on the ſide of New York. Junction of the American army under Gen. Waſhington, and the French forces under the Count de Rochambeau, on the White Plains. Appearances of an attack on New York, Staten Iſland, and Sandy Hook. Combined army ſuddenly march to the Delaware, which they paſs at Trenton, and continuing their courſe through Philadelphia, arrived at the head of Elk. Expedition, under the conduct of Gen. Arnold, to New London. Deſperate defence made at Fort Griſwold, which is taken by ſtorm, with conſiderable loſs. New London burnt. Great loſs ſuſtained by the Americans, in the deſtruction of naval ſtores and merchandize. Sir Samuel Hood arrives off the Cheſapeak; and not meeting the ſquadron from New York, proceeds to Sandy Hook. M. de Barras ſails from Rhode Iſland to join the Count de Graſſe. Admiral Graves departs from New York. M. de Graſſe arrives from the Weſt Indies in the Cheſapeak. Engagement between the Britiſh and French fleets. Lord Cornwallis's army cloſely blocked up on the ſide of the Cheſapeak. The combined army are conveyed by water from Baltimore, and join the Marquis de la Fayette's forces at Williamſburg. Poſts at York and Glouceſter cloſely inveſted. Siege regularly formed, and trenches opened by the enemy. Reſolution of a council of war at New York, to uſe every exertion of the fleet and army for the ſuccour of the forces in Virginia. Unavoidable delay in refitting the fleet. Sir Henry Clinton embarks, with 7000 land forces, on board the

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men of war. Defences of York Town ruined, and the batteries ſilenced, by the ſuperior weight of the enemy's artillery. Take two redoubts, and complete their ſecond parallel. Succeſsful ſally. The poſt being no longer tenable, Lord Cornwallis attempts to paſs the troops over to Glouceſter Point in the night, but the deſign is fruſtrated by a ſudden ſtorm. He is obliged to enter into a capitulation with Gen. Waſhington. Conditions. The Britiſh fleet and army arrive off the Cheſapeak, five days after the ſurrender.

WE are now to purſue the courſe of events and action, from the Weſt Indies to the coaſts of North America. Lord Cornwallis, upon taking the command in Virginia, found the enemy in no condition to oppoſe him with any degree of effect; and the people being at mercy in that open country, numbers came in daily, both to his own immediate army, and to the corps which he placed under the conduct of Gen. Leſlie at Portſmouth, in order to give in their paroles, and to receive protections. He firſt advanced from Peterſburgh, on the Appomatox, to the River James, which he paſſed at Weſtover, and thence marching through Hanover county, croſſed the South Anna, or Pamonky River; the Marquis de la Fayette conſtantly following his motions, but at a guarded diſtance, in every part of his progreſs.

From the South Anna, he diſpatched the Colonels Tarleton and Simcoe, with ſeparate detachments, to ſcour the interior country. As they penetrated into the inmoſt receſſes, which had hitherto been free from ſpoil, they were enabled to do great miſchief to the Americans. Beſides deſtroying ſeveral thouſand ſtand of arms which were under repair, with large quantities of gunpowder, ſalt, harneſs, and other matters, which were either deſigned for, or capable of being applied to military ſervices, they were very near falling upon the Baron de Steuben, who with 800 men was poſted at a place called the Point of Fork; and who with difficulty ſaved his rear from being cut off.

Upon the return of theſe detachments, Lord Cornwallis fell back with the army to Richmond, on the River James; and afterwards, moving ſtill nearer to the ſea, paſſed the Chickahominy, and towards the latter end of June arrived at Williamſburg, the capital of Virginia, which lies ſomething about mid-way between the great rivers of York and James. In the courſe of the march, beſides articles ſimilar to thoſe which we have already ſpecified, above 2000 hogſheads of tobacco, with ſome braſs, and a great number of iron ordnance, were deſtroyed; and a few of the moſt valuable of the former, with a quantity of ſhot and ſhells, brought off. On their approach to Williamſburg, Simcoe's corps, which brought up the rear, were purſued, and warmly attacked by a ſuperior force of the enemy; but after a briſk action, the aſſailants were repulſed; each ſide boaſting the greater loſs ſuſtained by the other, as well as the ſuperiority of its force.

The Marquis de la Fayette being now ſtrongly reinforced by the

arrival of General Wayne, with the Penſylvania ſuccours, and ſtill farther by the junction of the Baron de Steuben's troops, as well as of ſuch militia as Virginia herſelf was by this time able to arm and aſſemble, the enemy were become ſo powerful, as to reſtrain all diſtant operations on the Britiſh ſide, and even to render the collective movements of the army a matter of guarded caution. Lord Cornwallis was now likewiſe to look to the ultimate object of the campaign, which was the eſtabliſhment of a ſtrong poſt and place of arms, that by embracing ſome good harbour, or commanding one of the great navigable rivers, ſhould equally facilitate the future operations by ſea and land. We have formerly ſeen, that in one of the earlieſt expeditions to the Cheſapeak, Portſmouth had been ſtrongly recommended, and unwillingly quitted by the commanders then on that ſervice, as a poſt eminently calculated for maintaining by land a kind of warfare, at once defenſive on their part, and extremely diſtreſſing to the province, and at the ſame time for affording ſuch a ſtation to the Britiſh fleets and cruizers, as would render them entirely maſters of that great bay. A meaſure which, it was expected, would annihilate its foreign and domeſtic commerce, in a great meaſure cut off the communication between the ſurrounding provinces, and lay them open to continual deſcent and invaſion, in their moſt unguarded parts. All ideas at that time, of the utility of ſuch a poſt, were indeed founded on the confidence of a conſtant naval ſuperiority for its protection, as well as of its being defenſible by a moderate force on the land ſide.

This meaſure of eſtabliſhing a permanent poſt, in a good ſituation for naval enterprize, in Virginia, had for ſome time become a very favourite object with the miniſters at home; and ſeems, from thence, to have been at length adopted by Sir Henry Clinton. It is however to be obſerved, that the victory at Guildford, Gen. Arnold's uninterrupted progreſs, together with the reinforcements which had, this year, been ſent from Europe to New York, had excited a full expectation at home, that the preſent campaign would have been deciſive with reſpect to the ſubjugation of the more ſouthern colonies. It was accordingly urged, that the war in Virginia ſhould be proſecuted with every poſſible degree of exertion, as well for the purpoſe of ſecuring the Carolinas, as with a view to the intrinſic value and importance of that province.

It does not ſeem, that the commander in chief in New York, and Lord Cornwallis, entirely coincided in opinion, with reſpect to the mode of conducting the war in Virginia. The former, under an expectation of being himſelf attacked by the combined forces of America and France, wiſhed to recall a conſiderable part of the troops for the ſecurity of New York, and only to leave ſuch a number on that ſervice, as would be neceſſary for the maintenance of ſuch a poſt as we have mentioned. On the other hand, Lord Cornwallis, who formed his judgment on the ſpot, ſeems to have been of opinion, that nothing leſs than an offenſive war, could anſwer

fwer any effectual purpoſe in Virginia; and that a conſiderable army would be neceſſary for that end; as an inſufficient force, however ſucceſsful in the beginning, would, in his judgment, at length be overborne. He likewiſe held, that the reduction of that province was eſſential, both to the ſubjugation, and the retention of the Carolinas. But as his whole force, without any reduction, was utterly unequal to that purpoſe, and that he likewiſe ſeems to have placed no great truſt in the advantages to be derived from the eſtabliſhment of the propoſed poſt, it became evident that he felt his ſituation very uneaſy and diſagreeable, not only with regard to the difficulties which he foreſaw in the ſervice, but with reſpect to the weight of reſponſibility to which he would be liable.

He therefore wiſhed much to return to his command in South Carolina, where the illneſs of Lord Rawdon rendered his preſence highly neceſſary. This, however, could not be complied with; the commander in chief probably thinking it too hazardous to quit New York himſelf in the preſent ſtate of affairs, and perhaps judging, that the ſervice in Virginia would require all the abilities of the preſent commander.

Upon a perſonal examination of Portſmouth, with a view to the intended poſt, Lord Cornwallis found it totally incompetent to the purpoſe; for beſides the ſituation being exceedingly unhealthy, and that it would require little leſs than an army for its defence, it was incapable of receiving ſhips of the line, whoſe protection, if neceſſary, and a ſecure ſtation at all times, were the principal objects of the deſign. Point Comfort, which had likewiſe been propoſed, was found no leſs incapable or defective; and the poſts of York Town, on the river of the ſame name, with Glouceſter Point, on the oppoſite ſide, afforded the only remaining choice. Theſe, however, required the whole force which Lord Cornwallis poſſeſſed to render them effective; and Sir Henry Clinton, upon that information, at length relinquiſhed the deſign of recalling any part of the troops. The uncertainty, however, upon this point, ſeems to have conſiderably delayed the conſtruction of the works for the defence of thoſe poſts.

The hot and ſickly ſeaſon, which was now for a time to reſtrain all military operations on both ſides, occaſioned Lord Cornwallis's departure from Williamſburgh, with a view of paſſing the River James, in order to examine the ſituation of Portſmouth, Hampton, and thoſe other places on that ſide which had been held out as capable of being converted into the intended fortified poſt. The army, upon this movement, having encamped in an open field near James Town, but under the cover of their ſhipping, preparatory to their paſſing the river, the American commanders were now grown ſo confident, that the Marquis de la Fayette immediately puſhed forward the Generals Wayne and Muhlenburg, with the light troops and van, while he followed himſelf with the remainder of the army, in order to take ſome advantage of their ſituation, or to interrupt their deſign.

Lord Cornwallis received intelligence that July 6th.

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the enemy were approaching about noon; and about four o'clock, they attacked his outpoſts, in conſiderable force, and with no ſmall warmth. As he was perſuaded that they would not venture a ſerious attack, excepting under the impreſſion that only a rear guard were left on that ſide of the river, he accordingly uſed all means that might encourage that opinion of his weakneſs. The ſtratagem ſeems to have taken, for about ſun-ſet, a body of troops, with artillery, began to form in his front; upon which he immediately ordered the army to advance in two lines upon the enemy. The attack was begun with great ſpirit by the firſt line; and there being nothing but militia oppoſed to the light infantry on the right, the action was ſoon over on that ſide. But Col. Dundas's brigade on the left, conſiſting of the 43d, 76th, and 80th regiments, meeting the Penſylvania line, with a detachment of de la Fayette's continentals, and two ſix-pounders, under the conduct of General Wayne, a ſhort, but very warm action enſued; in which, however, the Americans were repulſed, and obliged to abandon their cannon. The darkneſs prevented any purſuit, and the Britiſh army paſſed the river in the night.

The Americans repreſent the ardour of their troops to be ſo high that it could not be reſtrained by their commanders. This circumſtance, while it flattered national vanity, ſerved another purpoſe. It alone could juſtify coming to a cloſe engagement with ſuch a diſparity of force. They likewiſe, to remove the impreſſion of the repulſe they had received, attributed the haſty paſſage of the river in the night, to the dread entertained of their united force, the reſt of the army, they ſay, being coming up with the utmoſt expedition to ſupport the van, and on the next day to renew the action. De la Fayette gives great praiſe to the American commanders, as well as to the officers and troops in general which were engaged.

The Britiſh general, finding no place, upon examination, on the ſouth ſide of the river, which could anſwer the purpoſe propoſed by a permanent poſt, and having received Sir Henry Clinton's conſent for retaining his whole force, on the grounds which we have already ſeen, returned with the army, in Auguſt, to that peninſula which lies between the great rivers of James and York, and compoſes one of the richeſt and moſt beautiful parts of Virginia. York Town lies on the river of that name, on the narroweſt part of the peninſula, where it is about five miles over; Glouceſter Point is on the north, and oppoſite ſide; and projects ſo far into the river, that the diſtance between both is not much above a mile. They entirely command the navigation of the river, which is ſo deep at this place, as to admit ſhips of great ſize and burthen. Lord Cornwallis applied with the utmoſt diligence and induſtry to fortify theſe poſts, and to render them equally reſpectable by land, and to the water; his force amounting, in the whole, to ſomething about 7000 excellent troops.

During theſe tranſactions, Waſhington was playing a game of great addreſs on the ſide of New York.

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The marauding parties from that city and its dependencies, had long been exceedingly diligent and ſucceſsful in intercepting the American poſts and diſpatches, by which means ſome uſeful knowledge was undoubtedly obtained, with reſpect to their internal affairs, as many of theſe letters were written by their principal commanders, by men in high office, and officers of all ranks in the army. Theſe were publiſhed with great parade and triumph in the New York and Britiſh public papers, as proofs of the poverty, weakneſs, and diſunion, which prevailed among the Americans; and if the originals did not go all the lengths that were wiſhed, it was even ſuppoſed that a little was ſometimes added, to fill up the meaſure. It will be eaſily ſuppoſed, that nothing could be more diſtreſſing to individuals, and perhaps in ſome inſtances prejudicial, that this open expoſure of their moſt confidential communications, upon ſtate and government affairs. The publication of their own private affairs and family ſecrets, would have been alone ſufficiently grievous.

It would ſeem, although deſtitute of any poſitive proof, that theſe mortifications ſuggeſted to General Waſhington the idea of turning the tables on the Britiſh commanders; and deriving public advantage from this ſource of public and private vexation and prejudice. He wrote letters to the ſouthern commanders and others, informing them of his total inability to extricate or relieve Virginia, by any other poſſible means, than by a direct attack, in concert with the French troops, upon New York. He held out the difficulties of this enterprize, and ſhewed his doubts of its ſucceſs; but ſeemed to adopt it merely from the neceſſity of the meaſure, and as the laſt reſort for the preſervation of Virginia. He likewiſe ſtated, that in the late conference which he had held with the Count de Rochambeau, it was abſolutely determined upon; and that it had ſince received a farther confirmation, from the approbation of the deſign which had been communicated by the French naval commander, who had not been preſent at the conference.

If any thing could raiſe a ſuſpicion of the integrity of theſe letters, it was their being more clear, full, and explicit, than ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary, and their containing matters of a more nice and delicate nature, than it might be ſuppoſed ſo prudent and cautious a commander, would have truſted to a conveyance which experience had already ſhewn to be extremely hazardous. Theſe letters were intercepted, as were others of the ſame nature, and which it is now evident were calculated for the ſame purpoſe, from the French commanders to the French reſident at Philadelphia.

It will not be ſuppoſed but that theſe letters, with the farther confirmation which they received from the ſubſequent movements and preparations made by the French and American armies, muſt have greatly influenced the conduct of the commander in chief at New York; particularly with reſpect to his deſire of recalling a conſiderable part of the troops from Virginia: as likewiſe

likewiſe in preventing his forming any ſuſpicion of the real deſigns of the enemy.

The French forces under the Count de Rochambeau, being on their way from Rhode Iſland, Gen. Waſhington, in the beginning of July, broke up his camp at New Windſor, and paſſed the North River to meet them. Their junction took place at the White Plains, on the eaſtern, or New England ſide of the river; and to carry on the deception in view, the combined armies encamped at Philipſburg, in a ſituation to overawe King's-Bridge and the adjoining poſts, and even to alarm the iſland of New York. In the remainder of that month, and during the greater part of the following, they continued to beat up, and alarm, the Britiſh outpoſts, on all ſides. A body of 5000 French and Americans took poſt near King's-Bridge in the night, where they continued for 48 hours, with every demonſtration of an intended attack.

In the mean time the two commanders, accompanied by the principal officers of both armies, and attended by the engineers, reconnoitred the iſland of New York cloſely on both ſides from the oppoſite ſhores; and to render appearances the more ſerious, took plans of all the works under the fire of their batteries. Whilſt a report of the expected daily arrival of the Count de Graſſe was ſedulouſly propagated; and to give it full confirmation, when they had received advices from that commander of the time, at which he hoped to arrive at the Cheſapeak, the French troops advanced towards Sandy Hook, and the coaſts oppoſite Staten Iſland, with an apparent view of ſeconding the operations of the fleet, in forcing the one, and ſeizing upon the other. This deception was carried ſo far, as to the eſtabliſhment of a bakery near the mouth of the Rariton, and juſt within the Hook.

After theſe deceptions had been ſucceſsfully practiſed, and New York with its dependencies kept in a continued ſtate of alarm for about ſix weeks, Waſhington ſuddenly paſſed Aug. 19th. the Croton, and ſoon afterwards the North River; when he took ſuch a poſition, as ſeemed ſtill to indicate that Staten Iſland was the immediate object. The curtain was now, however, to be drawn up, and every thing being in readineſs, the combined army marched directly acroſs the Jerſies for Trenton upon the Delaware; this movement being conſidered at New York only as a feint, until they had already paſſed that river. It does not however appear, that the force at New York was ſufficient to enable Sir Henry Clinton to interrupt their march with any conſiderable effect; at leaſt, without perhaps riſking too much. The allied armies marched through Philadelphia on the 3d and 4th of September; where ſuch courteſies as might be expected, were exchanged between the French commanders and the Congreſs. From thence they marched to the head of the river Elk, at the bottom of the Cheſapeak. There they found all the tranſports and craft that could be collected, in readineſs to facilitate their progreſs to Virginia; but theſe could be in no degree adequate to the purpoſe, after

after the continued deſtruction which the American commerce in that bay had ſo long undergone.

As ſome conſolation for the imminent danger which threatened the Britiſh power in Virginia, and ſome return for the deceptions ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed by the enemy, their departure from the confines of New York was ſpeedily followed by a ſucceſsful expedition to Connecticut, which was attended with no ſmall loſs and ruin to the Americans. The trading town of New London, on the River Thames, was the object of this enterprize; and its conduct, with a ſufficient land and marine force, was committed to General Arnold, who was himſelf a native of that province.

The embarkation having paſſed over from the Long Iſland ſhore in the night, the troops were landed in two detachments, Sept. 6th. on each ſide of the harbour, in the morning; that on the Groton ſide being commanded by Lieutenant-Col. Eyre, and that on the New London ſide by the General. Mr. Arnold met with no great trouble on his ſide; Fort Trumbull, and a redoubt, which were intended to cover the harbour and town, being taken without much difficulty or loſs, and the place in itſelf being entirely defenceleſs.

But affairs on the other ſide were more ſerious. Fort Griſwold, which the eager and encouraging zeal of the loyaliſts had repreſented as very incomplete in its works, and deſtitute of any thing like a garriſon, was on the contrary found to be very ſtrong, and no leſs well defended. The general, under the impreſſion of the information he had received, and from the opportunity which the fort afforded to the enemy's ſhips of eſcaping up the river, had directed Colonel Eyre to attack the fort directly, and carry it by a coup de main. But upon his obtaining a good view of it in the neighbourhood of New London, he immediately perceived the deception, and that the fort was in a much more formidable ſtate than it had been repreſented; upon which he diſpatched an officer to countermand the orders for an attack.

The officer was too late, and the attack already commenced. The fort was indeed formidable, the defence anſwerable, and it required all the valour and impetuoſity of the two brave regiments which were engaged, to ſurmount the difficulties and dangers of the encounter. The attack, notwithſtanding the little time for obſervation or counſel, was very judiciouſly conducted. The work was a ſquare, with flanks; and the troops advancing on three ſides at once, ſucceeded in making a lodgment in the ditch; they then, under the cover of a very heavy and conſtant fire upon the works, effected a ſecond lodgment upon the fraizing, which was a work of the greateſt difficulty, as beſides the obſtinacy of the defence, the height was ſo conſiderable, that the ſoldiers could only aſcend by mutual help from each others ſhoulders, and thoſe who firſt aſcended, had ſtill to ſilence a nine-pounder, which enfiladed the very ſpot on which they ſtood. The tooops at length made their way good with fixed bayonets through the embraſures, notwithſtanding the fierce defence made by the garriſon, who now, changing their weapons,

weapons, fought deſperately hand to hand with long ſpears.

The 40th and 54th regiments, purchaſed the honour, great as it was, which they gained in ſtorming this place. Colonel Eyre was wounded in the attack, and the command taken by Major Montgomery, who being killed with a ſpear, as he gallantly entered the works, was ſucceeded by Major Bromfield, who had the fortune of completing the reduction of the fort. Two commiſſioned officers, and 46 men, were killed on the ſpot, beſides eight miſſing, whoſe fate may ſcarcely be conſidered as doubtful; eight commiſſioned officers, ſome of whom died, with 135 non-commiſſioned and privates, were wounded. The loſs of the garriſon was proportioned to the obſtinacy of their defence. Col. Ladyard, the commander, with moſt of his officers, and 85 private men, lay dead in the fort; of 60 who were diſabled, much the greater part were mortally wounded; about 70 were made priſoners.

The taking of Fort Griſwold, did not prevent 16 of the American ſhips from making their eſcape up the river; about a dozen others were burnt. The loſs which the Americans ſuſtained in the deſtruction of this place was prodigious. The quantities of naval ſtores, of European manufactures, of Eaſt-India, and of Weſt-India commodities, are repreſented to have been ſo immenſe, as almoſt to exceed belief. Every thing, on the town ſide of the river, was deſtroyed by fire. Nothing was carried off, excepting ſuch ſmall articles of ſpoil as afforded no trouble in the conveyance. The burning of the town was ſaid to be contrary to intention and orders, and was attributed to the great quantity of gun-powder lodged in the ſtore-houſes. The buſineſs was ſo haſtily conducted, that the barracks and a conſiderable magazine of gun-powder at Fort Griſwold, eſcaped that deſtruction which involved every thing on the other ſide of the river. This is not accounted for, but muſt undoubtedly have proceeded from a knowledge of ſome movements making by the enemy in the adjoining country.

In the mean time, Sir Samuel Hood had arrived from the Weſt Indies off the Cheſapeak, on the 25th of Auguſt, with 14 ſail of the line, ſome frigates, and a fire-ſhip, where he expected to have met Admiral Graves with the ſquadron from New York; but being diſappointed, he firſt diſpatched a frigate with intelligence of his arrival to that commander, and afterwards followed himſelf, with the ſquadron, to Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 28th of the month. We have already ſeen, that through ſome misfortune, Sir George Rodney's diſpatches had not arrived in time at New York, to give any information of Sir Samuel Hood's deſtination to the Cheſapeak, which, independent of any other cauſe, muſt have fruſtrated the deſign of a junction off that bay; and we have likewiſe ſeen, that Mr. Grave's ſquadron had received ſo much damage by bad weather in a cruize off Boſton, as rendered ſome of the ſhips incapable of preſent ſervice.

On the very day of Sir Samuel Hood's arrival at Sandy Hook, the

the commanders at New York received intelligence, that M. de Barras, who ſucceeded Ternay in the command at Rhode Iſland, had ſailed three days before with his ſquadron to the ſouthward. The hope of intercepting this ſquadron before it could join De Graſſe, would undoubtedly have been an additional ſpur, if ſuch had been wanted, to Admiral Graves's diligence, in getting ſuch ſhips as were in readineſs, with the utmoſt expedition over the bar. It was, however, the 31ſt before this could be done, when bringing five ſhips of the line, and a fifty, with him from New York, he took the command of the fleet, and proceeded to the ſouthward.

All the preſent operations of the combined enemy, were the reſult of a long concerted and well digeſted plan; but there happened an extraordinary coincidence in their ſeveral movements by ſea and land, which did not come within the reach of calculation. We have already ſeen that M. de Barras had ſailed from Rhode Iſland on the 25th of Auguſt; in three days after, on the 28th, De Graſſe arrived with his fleet from the Weſt Indies at the Cheſapeak; and within an hour after the French and American armies had reached the head of Elk, they received an expreſs from that commander, with the welcome account of his arrival and ſituation. This will appear the more remarkable, if we conſider the original diſtance of the parties, as well from the ſcene of action as from each other, and the various accidents, difficulties, and delays, to which they were all liable. M. de Barras did not, however, arrive in the Cheſapeak, for near a fortnight after De Graſſe; as he took a wide circuitous courſe by the Bermuda Iſlands, from the apprehenſion of being intercepted by the Britiſh fleet. This caution, which would have been otherwiſe commendable, was in the preſent inſtance abſolutely neceſſary; as that officer had in his care ten tranſports, which conveyed from Rhode Iſland the heavy ordnance and other materials indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſiege of York Town; and upon which the whole hope and fortune of the enterprize depended.

Upon the Count de Graſſe's arrival in the Cheſapeak, after blocking up York River, he took poſſeſſion of the River James, which he occupied with his armed veſſels and cruizers to a conſiderable diſtance, as well to prevent any attempt which Lord Cornwallis might make of retreating to the Carolinas, as to cover the boats of the fleet, which were to convey the Marquis de St. Simon, with 3300 land forces from the Weſt Indies, 18 leagues up the river, to form a junction with the Marquis de la Fayette.

Admiral Graves received no intelligence Sept. 5th. of the French fleet, nor they of his approach, until they were diſcovered betimes in the morning, lying at anchor, to the number of 24 ſail of the line, off Lynnhaven Bay, being juſt within Cape Henry, and conſequently the mouth of the Cheſapeak. The enemy, who were evidently thrown into ſome diſorder at the unexpected appearance of the Britiſh fleet, immediately ſlipped their cables, and turning out from the anchorage ground, M. de Graſſe threw out a ſignal for the ſhips ſeverally to

to form the line as they could come up, without any regard to their particular or ſpecified ſtations.

The Britiſh fleet amounted only to nineteen ſail of the line, ſo that the enemy had a ſuperiority, in ſo moderate a number, of five line of battle ſhips. Through the delays occaſioned by the various manoeuvres on both ſides, the action did not commence till four o'clock; and then was entirely partial, only the van, and a part of the Britiſh center, being able to come near enough to engage with effect. It was evident that M. de Graſſe did not wiſh a cloſe action. He wanted to gain his point in keeping poſſeſſion of the Cheſapeak, and to ſave his ſhips, for that and all its correſpondent purpoſes, as much as poſſible. The abſence of 1500 of his ſeamen, who were then employed in conveying M. de St. Simon's troops up the River James, confirmed him in this diſpoſition. Admiral Drake, with the rear diviſion, which, in conſequence of the laſt tack, was now become the van of the Britiſh fleet, treated the French van ſo roughly, that to avoid being entirely ruined, they were obliged to bear away, while M. de Graſſe, with the center, edged up, but ſtudiouſly keeping a conſiderable diſtance, in order to cover their retreat. Thus the weight of the action fell principally upon the Britiſh van, the center coming in for a more moderate ſhare, and ſeven ſail of the line never being able to get within a proper gun-ſhot diſtance of the enemy. From theſe circumſtances, Admiral Drake's diviſion could not but ſuffer ſeverely.

The nearneſs of the ſhores, with the danger of the great ſhoal called the middle ground, probably operated, along with the approaching night, at leaſt upon the Britiſh commanders, in putting an end to the engagement about ſunſet. The ſlain aboard the Britiſh fleet amounted to 90, and the wounded to 230. The Shrewſbury and Intrepid bore more than a proportional ſhare of this loſs. Capt. Robinſon of the former loſt a leg, and Captain Molloy of the Intrepid gained great honour, by the gallantry with which he ſuccoured and covered the Shrewſbury, when overborne and ſurrounded by the enemy.

Amiral Graves uſed all meaſures to keep up the line during the night, with a full determination of renewing the action in the morning. But he diſcovered that ſeveral ſhips of the van, and the Montague of the center, had ſuffered ſo much in their maſts, that they were in no condition for renewing the action until they were ſecured. The Terrible was ſo leaky, as to keep all her pumps going, and the Ajax, which had likewiſe long partaken of the evils incident to the Weſt-Indian climate and navigation, was in little better condition. Theſe circumſtances, in the preſent ſtate of things, were evils which could only be lamented and endured.

The hoſtile fleets continued for five ſucceſſive days, partly repairing their damages, and partly manoeuvring, in ſight of each other. The French generally maintained the wind, and conſequently had it frequently in their power to engage the Britiſh fleet, which they, however, declined, not-

notwithſtanding their ſuperiority. M. de Graſſe's object, beſides ſecuring the Cheſapeak, was to cover the arrival of M. de Barras, with the ſquadron and convoy from Rhode Iſland. That point being gained (which was in fact ſigning the doom of Lord Cornwallis's army), the French fleet returned to the Cheſapeak, where they anchored in ſuch a manner, juſt within Cape Henry, and from thence to the middle ground, as entirely to block up the paſſage. It happened unluckily, that the two Britiſh frigates, the Richmond and Iris, which had been ſent to cut away the French buoys at the anchorage ground, were upon this occaſion intercepted and taken. In the mean time, a freſh gale, and a head ſea, had ſo much increaſed the damage and danger of the Terrible, that a council of war found it neceſſary to evacuate, and then burn her. After which it was determined to return to New York, in order to refit the ſhips with the utmoſt expedition; where the fleet accordingly arrived on the 20th of September. This action, like moſt other of the naval engagements which we have ſeen in this war, underwent its full ſhare of criticiſm and cenſure.

We have ſeen that the combined French and American army had arrived at the head of the Elk, where they were too ſcantily ſupplied with ſhipping for their paſſage down the bay. The light troops of both armies were thoſe only which could be embarked, and the compliment of this eaſy mode of conveyance ſeemed to be principally paid to the ſtrangers, while Waſhington, with the bulk of both armies, purſued their march to Baltimore and Annapolis in Maryland. But the French becoming now entirely maſters of the bay, the tranſports brought by Barras, with the frigates and light veſſels of the fleet, were all diſpatched to convey the army from Annapolis, which accordingly arrived at Williamſburg before the end of the month; Waſhington, with ſome of the principal commanders, having already, by travelling poſt, joined De la Fayette.

Thus was the brave but ill-fated army under Lord Cornwallis by degrees encloſed and ſurrounded, being ſhut up by a prodigious naval force on the one ſide, and an army of above 8000 French, of about as many continental troops, and 5000 militia, on the others; and with no other cover than recent earthen works, haſtily thrown up, to oppoſe ſo great a force, aided by a powerful train of heavy artillery. The French troops employed upon this ſervice, whether conſidered with reſpect to officers or private men, ſeemed to be picked out and choſen as the flower of their armies.

In the three laſt days of September, the combined armies cloſely inveſted Lord Cornwallis in York Town; the French extending from the river above the town to a moraſs in the center, where they were met by the Americans, who occupied the oppoſite ſide from the river to that ſpot. It was remarkable that Waſhington in his general orders ſtrongly recommended to the Americans, and even charged them, to uſe and depend upon the bayonet, as their beſt and moſt eſſential weapon, in

caſe they ſhould be encountered on the march from Williamſburg; aſſuring them, that they would thereby effectually cure the vanity of the Britiſh troops, who attributed to themſelves ſo decided a ſuperiority in that ſort of cloſe and trying combat. Nor did he omit any means to excite that honourable emulation between the allied troops, which appeared ſo conſpicuouſly in the ſubſequent operations.

The Britiſh General found it neceſſary to contract his poſts and defences, which having been extended for the purpoſe of commanding the Peninſula, were, in the preſent circumſtances, too remote and expoſed to be maintained. They were of courſe ſeized by the enemy as they were abandoned. The poſt at Glouceſter Point, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, which was occupied by Tarleton, with the cavalry and ſome infantry, amounting to about 600 men, was at the ſame time cloſely inveſted by the Duke de Lauzun with his legion, and a body of Virginia militia under General Wieden; but the active operations on that ſide went no farther than a warm ſkirmiſh on the firſt day in driving in the out-poſts.

The trenches were opened by both armies in the night between the 6th and 7th of October; their attacks were carried on with great vigour; and their batteries were covered with little leſs than an hundred pieces of heavy ordnance. The new looſe works would have been little capable of withſtanding ſuch a weight of fire, if they had even been completed; but they were ſo far from that ſtate, that the Britiſh troops were not leſs employed in their conſtruction under the fire of the enemy, than they were in their defence. In a few days, moſt of their guns were accordingly ſilenced, their defences in many places ruined, and the enemy's ſhells reached even the ſhips in the harbour, where the Charon of 44 guns with ſome of the tranſports were burnt.

The Britiſh fleet, on its return to New York, was joined by the Prudent man of war, with ſeveral frigates from the Weſt Indies; and in a few days after its arrival, was farther reinforced by Rear-admiral Digby, with three ſhips of the line from England; but the junction of the Rhode Iſland ſquadron, had given ſo decided a ſuperiority to M. de Graſſe, that nothing leſs than the moſt deſperate circumſtances, or that almoſt irreſiſtible motive which actually ſubſiſted, could have juſtified any attempt towards another encounter.

The deſire of extricating Lord Cornwallis and his army, however, prevailed over all conſiderations of danger and loſs, and the Britiſh naval commanders uſed all poſſible expedition in refitting and equipping the fleet at New York. This, however, though unavoidably neceſſary, took up more time than could have been afforded at this juncture. The delay ſeemed indeed to be in ſome degree compenſated, by the arrival of the Prince William and Torbay men of war from Jamaica. In the mean time a council of war, compoſed of all the flag and general officers, being held, it was determined that every poſſible exertion ſhould be uſed both by the fleet and army, to form a junction with the

the ſquadron and army in Virginia. It was however the 19th of October, before the fleet could get clear over the bar; Sir Henry Clinton, with above 7000 of his beſt forces, having embarked on board the ſhips of war. The fleet now amounted to 25 ſhips of the line, two fifties, and eight frigates; and, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of force which the enemy ſtill retained, the ſpirit which operated both upon the common men and officers was ſo high, that whatever doubts might be formed with reſpect to the final point of ſucceſs, none could be entertained, but that the expected naval action would ſtand foremoſt, among the moſt obſtinate and the moſt bloody, that had yet been known. It was, indeed, a deſperate caſt, and the fleet and army were both ſtaked upon the fortune of one.

During theſe tranſactions on the ſide of New York, the united armies which were employed in the ſiege of York Town, ſenſible of the efforts that would be made for its relief, and unwilling to ſtake all their hopes on the iſſue of a naval engagement, uſed the utmoſt exertions in the proſecution of their works, and ſhewed no leſs reſolution in their attacks, than vivacity in the fire of their batteries. On the night of the 11th of October, they began their ſecond parallel within 300 yards of the works of the place, being within juſt half the diſtance of the firſt, and carried it on with unremitting induſtry.

Nothing leſs than the certain hope and expectation of relief, could have induced Lord Cornwallis to attempt the defence of a poſt, which he deemed ſo incapable of reſiſting the force oppoſed to it, as that which he now occupied. He would otherwiſe have attempted a retreat, however difficult, or he would even have hazarded an encounter in the open field, and, truſting to the gallantry of his troops, leave the reſt to the deciſion of fortune. This hope was farther confirmed, by a letter from the commander in chief at New York, dated on the 24th of September, which informed him, that the relief would ſail from thence about the 5th of October. Thus circumſtanced, Lord Cornwallis could not think himſelf juſtified in abandoning his poſt; and in riſquing the conſequences of thoſe deſperate meaſures, which muſt then of neceſſity be adopted. On the other hand, it happened moſt unfortunately, that the delay which occurred in refitting and equipping the fleet, rendered it impoſſible for Sir Henry Clinton to fulfil his intention.

Two redoubts, which were advanced about 300 yards on the Britiſh left, had greatly incommoded the enemy, and ſtill continued to impede their progreſs. It was determined to attack theſe at the ſame time, at dark, on the evening of the 14th. To balance the honour, as well as the duty, between both nations, the attack on one was committed to the Americans, and of the other to the French. Col. Hamilton, Waſhington's aid-de-camp, commanded the American detachment; which marched to the aſſault with unloaded arms; paſſed the abbatis and paliſades without waiting to remove them; and attacking the works on all ſides at once, carried the redoubt with the utmoſt rapidity. Young Laurens gained great credit upon this occaſion,

and perſonally took the commanding officer priſoner. The loſs was very moderate on both ſides; and Hamilton, in his report to the Marquis de la Fayette, boaſts (with what juſtice will be decided for themſelves, by thoſe who have attended to the tranſactions of the war) that the ſoldiery under his command, incapable, as he expreſſes himſelf, of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, ſpared every man that ceaſed to reſiſt.

The French were equally ſucceſsful on their ſide, but their loſs was more conſiderable; amounting, by their own acknowledgement, to about an hundred in killed and wounded. The emulation between the two nations, appeared in their labour, as well as in action; and the two redoubts were included in the ſecond parallel by day-light.

The taking of theſe two redoubts may be ſaid to decide the fate of the army. Lord Cornwallis, in a letter which he wrote on the following day to Sir Henry Clinton, conſiders their ſituation as being ſo deſperate, that he could not recommend to the fleet and army to run any great riſque in endeavouring to ſave them. Indeed nothing could be more hopeleſs; for, as he ſays himſelf in the ſame letter, they dared not to ſhew a gun to the enemy's old batteries, and they expected that their new ones would be opened on the following morning.

The Britiſh commander, however, left nothing untried which could procraſtinate, if it was impoſſible to prevent, that final iſſue, which was not more dreaded than expected. Being ſenſible that his works could not ſtand many hours after the opening of the batteries of the ſecond parallel, he did every thing that was poſſible to interrupt that work, opening new embraſures for guns, and keeping up a conſtant fire with all his howitzers and ſmall mortars.

The troops had been ſo much weakened by ſickneſs, as well as by the fire of the enemy, that the general could not venture any conſiderable number in the making of ſallies, and the enemy had ſo well ſecured their flanks, and proceeded in all their operations with ſo much regularity and caution, that nothing leſs than a ſtrong and well-ſupported attack could produce any effect. The preſent emergency was, however, ſo critical, that a little before day-break, on the morning of the 16th, he ordered a ſortie of about 350 men, under the conduct of Lieut. Col. Abercrombie, to attack two batteries which appeared to be in the greateſt forwardneſs, and to ſpike the guns. A detachment of guards, with the 80th company of grenadiers, under the command of Lieut. Col. Leake, was appointed to one of theſe, and another of light infantry, under Major Armſtrong, to the other battery. Both attacks were made with an impetuoſity which could not be reſiſted. The redoubts that covered both batteries were forced, eleven pieces of cannon ſpiked, and the French troops, who had the guard of that part of the entrenchment, ſuffered conſiderably.

Though the vigour and gallantry diſplayed in this briſk and ſucceſsful action, did the greateſt honour to the officers and troops that were engaged, yet it produced

ed no eſſential ſervice. The cannon, which were haſtily ſpiked, were ſoon again rendered fit for ſervice; and the induſtry of the enemy was ſo great, that, before dark, the whole parallel and the batteries ſeemed nearly completed. At the ſame time, the works were ſo ruined, and the batteries ſo overpowered, that there was no part of the whole front attacked, in which the beſieged could ſhew a ſingle gun; and their ſhells, which were the laſt ſource of defence, were nearly expended.

In theſe unfortunate circumſtances, Lord Cornwallis had no other choice left but to prepare for a ſurrender on the following day, or to endeavour to eſcape with the greateſt part of the troops. He determined upon attempting the latter, under the conſideration, that though it ſhould prove unſucceſsful in its immediate object, it might at leaſt delay the enemy in the proſecution of farther enterprizes. The adverſe current of fortune gave a contrary effect to a deſign well calculated to delay the fate of Lord Cornwallis's army.

Boats were prepared, under other pretexts, to be in readineſs for receiving the troops at ten at night, in order to paſs them over to Glouceſter Point. The arrangements were made with the utmoſt ſecrecy; and the intention was, to abandon the baggage, and to leave a detachment behind, in order to capitulate for the town's people, and for the ſick and wounded; Lord Cornwallis having already prepared a letter upon the ſubject, which was to be delivered to Gen. Waſhington upon his departure.

The firſt embarkation, conſiſting of the light infantry, the guards, and a part of the 23d regiment, had arrived at Glouceſter Point, and the greater part of the troops were already landed, when, at that critical moment of hope, apprehenſion, and danger, fortune proved adverſe, and the weather, which was then moderate and calm, inſtantly changed to a moſt violent ſtorm of wind and rain. The boats, with the remaining troops, were all driven down the river, and the deſign of paſſing was not only entirely fruſtrated, but the abſence of the boats rendered it impoſſible to bring back the troops from Glouceſter. Thus weakened and divided, the army, by this untoward accident, was involved in a ſtate of the moſt imminent danger.

To increaſe the anxiety and peril of this ſtate of things, the enemies batteries were opened, with great force and effect, at daybreak; and the paſſage at Glouceſter Point was now much expoſed to their fire. The boats, however, happily returned; and the troops were brought back without much loſs in the courſe of the forenoon.

But things were now drawing to that criſis, which could no longer be averted. The works were every where ſinking under the weight of the enemy's artillery; and Lord Cornwallis himſelf could not but concur in opinion, with the engineer and principal officers, that they were already aſſailable in many places, and that a continuance of the ſame fire, only for a few hours longer, would reduce them to ſuch a condition, that it would then become deſperate to attempt their defence. While

they were expoſed to ſo heavy a fire from the enemy, they could not return a gun, and only about 100 cohorn ſhells remained. The troops were not only diminiſhed by loſs and by ſickneſs, but the ſtrength and ſpirits of thoſe in the works were exhauſted and worn down by conſtant watching, and unremitting fatigue. And while they were to be attacked and overborne on all ſides by land, the French ſhips, in the mouth of York River, ſeemed prepared to ſecond and complete the general ſtorm, by water.

In ſuch circumſtances it would have been cruelty in the extreme to have ſacrificed ſuch gallant, and in every reſpect deſerving troops, to a point of honour, which the improved ſtate of civilization has wiſely exploded, that of ſtanding an aſſault, which could not in the nature of things but prove ſucceſsful. Lord Cornwallis accordingly wrote a letter to Gen. Waſhington on the ſame day, the 17th, propoſing a ceſſation of arms for 24 hours, and that commiſſioners might be appointed on both ſides for ſettling the terms of capitulation.

The poſts of York and Glouceſter were ſurrendered on the 19th of October. The troops, with the ſame honours which had been granted to the garriſon of Charles Town, were of neceſſity obliged to become priſoners of war. They were compoſed of Britiſh and German regiments, the light infantry, detachments from the guards, and Tarleton's cavalry. They amounted to between five and ſix thouſand men; but ſuch was the number of ſick and wounded, that there were only 3,800 of all ſorts, capable of bearing arms, in both poſts, on the day of ſurrender. Fifteen hundred ſeamen underwent the fate of the garriſon. The officers and ſoldiers retained their baggage and effects; but all property taken in the country, if viſible, was liable to be reclaimed. The Guadaloupe frigate of 24 guns, with a number of tranſports, were ſurrendered to the conquerors; and about 20 tranſports had been ſunk or burnt during the ſiege. They obtained a numerous artillery of various ſorts, but not of weight ſufficient for their late purpoſe of defence in a ſiege.

Lord Cornwallis ſtrove in vain to obtain better conditions; particularly that the Britiſh and German troops might be returned to their reſpective countries, as priſoners on parole, on condition of not ſerving againſt France or America until they were exchanged. Some favourable conditions which he wiſhed to obtain in behalf of the inhabitants of York Town, and other Americans, who were under the protection, as they had ſhared the fortune, of the Britiſh army, were likewiſe refuſed, upon the footing of their being civil matters, which did not come within the authority of the military commanders. To extricate thoſe Americans who would have been expoſed to imminent danger, he, however, made it a condition, that the Bonetta ſloop, which was to convey his diſpatches to New York, ſhould paſs without ſearch or examination, he being only anſwerable that the number of perſons ſhe conveyed ſhould be accounted for as priſoners of war upon exchange. With a retroſpective

ſpective eye to the breach of conditions which the late convention army had ſo ſorely experienced, Lord Cornwallis took care to have it ſtipulated, that no article of the preſent capitulation ſhould be violated, under any pretence of making reprifals.

The general himſelf, with all civil and military officers, excepting thoſe of the latter who were neceſſarily left behind for the protection and government of the ſoldiers, were at liberty to go upon parole, either to England or New York; and the troops, divided as much as poſſible into regiments, were to be retained within the three governments of Virginia, Penſylvania, or Maryland. Lord Cornwallis obſerves, in his public letter, that the treatment which he and the army had received in general from the enemy ſince the ſurrender, had been perfectly good and proper; but he ſpeaks in warm terms of the kindneſs and attention ſhewn to them by the French officers in particular; "their delicate ſenſibility," he ſays, "of our ſituation, their "generous and preſſing offers of "money, both public and pri-"vate, to any amount, has really "gone beyond what I can poſſibly "deſcribe, and will, I hope, "make an impreſſion on the "breaſt of every Britiſh officer, "whenever the fortune of war "ſhould put any of them into our "power."

Such actions and conduct caſt abroad a pleaſing ſhade, which ſerves to ſoften the horrors of war, and to hide and alleviate its calamities.

The land forces became priſoners to America; but the ſeamen, with the ſhips and furniture, were aſſigned to M. de Graſſe, as a compliment to, and return for, the French naval power and aſſiſtance. It was remarkable, that the commiſſioner appointed by the Americans to ſettle the terms, and who himſelf drew up the articles of a capitulation, by which a Britiſh army became priſoners to his country, was Col. Laurens, ſon of that Mr. Laurens, late preſident of the Congreſs, who was then, and had been for a conſiderable time, a cloſe priſoner in the Tower of London. The Viſcount de Noailles was the commiſſioner appointed on the ſide of France, to act in conjunction with Colonel Laurens.

Such was the very hard fate of the remains of that conquering and gallant army, which had been ſo highly diſtinguiſhed in the ſouthern war! We ſhall ſay nothing of the ſhare which their noble commander bore in the common misfortune, as he lives in an age which knows how to diſtinguiſh the want of ſucceſs from the want of merit. Neither himſelf nor his army forfeited any part of their former character. Their poſition was in many reſpects a very bad one, and probably would have continued ſo in any ſtate of fortification; but in its preſent, it was no more than an entrenched camp, and ſubject to be enfiladed in different parts; while their new half-formed works, were much leſs capable of withſtanding the powerful artillery of the enemy, than they would themſelves of oppoſing their vaſt ſuperiority of force in the open field. It was pitched upon in one of thoſe unfavourable conjunctures which allow of no

good expedient, and where inconveniences muſt be balanced rather than advantages ſought. The troops made the beſt amends for the difficulties of their ſituation, by the patience with which they endured an unremitting duty and the greateſt fatigues, as well as by the firmneſs and intrepidity with which they ſtood a fire of ſhot and ſhells, which has ſeldom been exceeded in magnitude. The French expended 16,000 ſhot and ſhells in the ſiege, 3000 of the latter being of the firſt dimenſions; and the fire of the Americans was not leſs.

The Britiſh fleet and army arrived off the Cheſapeak on the 24th of October, being five days after the ſurrender of York Town. They ſoon received the unwelcome tidings; but as they were only reports, they waited ſome days, until the misfortune was fully authenticated. The French fleet, ſatisfied with their preſent ſucceſs, made no manner of movement; and the only object of the expedition being now loſt, the Britiſh commanders neceſſarily returned to New York.

Such was the iſſue of the Virginian war. The loſs of Lord Cornwallis's army was too heavy a blow to be ſoon or eaſily recovered. It was evident, that it muſt entirely change the nature of the war on the ſide of Great Britain; and that it could no longer be carried on offenſively by land, at leaſt to any conſiderable extent. Indeed the ſurrender at York Town, may be conſidered as the cloſing ſcene of the whole continental war in America. There are few periods in hiſtory more capable of rouzing attention and exciting reflections; whether we conſider the original policy, and the diſcuſſions which enſued; its various events, and ſudden changes of fortune; on one ſide the magnitude of the preparations, and diſtance of operation from the ſeat of power, and on the other, the difficulties, pertinacy, and final ſucceſs of the reſiſtance; or whether we conſider the effect this revolution may in future operate on the political ſtate of the whole human race, we ſhall in every reſpect find it extraordinary. Undoubtedly a new ſcene is opened.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

State of affairs during the receſs. Conſequences of the riots in London. Cauſes which led to the diſſolution of parliament. Reſolutions of the Yorkſhire committee, and of other aſſociated bodies. Delegates appointed to attend in London. General election. Capture of Mr. Laurens, and his committal to the Tower. Effect produced by his papers in precipitating the war with Holland. Sir Joſeph Yorke withdraws from the Hague. Manifeſto. New lords created. Earl of Carliſle appointed to the government of Ireland. Meeting of parliament. Debates on the choice of a ſpeaker. Mr. Cornewall choſen. Speech from the throne. Addreſſes. Amendments propoſed, and rejected, in both houſes. Grant of ſeamen. Vote of thanks to the late ſpeaker. To the Britiſh generals and admiral in America. Debate on the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliſer to the government of Greenwich hoſpital. Receſs.

IT is not a little remarkable, that the riots in the year 1780, which tended to the direct ſubverſion of all order and government, ſhould have been the means of affording a ſtrength to adminiſtration, which few other events could at that time have produced. The ſcenes of enormity exhibited by thoſe frantic rioters in the metropolis, ſtruck all men with horror, and (by a natural, though a miſtaken effect) inſpired a general dread of all popular meetings, however legal or peaceable. Theſe diſpoſitions reached to the county meetings, petitions, and aſſociations, and conſequently to all applications for redreſs of grievance, and ſchemes for a reform in the repreſentation of the commons houſe of parliament.

If miniſters themſelves were not to be led away by ſuch an opening of advantage, their retainers and partizans were leſs ſcrupulous in their zeal, and too much alive to their own intereſts, to ſlip the occaſion. No means were unpractiſed to increaſe the impreſſions of terror, which were already ſufficiently operative. The ſucceſs was equal to the induſtry. They found the rich, the timid, and the indolent, already of their party; and moderate men, who are naturally lovers of order, while they could not but approve of whatever tended to the preſervation of good government, did not always draw a proper line of diſtinction between the mad outrages of fanatics, and the ſober conventions of freemen, upon their moſt important and deareſt intereſts.

As the violence of party ſeldom admits of any great niceneſs in the means of obtaining its purpoſes, ſo truth, and fairneſs of repreſentation, were not much attended to, in the unceaſing efforts uſed to profit of the preſent occaſion. It was whiſpered, and induſtriouſly circulated, that the oppoſition were the ſecret authors of the late riots; that they were the conſequence of a ſettled ſcheme for the utter ſubverſion of the ſtate; that perſons of rank and condition were diſguiſed among the mob, and

and were their real leaders; that the trials of the rioters would bring out the moſt alarming and aſtoniſhing diſcoveries; and that French gold, American politics, and republican principles, would be found at the bottom of the whole buſineſs. A language not very remote from ſome part of this, was ſaid to be held from ſome of the ſeats of juſtice.

Incredible and impoſſible as theſe tales were, and whatever imputation it may bring upon the general ſtock of good ſenſe of the nation, certain it is that they were not unſucceſsfully propagated. The aſſurance on the one ſide, and the credulity on the other, were ſo ſtrong, that the report of a nobleman of one of the firſt and moſt ancient families in the kingdom, being killed among the rioters on Black-Friars bridge, and of his body being immediately thrown over into the Thames to prevent diſcovery, was not only for ſeveral months very generally credited, but the appearance of his name in the accounts of the public tranſactions in his county, was not able to cure the deluſion; and that perſons far above the common rank, in London, were ſo confirmed in the opinion, that it was with aſtoniſhment they beheld him in the houſe of peers in the following winter.

The wretched timidity and imbecility of the magiſtracy in the metropolis, together with that apparent weakneſs of the inhabitants, which, in part proceeding from that defect, and in part from that unprepared condition incident to long quiet and ſecurity, had laid them open to the violence of a contemptible rabble, were topics which were applied with great ſucceſs, to ſhew the inefficacy, in all caſes, of the civil authority in affording protection, and the neceſſity of a military force for preſerving order and good government. This doctrine went likewiſe to reconcile the people to the authority, with which, under colour of the riots, the military power, throughout the kingdom, had been endued, of acting immediately from its own motion, independently of the civil magiſtrate.

By all theſe means, operating together upon the paſſions of the people, the dread of mobs, riots, and the exceſſes unto which popular meetings are apt to lead, ſeemed to have abſorbed all the other diſcontents of the nation, which became as it were extinct and forgotten. The invincible jealouſy of military power, which had ſo long characterized this country, grew familiarized to the aſpect of camps and garriſons, and gradually gave way to impreſſions, which, if they had been laſting, threatened the worſt conſequences to liberty. Any government, the worſt that could be, was thought preferable to a ſtate of anarchy; and the harſheſt deſpotiſm did not preſent to the imagination evils ſo immediately dreadful, as the fury of an enraged rabble.

Beſides the effect of their real apprehenſions, ſo many objects of novelty, aſtoniſhment, and horror, ſerved entirely to fill up the imagination, and to draw the attention of the people away from all other public concerns. And even when this effect was in ſome degree worn away, the minds of men were ſtill agitated, and their attention ſtrongly drawn, by the ſucceeding trials and impending fate of

of the rioters; whilſt the delays incident to the laws of high treaſon, prolonged the ſuſpence with reſpect to their chief into the courſe of the following year.

Thus it happened, contrary to all expectation, that the cauſe of adminiſtration was ſtrengthened, by one of the moſt diſgraceful tumults which has been known in this kingdom; and which, from contemptible and neglected beginnings, came to threaten the capital city, and the nation itſelf, with ruin.

Fortune is ſuppoſed to be ſeldom ſingle in her benefits, any more than in her injuries. The news of the taking of Charles Town, which arrived juſt at the heel of the riots, ſerved, in a very conſiderable degree, to eraſe the memory of all paſt diſappointments in the war, and to revive all the ſanguine hopes of the ſpeedy ſubjugation of the colonies. This flattering gleam of ſucceſs recalled many back to the American ſyſtem, which they had only abandoned from its apparent hopeleſſneſs, and from feeling the loſs of which it was productive. Succeſs muſt in all caſes ſtrengthen government; and will recover or afford popularity to any meaſures. Numbers who originally diſliked the war, and who condemned the meaſures and principles which led to it, were, however, well enough contented, when they ſaw, or thought, that it was like to end proſperouſly.

Thus, after the ſtrongeſt appearances on every ſide of an approaching and heavy tempeſt, the ſky was ſuddenly cleared, and every thing went ſmoothly and proſperouſly with adminiſtration. The influence and authority of the crown, were more ſpread and better fixed than they had been for ſome time; and the oppoſition loſt its popularity in the ſame proportion.

This ſtate of things extended the views of the miniſters to a meaſure, which, though much wiſhed by them, they probably would not otherwiſe have ventured upon. The late reſolutions of the commons could not be forgotten. The ſtrange and unexpected turns which things had taken in the preceding ſeſſion, could not but weaken the confidence of miniſters in the preſent parliament. They might be ſeized in another ſeſſion, particularly ſo near the term of their natural diſſolution, with other fits and other ſtarts, ſtill more unexpected and alarming than thoſe of the preceding ſeſſion.

There was every reaſon to expect, that, in the preſent ſtate of things, and diſpoſition of the people, the elections would go greatly in favour of the court. A diſſolution was accordingly determined upon; but the deſign was kept concealed in the moſt profound ſecrecy. The court and favourite members, in the management of their old intereſts, or the eſtabliſhment of new, ſeemed only to look towards that general election, which muſt of neceſſity take place at the limited term. The oppoſition, who had no treaſury to ſupport their expences, were to rely on the merits of their paſt conduct with their conſtituents, and deemed it prudent to reſerve their force, to the near approach of the ſeaſon of conteſt. A great number of them were likewiſe engaged on duty in the ſervice of their

their country, along with their reſpective regiments of militia; and were generally, and, as it was afterwards ſaid, deſignedly, ſtationed at a great diſtance from their conſtituents and local intereſts.

Many perſons, however, deeply lamented, and obſerved with great apprehenſion, the means derived from the late riots, of throwing the civil authority of the nation into diſrepute, and of ſpreading an opinion, that the military power was neceſſary to the ſupport of the laws and government, and to the domeſtic ſecurity of the people. To obviate this effect, aſſociations were formed in the metropolis, and elſewhere; the inhabitants purchaſing arms, and acquiring ſuch a degree of knowledge in their exerciſe and uſe, as would be neceſſary for the future preſervation of the public peace, and for rendering all intervention of the army unneceſſary. This ſpirit ſpread conſiderably; and the meaſure of providing arms, and being at all times ready to ſupport the civil authority, was held out as an act of conſtitutional duty and neceſſity.

Nor did the petitioning counties entirely ſink under the preſent torrent of public opinion, nor reſign themſelves to the impreſſions of apprehenſion and terror which now prevailed.

Aug. 2. 1780. A numerous meeting of the Yorkſhire committee of aſſociation, compoſed of ſome of the principal gentlemen of that great county, came to ſeveral very ſpirited reſolutions on this ſubject:—To exculpate themſelves and their deſigns from any the leaſt intention or tendency to produce diſorder and confuſion; and to treat all inſinuations to the contrary, from whatever quarter they might have been derived, as defamatory ſuggeſtions, contrived to deter the aſſociated bodies from the proſecution of their juſt and neceſſary plan of public reformation:—To aſſert, that the uſe of arms for the preſervation of order and public peace, was not only a right in every citizen, but a duty impoſed upon them by the expreſs letter of the law:—To condemn the orders raſhly iſſued in London for diſarming the inhabitants, as unconſtitutional and illegal:—To enter a kind of proteſtation againſt the interference of the military in the ſuppreſſion of riots, not under the direction of the civil magiſtrate, but at the diſcretion of the commanding officer:—And, that however the order for the diſcretionary interference of the military in the ſuppreſſion of the late riots in the metropolis, might have been unavoidable, through the greatneſs of the danger, and the intimidation of the magiſtracy; yet the extenſion of ſimilar orders to the army in other parts of the kingdom, where no ſuch danger exiſted, and where no reluctance in the magiſtracy to the performance of their duty appeared or was ſuſpected, could not be defended.

The county of Middleſex, ſome time after, adopted, verbatim, the reſolutions of the county of York; and they were likewiſe adopted by the city of London, excepting only that, which conveyed a reflection, on her own magiſtracy. They were in time more or leſs adopted, or ſimilar ones propoſed, by other

ther public bodies. But the county of Huntingdon went farther than any other. In the firſt place they inſtructed their repreſentatives to make an enquiry in parliament, by whoſe advice the orders iſſued to the military in the metropolis, had been extended to various parts of the kingdom, and ſo long continued, contrary to the common courſe of law? and that they ſhould take ſuch ſteps, as were beſt ſuited to prevent ſuch unconſtitutional and dangerous orders from being iſſued in future. The next reſolution was expreſſed in the following words——"That "it be recommended to every "houſe-keeper to have proper "arms, ſuch as muſket and bay-"onet, and to be ready and ex-"pert in the uſe of them; to be "prepared againſt all emergen-"cies that may ariſe from any "attack of our many ſurrounding "enemies, or any invaſion of our "rights and liberties."

As the late impreſſions produced by the riots, were by degrees weakened, and gave place to a jealouſy of the diſcretionary power in the army, of acting independently of the civil authority, it became a ſubject of murmur and complaint; and in that ſtate of temper, ſeveral of the aſſociations which had been armed and formed for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the civil magiſtrate in the preſervation of peace and order, received applauſe and thanks from different public bodies.

The attention to other national concerns revived along with this jealouſy. Yorkſhire appointed three delegates to attend in London during the enſuing ſeſſion, in order to communicate with thoſe of other counties and corporations, and by mutual aid and advice, to give ſupport and efficacy to their petitions. Much complaint and cenſure was thrown out by ſeveral of theſe bodies upon the conduct of the Houſe of Commons in the laſt ſeſſion. The Devonſhire committee, expreſſing themſelves in rather ſtronger terms than ſome others, ſay, that they find themſelves under a neceſſity of declaring, that nothing had hitherto been done by parliament towards effecting the ends required by the petitions, notwithſtanding that the reſolutions of the commons themſelves acknowledged the juſtneſs of the prayers of thoſe petitions. Yet, ſay they, inſtead of proceeding to that reform, the very influence complained of was exerted, either to reject in the firſt inſtance, or to baffle in its progreſs, every propoſition that was offered to the conſideration of parliament, for effecting the ends propoſed. Similar obſervations were made by other committees.

Several of the aſſociated or petitioning bodies, after great applauſe to Mr. Burke and other gentlemen, for their attempts in the late ſeſſion, and a declaration that they could not hope for any effectual redreſs, with reſpect to the groſs abuſes in the raiſing and expenditure of the public money, from the endeavours of the commiſſioners of accounts, requeſted him to bring forward his bill of reform in the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament.

The proclamation for diſſolving the parliament operated like a thunder clap, with reſpect to ſuddenneſs and ſurpriſe, on thoſe who were not in the ſecret. A new prorogation Sept. 1ſt. 1780.

gation had taken place within a few days, which ſerved to render the ſtroke ſtill more unexpected. The ſhortneſs of the time allotted for the elections, increaſed the difficulties and diſadvantages to thoſe, who were at a diſtance from their boroughs or intereſts, and who had taken no previous meaſures of ſecurity. From theſe, and from the other cauſes which we have mentioned, the elections went much in favour of the court, and ſeveral of the moſt popular members, whoſe public conduct ſeemed to receive the general approbation of their conſtituents, were notwithſtanding thrown out of their ſeats. Mr. Fox, however, carried his election for the city of Weſtminſter by a great majority againſt the Earl of Lincoln, who was ſupported by the whole weight and power of the court. Admiral Keppel, who was thrown out of his old ſeat at Windſor, by that weight and influence, was brought in by the public ſpirit of the electors for the county of Surrey, where he had little local intereſt or connection, compared with thoſe of the other candidate.

113 new men obtained ſeats in parliament. The poverty of the times, operating along with the general hopleſſneſs which now prevailed, that any oppoſition in parliament would be capable of producing a beneficial alteration in the conduct of public affairs, had both together ſo powerful an effect, that candidates were not to be found, who would ſupport the uſual expenſive conteſts of the counties. No general election, perhaps for a century, produced ſo little expence in that reſpect. Several members of the late parliament, who, although they did not take the trouble of declaring their ſentiments to the public, were tired of a conſtant fruitleſs attendance and oppoſition, either determined to retire entirely from public buſineſs, or grew very indifferent as to the event of their elections. The general venality which now appeared among the electors, and that contempt of their own declarations and reſolutions, as well as of all paſt faithful ſervice, which it produced, could not fail highly to diſguſt many, and to render them ſtill more hopeleſs of public affairs. They peeviſhly ſaid, that whatever ſmall degree of public ſpirit and virtue ſtill remained among the people was entirely evaporated in words; and whenever the touch-ſtone was applied, their venality would not only appear predominant, but would prove to be their only principle.

It does not frequently happen, that the accidents which befal individuals, ſhould produce any great effect upon the political conduct or ſituation of ſtates, and ſtill leſs upon the general ſtate of public affairs. The capture of Mr. Laurens, late Preſident of the Congreſs, on his paſſage from America, was however one of thoſe ſingular inſtances, in which the political ſituation of no ſmall part of Europe ſeemed conſiderably affected by the fortune of a ſingle man. It was the occaſion, if not the cauſe, of the precipitate rupture between Great Britain and Holland, and of that friendſhip and alliance which had for ſo many years bound together thoſe neighbouring maritime and Proteſtant powers. That which had been

been conſidered as the ſecond maritime power, and more than once boldly ſupported her claim to the empire of the ſea, which had ſo long participated in the intereſts and glory of England, was now added to a combination, avowedly formed to reduce, if not entirely to annihilate, her naval power.

Mr. Laurens being bound from Philadelphia, in a Congreſs packet, on an embaſſy to Holland, was taken in the beginning of September on the banks of Newfoundland, by the Veſtal frigate, commanded by Captain Keppel. The package which contained his papers had been thrown overboard, but its bulk preventing it from ſuddenly ſinking, it was ſaved by the boldneſs and dexterity of a Britiſh ſeaman, and moſt of the papers recovered from the effects of the water.

Upon his arrival in England, he was committed as a ſtate priſoner, and upon a charge of high treaſon, to the Tower of London, under a warrant or order ſigned by the three ſecretaries of ſtate. He is ſaid, upon his examination before the miniſters, to have claimed the privilege of his ſituation, in cautiouſly declining to anſwer any queſtions whoſe tendency he could not immediately perceive, ſo that little other information was obtained from him than an acknowledgement of his name, and of his late condition as Preſident of the Congreſs.

Oct. 6th.

But this defect was abundantly ſupplied by his papers. The moſt important, however, of theſe, and which produced the ſubſequent effect, were the papers relating to an eventual treaty of amity and commerce between America and Holland, which had been in agitation for more than two years paſt, and to which Mr. Laurens was furniſhed with power, to put the finiſhing hand. Among theſe was a draught of the treaty, which was, however, only to take effect when the independence of America ſhould be acknowledged by Great Britain, or confirmed at a peace. The negociators on the ſide of Holland, were M. Van Berkel, penſionary and counſellor to the city of Amſterdam (an office of great weight and power), with other members of the regency, aſſiſted by ſome great commercial houſes of that city. It does not appear that the ſtates general were at all conſulted upon, or concerned in, the tranſaction; ſo that it was more properly a proviſinal treaty with the ſtates of that city, or at moſt with the province of Holland, than with the united provinces at large. But Amſterdam depended upon her own weight and influence, including that of the province in which ſhe bears ſo ſupreme a ſway, together with the public advantages to be derived from the treaty, as fully competent to the purpoſe of obtaining its ratification, when the proper ſeaſon arrived; and it ſeems that the Americans conſidered this ſecurity as fully ſufficient.

We have formerly ſhewn, that the Dutch in general, even at the very commencement of the troubles, much diſapproved of the harſh meaſures, which were then in contemplation or purſuit with reſpect to America. Many, if not moſt of theſe, were at that time well affected to Great Britain,

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and lamented upon her own account, as well as that of the Proteſtant and maritime intereſts in general, the dangerous tendency, as they held it, of that conduct which ſhe had now adopted; but they likewiſe, at the ſame time, felt greatly for the calamities which were falling, or likely to fall, upon the Britiſh Americans; and could not but deeply ſympathize with a people, whoſe ſituation bore ſo near a reſemblance to what once had been their own. It was much more upon theſe principles, than upon any that were inimical to Great Britain, that the Scotch regiments were refuſed in the beginning of the conteſt.

But theſe feelings being continually irritated by the aggravations of the war, what at firſt ſeemed to be only a friendly concern or blame for wrong-doing, by degrees degenerated into a ſettled diſlike; and thoſe under its influence, continually fell in with and ſtrengthened the French party, who were acting upon principles directly oppoſite to thoſe which had originally operated with themſelves. Other cauſes concurred in the ſame effect. A harſh remonſtrance from the court of London, which was repreſented as holding a domineering and arbitrary language, unfitting to be offered to ſovereign and independent ſtates, inſtead of intimidation, excited nothing but reſentment. Some jealouſy of the views of the ſtadtholder, fomented by the French faction, had for ſome time been gaining great ground; and it being ſuppoſed that he would be ſupported in theſe by the court of London, that circumſtance ſerved not a little to looſen the bonds of union between both nations.

The recent circumſtances of examining and bringing in the Dutch convoy under Count Byland, in the beginning of the year, and the royal proclamation iſſued in London on the 17th of April, in conſequence of the failure of the ſtates general, in not furniſhing the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty to Great Britain, are freſh in every memory, and were ſtated in our laſt volume.

Thus circumſtances of irritation and jealouſy, were continually acumulating on both ſides, until the preſent event brought things to their ultimate point of deciſion. Sir Joſeph Yorke immediately preſſed the buſineſs in ſtrong memorials to the ſtates general, and after ſtating the clandeſtine correſpondence which, it now appeared from Mr. Laurens's papers, the ſtates of Amſterdam had long carried on with the American rebels, and the inſtructions and powers which they had given, for entering into a treaty with thoſe rebels, although they were the natural ſubjects of a ſovereign to whom the republic was joined by the ſtricteſt ties of friendſhip, he then demanded, in the name of the king, his maſter, not only a formal diſavowal of ſo irregular conduct, but alſo inſiſted on ſpeedy ſatisfaction, adequate to the offences, and the puniſhment of the Penſionary Van Berkel and his accomplices, as diſturbers of the public peace, and violators of the rights of nations.

An immediate anſwer not being given, the Britiſh ambaſſador continued to preſs the matter cloſely in

ſeveral conferences, and at length in a ſecond memorial. The ſtates general then informed Sir Joſeph Yorke, by a meſſage, that his memorial had been taken *ad referendum* by the deputies of the reſpective provinces, according to the received order and conſtitution of government; and that they would endeavour to frame an anſwer to it, as ſoon as the nature of their government would admit. This not being at all deemed ſatisfactory by the court of London, Sir Joſeph Yorke received orders to withdraw from the Hague; and that ſtep was followed, before the
Dec. 20th. cloſe of the year, by a declaration of hoſtilities againſt Holland.

Such was in general the ſtate of public affairs previous to the meeting of the new parliament. No change of any conſequence had taken place in adminiſtration, any more than in the ſtate of the parties that compoſed the oppoſition. It could not ariſe from an apprehenſion, on the ſide of the court, of any deficiency of ſtrength in the
Sept. 29th. Houſe of Lords, that ſix new peers were now created; and muſt therefore be attributed to a ſenſe of merit, and acknowledgement of ſervices. Theſe were, Lord Gage, the Honourable James Brudenell, Sir William De Gray, Sir William Bagot, Hon. Charles Fitzroy, and Henry Herbert, Eſq. who were all created Engliſh Barons. We do not conſider the granting of a baronage, with an extenſion to the female line, in Earl Talbot's family, as an immediate increaſe of peerage.— Some ſmall
Oct. 10th. time before the meeting of parliament Ld. Carliſle was appointed to the government of Ireland; and Lord Grantham ſucceeded him at the head of the board of trade.

The firſt buſineſs in the
Houſe of Commons was ne- 31ſt.
ceſſarily the choice of a ſpeaker; a buſineſs which afforded an opportunity for a trial of ſtrength on both ſides, and to the miniſters, not only of gratifying former reſentments, but of ſhewing the danger, in certain ſituations, of incurring their diſpleaſure. Our readers will recollect, that the ſpeech made by Sir Fletcher Norton, as ſpeaker, on the 7th of May, 1777, upon his preſenting to the throne, the bills for the diſcharge of the civil liſt debts, and for the addition of 100,000l. a year to that eſtabliſhment, gave great umbrage at the time to the court and adminiſtration; and that notwithſtanding the ſanction of an immediate vote of approbation, from the Houſe of Commons, the matter was ſtill ſo heavily reſented, as to be again brought forward, when it was productive of long debates, which were intermixed with no ſmall degree of warmth and acrimony. The Houſe of Commons, however, ſupported their ſpeaker, and he obtained a complete triumph upon that occaſion.

The differences which broke out between the ſpeaker and the miniſter in the late ſeſſion, are within every one's recollection, and are ſtated in our laſt volume. In the altercations which then aroſe, the ſpeaker openly aſcribed to his conduct on the former occaſion, the cauſes of his preſent complaints, and of that neglect and want of confidence which he had ever ſince

ſince experienced from the miniſtry. The diſcuſſions which that buſineſs produced, any more than the part which the ſpeaker had taken upon ſome public queſtions of great importance, by no means tended to reconciliation.

All theſe matters were in full operation againſt the late ſpeaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, at the meeting of the new parliament. Another ſpeaker was accordingly determined upon, and the mode of conducting the buſineſs adopted by the miniſters, was to pay the higheſt compliments to the late ſpeaker upon his abilities and knowledge, and to make the greateſt acknowledgements, as well of the honour and dignity with which he filled his high ſtation, as of the firmneſs, prudence, diligence, and indefatigable zeal, with which he had diſcharged its exceedingly laborious duties. But being thus let down upon ſoft ground, it was then lamented, that by the continued exertion of theſe eſtimable qualities, during two parliaments, his conſtitution had been ſo much impaired, that its effects in the laſt ſeſſion had been but too viſible to every gentleman then in parliament; and indeed, notwithſtanding the eagerneſs of his zeal, could not but conſiderably affect the public buſineſs of that time. That conſidering the preſent critical ſituation of public affairs, much buſineſs, and conſequently many long and late debates, were likely to come on; and that under all theſe circumſtances, it would neither be decent in the gentleman himſelf to propoſe, nor becoming in that houſe, to ſhew ſo little reſpect and gratitude to him, as to adopt the propoſition, of again putting him into a ſituation, the fatigues of which, in his preſent precarious ſtate of health, muſt be equally beyond his powers of application, and deſtructive to his conſtitution.

The American miniſter, after an introduction upon this ground, then moved, that Mr. Cornwall, a gentleman eminently endowed with all the qualifications neceſſary for fulfilling the duties of that high office, with no leſs honour to himſelf than advantage to the houſe, ſhould be choſen their ſpeaker. The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Welbore Ellis.

The oppoſition expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, not only at the motion, but at the arguments which were held out as the grounds of its ſupport. The miniſters had acknowledged the late ſpeaker to be the moſt able of all men to fill the chair, and in the very moment of that confeſſion, they propoſe another candidate, and to heighten the inconſiſtency, ſtrongly recommend to him, to copy the example of his predeceſſor. As to the bad health of the late ſpeaker being aſſigned as a cauſe for his rejection, it was a very bare, and an entirely unfounded pretence. The health of the late ſpeaker was now ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that he was evidently as capable of diſcharging all the duties of his office, as ever he had been in any part of his life. This pretence was therefore an abſolute mockery of the houſe, and the motion was intended as a direct inſult upon that gentleman; and if the meaſure was adopted, it would be a moſt ungrateful return, for the many years of the moſt

oſt valuable part of his life, hich he had with ſo much ho-our and ability devoted to the ublic ſervice of his country in at houſe. Mr. Dunning accord-gly moved, and the motion was conded by Mr. Thomas Townſ-end, that Sir Fletcher Norton be ontinued ſpeaker.

That gentleman himſelf ſaid, at on account of his ill ſtate of ealth in the preceding ſeſſion, nd the unavoidable interruption hich it occaſioned to the public uſineſs, he had come to the houſe nder a full determination not to o again into the chair upon any ccount; and that he muſt there-ore decline the honour intended im by his learned friend who ad made the motion, and by him ho had ſeconded it, for his re-nſtatement. But he muſt be an diot indeed, if he could believe at his ſtate of health, of which one of the king's miniſters had ver received the ſmalleſt intima-ion from him, was the real cauſe f their moving for a new ſpeaker, ithout holding the ſmalleſt pre-ious communication with him pon the ſubject. He had in the aſt ſeſſion, at the peril of his life, nd contrary to the advice of his hyſicians, come down to that houſe: he had, when almoſt over-whelmed with infirmity, ſtrug-gled hard to forward the buſineſs f parliament; and he had done o at the particular deſire of thoſe who now moved to have another gentleman appointed ſpeaker. This was uſage he did not expect; he thought he had merited other treat-ment. He had been in town three days, and had never been aſked, whether his health would enable him to continue in the chair, nor had he been applied to directly or indirectly, on the ſubject of chooſ-ing a new ſpeaker. It was then an inſult on the underſtanding of every gentleman preſent, to pre-tend that an anxiety for his health was the real cauſe for moving that another ſpeaker might be choſen; and he called upon the miniſters to declare why he was thus diſ-gracefully diſmiſſed?

This opened a wider ground of debate to the oppoſition, which they immediately occupied. They ſaid, that the miniſters had adopt-ed and reduced to a ſyſtem the abominable practice, of endea-vouring to diſgrace every digni-fied character in the kingdom; and more eſpecially to inſult and villify thoſe men whoſe conduct the Houſe of Commons approved. That their reſentments were not more mean, than the motive on which they were founded, in the preſent inſtance, was unconſtitu-tional and dangerous. That the me-morable ſpeech, which had drawn their enmity on the ſpeaker, re-flected the higheſt honour upon him; and was equally a record of his impartiality in that high office, of his zeal for his country, and of his feeling for the national diſ-treſſes. That it had received the repeated approbation of the com-mons of England; and was equal-ly admired and approved of with-out doors. And yet that ſpeech, under ſuch ſanctions, was the only cauſe for their preſent attempt to inſult and diſgrace him. That the nation would now form a pro-per eſtimate of the views and principles of the miniſters, when they ſaw the open and avowed perſecution which they carried on againſt all thoſe, who faithfully

diſcharged their public duties, and who had ſpirit and virtue ſufficient, to ſupport the intereſts of the people, or to maintain their rights. The new members, ſaid they, will now ſee confirmed, what they had before heard attributed only to the malice of parties or to newſpaper miſrepreſentation. They may perhaps obtain a good leſſon now at their firſt entrance, how far the vengeance of power is capable of operating even in this popular aſſembly.

The miniſters took no farther ſhare in the debate, beyond the introductory ſpeech of the noble lord at the head of the American affairs. Lord North, though more than once called upon, was totally ſilent. Nor could the warm challenges of the late ſpeaker, nor the repeated calls of the oppoſition, draw out any manner of explanation from them, as to the cauſes or motives of the conduct ſo much complained of.

The debate was, however, ſupported with great ſpirit by the gentleman who ſeconded the motion for the appointment of Mr. Cornwall, and by Mr. Rigby. They ſaid they had never before heard, nor could they by any means ſubſcribe to the doctrines which were now broached. This was the firſt debate in which they had heard it aſſerted, that there was any thing of inſult, diſgrace, or contempt to any man, in appointing a ſpeaker, or that any gentleman was either to be called on, or expected to ſtate his reaſons, why he recommended, or why he voted, for this or that particular candidate. In a new parliament, every member had an undoubted right to give his vote as he pleaſed for a new ſpeaker; and the moſt learned in the la were deſired to prove, that it w any part of the conſtitution parliament, for a ſpeaker to po ſeſs the chair juſt as long as h ſhould think proper, unleſs ſom charge of criminality could b eſtabliſhed againſt him.

But the latter of theſe gentle men went farther, and acknow ledged that he had objections t the late ſpeaker on more accoun than one; but particularly wi reſpect to that conduct in the ye 1777, which had now been much boaſted of. He had at th time ſtrongly expreſſed his diſap probation both of the ſpeech an of the vote of thanks, which ha been now read as a matter o triumph. He now thought, a he then did, that the ſpeak went too far; that he was no warranted to make ſuch an addre to the throne; and that it wa flying in the king's face. Bein called to order for uſing the roy name, he, with his uſual firmnes inſiſted that the oppoſition wer not warranted in calling him t order, as he had not uſed th name in any manner which coul influence the freedom of debate He ſeemed to laugh at wha had been thrown out, of the in fluence of the crown, and the ſe cret reaſons for the motion to elec a new ſpeaker; ſuch things, h ſaid, might have an effect wit younger men, and with thoſe wh had newly entered within th walls of that houſe, but they coul not make the ſmalleſt impreſſion on him. The mighty ſecret, h ſaid, why one ſide of the hou moved for a new ſpeaker, and th other ſupported the old, was re

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ducible to a ſimple fact, and when put into plain Engliſh, and ſtripped of the adventitious dreſs of eloquence, amounted to no more on either ſide than this—"We'll "vote for you, if you'll be for "us."

It did not, however, appear, upon the diviſion, that the young men and new members, in general, had any great objection to think or act with the miniſters. Lord George Germain's motion for the appointment of Mr. Cornwall to be ſpeaker, was carried by a majority of 203 votes, to 134 who ſupported Mr. Dunning's nomination of the late ſpeaker.

The new ſpeaker was exceedingly well received, upon his introduction to the throne, at the head of the houſe, on the following day. The ſpeech to both houſes, which immediately ſucceeded the ceremonial of receiving the ſpeaker, ſeemed to hold out a motive, without its being directly aſſigned, for the late diſſolution, by declaring more than ordinary ſatisfaction in meeting parliament, at a time, when the late elections afforded an opportunity of receiving the moſt certain information of the diſpoſition and wiſhes of the people, to which his majeſty was always inclined to pay the utmoſt attention and regard. The other objects of the ſpeech were, to ſtate, in a full point of view, the arduous ſituation of public affairs; the formidable nature, the injuſtice, and the dangerous views of that vaſt combination of force, which was formed againſt us in ſupport of the American rebellion. The whole force and faculties of the French and Spaniſh monarchies were drawn forth, and exerted to the utmoſt, the undiſguiſed object of the confederacy being to gratify a boundleſs ambition, by deſtroying the commerce, and giving a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain. It was acknowledged, that the force granted by the laſt parliament, along with the divine bleſſing on the bravery of our fleets and armies, had happily ſucceeded in withſtanding the formidable attempts of our enemies, and in fruſtrating the great expectations which they had formed. The ſignal ſucceſſes which had attended the progreſs of the Britiſh arms in Georgia and Carolina, were held out to view; and were ſaid to be gained, with ſo much honour to the conduct and courage of the officers, and to the valour and intrepidity of the troops, as equalled their higheſt character in any age, and, it was truſted, would have important conſequences in bringing the war to a happy concluſion. But though the accompliſhment of that great end was moſt earneſtly deſired, they would undoubtedly agree in opinion, that they could only ſecure ſafe and honourable terms of peace by ſuch powerful and reſpectable preparations, as ſhould convince our enemies, that we would not ſubmit to receive the law from any powers whatſoever, and that we are united in a firm reſolution to decline no difficulty or hazard in the defence of our country, and for the preſervation of our eſſential intereſts. The commons were informed, that his majeſty ſaw and felt, with concern, that the various ſervices of the war muſt unavoidably be attended with great and heavy expences; but they were deſired to

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grant ſuch ſupplies only as their own ſecurity and the exigency of affairs ſhould be found to require.

The forms of the houſe of commons happened, upon this occaſion, to prevent the ſpeech from being conſidered or read until the following Tueſday; when an addreſs, adding the uſual reaſſertion of all the propoſitions contained in the ſpeech, and ſuch compliments as the events of the day ſuggeſted, was moved for by Mr. De Grey, and ſeconded by Sir Richard Sutton. An amendment was moved by Mr. Grenville, and ſeconded by Col. Fitzpatrick, propoſing to leave out the whole addreſs, excepting the complimentary part, and to ſubſtitute in the place of the ſubſequent clauſes theſe words, that, "In this arduous conjunc- "ture we are determined to unite "our efforts for the defence of "this our country; and we beg "leave to aſſure your majeſty, "that we will decline no diffi- "culty or hazard in preſerving "the eſſential intereſts of this "kingdom."

Nov. 6th.

As the old queſtion of ſupporting or abandoning the American war, neceſſarily held a principal part in the preſent debate, we ſhall only attend to the new matter introduced, or the new ground of argument taken on either ſide. It was advanced, in ſupport of the addreſs, that our affairs in America were in a much better train, and much more proſperous ſituation, than they had been at any time ſince the convention of Saratoga: that the ſplendid ſucceſs of Lord Cornwallis in the ſouthern colonies had enhanced the reputation of the Britiſh arms, and had in the higheſt degree intimidated our enemies. That Carolina was entirely reduced to the obedience of our arms, and the numerous friends of Great Britain in that country, were no longer afraid to avow their ſentiments. That it was no longer a queſtion of allegiance and independency between us and our colonies; but the queſtion now was, whether we ſhould relinquiſh thoſe valuable provinces to the houſe of Bourbon? No lover of his country could heſitate a moment in oppoſing to the laſt ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength to our natural enemy; and no friend of America could wiſh that we ſhould reſign her to the yoke of an arbitrary ſovereign.

Nothing, they ſaid, could be a greater miſtake, or more improperly held out, than the language continually uſed on the other ſide, that the war was at preſent carried on for the purpoſe of conquering America. The fact was directly otherwiſe. The war was now carried on to protect our numerous American friends from the tyranny and oppreſſion of the congreſs. This was a purpoſe which neither juſtice, humanity, gratitude, or even a regard to our own intereſts, would permit us to abandon. It would not now be inſiſted that America could be recovered by conqueſt; but it was well to be hoped, that America was ſtill to be regained by this country. The juſt and liberal offers made by Great Britain to America, had produced very great and general effects upon the minds of the people; and it was not to be doubted that more than half the Americans, when freed from their oppreſſors, would appear to have been

been friends to the Britiſh government. This then was no ſeaſon for the language of deſpondency; our late ſignal ſucceſſes, operating upon this diſpoſition of the people, muſt produce the happieſt effects; and, that as we have now ſeen and corrected our own errors, ſo the prevalence of reaſon over paſſion will operate equally with the Americans, and prevent their being far behind us; eſpecially as occaſion muſt continually be given, for contraſting the happineſs which they enjoyed under our mild government with the tyranny of their preſent rulers, and of feeling more and more their odious and diſgraceful dependence on France.

They then contended, that our ſituation precluded every proſpect of honourable peace, but through the medium of victory; that the proſecution of the war with the utmoſt energy, until it might be terminated on better and more honourable grounds than at preſent, was eſſential to the political exiſtence of Great Britain; and, in a word, that we muſt humble France through the ſides of America. That if we even ſubmitted to the humiliating and diſgraceful meaſure of acknowledging the independency of America, ſtill, that fatal conceſſion, which would expoſe us to the probable loſs of all our tranſmarine poſſeſſions, and ſink the political conſequence of this kingdom to nothing in the ſcale of Europe, would not accelerate the work of peace, however fervently that happy event was to be deſired. America was a new ſtate; ſhe muſt maintain or eſtabliſh her public character; and ſhe was bound by every tie of policy, as well as honour, not to deſert her allies, or to leave them expoſed to our collected efforts, in a war undertaken for her advantage. But if it were otherwiſe, ſhe was now too cloſely connected with, and too much dependent on, France, to have it in her power to enter into a ſeparate treaty with Great Britain.

Our ſituation was undoubtedly difficult and perilous; but if our native courage did not do it, we might learn from the example of other wiſe and powerful nations, never to deſpond in any circumſtances; but to expect the happy effects of fortitude even in the moſt adverſe ſituations. Nor, in truth, was the heterogeneous confederacy formed againſt us, although undoubtedly in a very high degree powerful, by any means ſo tremendous and alarming as was repreſented and imagined. Beſides the principles of diſunion, and many other faults common to all confederacies, this was compoſed of powers, which, in the nature of things, were the moſt unlikely, if not utterly incapable of coaleſcing, for any continuance, with cordiality, that ever were, or that poſſibly could be brought together. The Spaniards had the ſtrongeſt natural averſion, cheriſhed by the accumulated prejudices of all ages, both to the people and country of France. And could it be ſuppoſed or believed, that the Proteſtant republicans of North America, who were more zealouſly attached to their religious and political principles than perhaps any other civilized people, and who were fighting againſt their parent country and their own blood for

liberty, ſhould enter into a cordial friendſhip and laſting bands of union with a Roman Catholic and deſpotic power, which having enſlaved its own people, would not afford the word *liberty* a place in its dictionaries. We ſhould then ſtrike at the whole confederacy, and not at this part or that ſeparately, until the vigour of our efforts, operating upon its own principles of diſſolution, had ſhaken the whole fabric to pieces.

On the other ſide it was obſerved, that there was every year a new reaſon for continuing the American war; firſt, it was neceſſary to ſend troops to deliver the men of property and conſequence on that continent from the tyranny of the mob; afterwards to deliver the lower ranks from the oppreſſion of the upper, and particularly of the congreſs; and now we are called upon to deliver both from the thraldom in which they were held by France. Such were the vain and empty deluſions by which, year after year, the nation had been led through all the calamity, loſs, danger, and diſgrace, of this ruinous war. The infatuation of the miniſters was now evidently as ſtrong, for its continuance, as it had been in the beginning; and they ſeemed to think the parliament and nation to be as blind and as infatuated as they were themſelves. The laſt parliament had, like other the moſt abandoned ſinners, in its dying agonies, confeſſed the cauſe of its corruption and profligacy; this day would afford a demonſtration, whether the fatal and corrupt influence then acknowledged, had extended to the preſent. Whatever effect miniſterial arts had heretofore produced on the opinions and diſpoſition of the people, the general cry now was, "Peace with America, and "war, vigorous war, with our "natural enemies;" it remained to be ſeen, whether the miniſters had influence enough in that houſe, to enable them ſtill to carry on the American war, to the entire ruin, and contrary to the expreſs ſenſe of the nation.

But we are told that our American affairs are now in a much more flouriſhing and proſperous condition than they have been at any time ſince the affair at Saratoga; and that the ſplendid victory obtained at Camden, is to decide the fate of that continent. This, ſaid they, has been the conſtant language, at every gleam of ſucceſs, ever ſince the commencement of the war. It is indeed true, that our ſucceſſes in that time have been ſplendid and numerous, and that our officers and troops have, upon various occaſions, obtained great honour; but how far have we, upon the whole, been gainers by theſe advantages? Boſton was, in the beginning, exchanged for New York. The reduction of that capital, the victory at Long Iſland, that at the Brandy Wine, and the taking of Philadelphia (the ſeat of congreſs, and the capital of America), were all, in their reſpective day, objects of the greateſt triumph, and each held out, as leading to ſucceſſes ſtill more ſplendid, which muſt neceſſarily decide the fate of that continent. There will not be the face of a rebel ſeen in all North America, was the conſtant language of thoſe times. It would be unneceſſary to particularize the

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real conſequences of theſe ſucceſſes; or to make any comment upon the abandoning of Philadelphia, or the danger which attended the retreat. Another ſource of confidence is offered to us in the exchange of Rhode Iſland, the very beſt winter harbour in all North America, for Charles Town, the capital of South Carolina. Let thoſe expert in ſuch calculations determine on which ſide the balance lies. But the glorious victory at Camden is now to make up for every thing, and to revive all our former moſt ſanguine hopes and illuſions. But if we found our judgment on analogy or experience, are we not rather to conſider it as the forerunner of ſome fatal diſaſter? What could be more ſplendid or flattering than the ſucceſs at Ticonderago? Yet that was followed by the loſs of the whole army. Have we leſs reaſon now, than we had at that time, to expect ſuch a reverſe of fortune as then happened? The conſequence of our ſucceſs at Charles Town, was the laying Lord Cornwallis under a neceſſity of putting all to the hazard, by encountering a great ſuperiority of force at Camden. The merit and honour of that action lie entirely with the general and his army; but what are we to ſay to, or to expect from thoſe conductors of the war, who laid him under that dangerous neceſſity, which renders his victory a miracle? or if ſuch conſequences are the natural and inevitable reſult of our ſucceſſes on that continent, with what hope, or to what end, is the war continued?

They obſerved farther, that a calamitous circumſtance attending that action afforded a direct proof, that the majority of the Americans (as had been ſo frequently and confidently aſſerted by the miniſters) were not friendly to this country; but, on the contrary, that they were almoſt univerſally attached to the cauſe of congreſs. For no ſooner had General Gates appeared among the Carolinians, than thoſe very men flocked to his ſtandard, who had taken the oaths to our government, carrying with them the arms that were put into their hands by our general; a circumſtance which reduced him to the unhappy neceſſity of putting ſuch of them as were taken to death. But the very ſame neceſſity which obliged the general, contrary to his diſpoſition, to recur to acts of terror, excludes any reliance in the affection of that people againſt whom they were neceſſary.

It was acknowledged, that great advantages might be derived from the late ſucceſs obtained by the good conduct and gallantry of Lord Cornwallis and his army. It might be made the foundation of an honourable and happy peace. Let miniſters, ſaid the oppoſition, ſeize and improve the advantage, and they will deſerve and receive the thanks and applauſe of their country. But have they given us the ſmalleſt hopes of ſuch a diſpoſition? On the contrary, ſaid they, does not the ſpeech itſelf, and does not the propoſed addreſs, which is its echo, prove to the conviction of this houſe, that they are determined to purſue the war to the utmoſt? They dare not give it up. They muſt at all events carry it on. And its unpopularity, and that only, is the tenure by

by which they hold their places. To that object therefore were all others ſacrificed. It was upon that account that raw new-raiſed regiments, under inexperienced officers, were ſent to periſh, not in detail, but by whole columns, on the Weſt-India ſervice, whilſt the veterans, who were proof to all climates and ſeaſons, were kept in America.

It would ſeem to have been rather pleaſantly than ſeriouſly ſaid, on the other ſide, that Great Britain ſtanding ſingly, and without an ally, in the war, had great advantages over the powerful confederacy which was formed againſt her. If the doctrine had been true, this nation muſt undoubtedly at preſent be the moſt flouriſhing in the univerſe, for ſhe is probably the only one in that predicament. It ſeems, however, to have been ſeriouſly advanced, by the ſubſequent alluſions to the league of Cambray, and to the confederacy againſt Lewis XIV. neither of which can in any degree apply in the preſent inſtance. It was common danger, diſtreſs, and a participation of intereſts, that chiefly endeared nations, as well as individuals, to one another; and this tie, for the preſent, united the French and Americans in the cloſeſt friendſhip. But if we held out to America a ſeparate intereſt, and that accompanied with ſuch ſecurity, as ſhould remove all ideas of a common danger, it was conſiſtent with experience, and the uſual courſe of things, to expect that we might diſſolve the friendſhip, and have an opportunity of ſucceſsfully treating with her. Indeed, without aſcribing to the Americans any unuſual degree either of gratitude or perfidy, and conſidering them merely as men, whoſe conduct, like that of all others, would naturally be governed by a mixture of both reaſon and paſſion, it was fairly to be preſumed, that by ſuch a courſe, and by abſtaining from offenſive hoſtilities againſt them, they might ſtill be detached from the cauſe of the houſe of Bourbon.

What would be the conſequence, they aſked, of withdrawing the troops from America? American independence undoubtedly. Would this be a means of obtaining peace? —it cannot be denied. Could the troops ſubdue America, if they ſtayed there?——it is not even hoped. Can the American war be given up without her being independent? —— certainly not. Can peace be obtained upon any other terms than American independence?—the miniſters know it cannot. If theſe things are ſo (and they cannot be controverted), the miniſters are waſting the blood and treaſure of this country without an object.

They totally denied, that our affairs in America were now in a better ſituation than they had been at any time ſince the convention of Saratoga; and inſiſted that we were now, in all reſpects, in infinitely worſe circumſtances: but without waſting time, they ſaid, in conſidering the comparative value of poſts, or the relative ſtrength of armies, are we not more than forty millions worſe, through the mere expences of the war, than we were at that period? and has not the failure of our commerce, and the exhauſture of our reſources, been in a ſtill greater proportion?

Every military man, they ſaid, had

had known, from the time of the affair of Trenton, that all attempts to ſubdue America were ſo many fruitleſs proſtitutions of blood and treaſure, for that the matter was altogether impracticable. Is it then wiſe or prudent, ſaid they, for this houſe to pledge itſelf precipitately by an addreſs to the farther ſupport and continuance of that ruinous and impracticable war? Let us on the contrary aſſure his majeſty, and declare to all the world, that though we will not longer purſue a meaſure of folly and ruin, we ſhall afford every poſſible ſupport to his arms, when directed againſt their proper object, the houſe of Bourbon. Let that houſe deſervedly feel every exertion of our force, and every effect of our reſentment. So far the amendment went, and no farther ought they to bind themſelves.

Some miſcellaneous matter was drawn in, particularly by Mr. Fox and Col. Fitzpatrick, who animadverted greatly on ſeveral circumſtances relative to the late diſſolution, as well as to the general election. The former obſerved, that the ſpeech began with aſſuring them that his majeſty wiſhed to know the ſenſe of his people, and the ſame paragraph contained the greateſt mockery and inſult upon the people, by telling them that he hoped to receive the information he wiſhed for, through the medium of the late elections. Were thoſe elections, ſaid he, free? Was the diſſolution previouſly announced, or the time of it properly choſen? He hoped to God theſe circumſtances would become the object of an enquiry in that houſe, and that it might be known which of the king's ſervants it was, who had dared to adviſe his majeſty to diſſolve his parliament, at that particular time that the diſſolution took place; at a time when moſt gentlemen were taken by ſurprize. Indeed, for himſelf, he knew the miniſters too well, to be ſurprized if it had taken place in the midſt of the harveſt, or at whatever moment was the moſt prejudicial to the people, or the moſt unfavourable to the freedom of election. As it was, it took place when the majority of that houſe, eſpecially of thoſe who had uniformly oppoſed and reprobated the mad and deſtructive meaſures of miniſters, were in camp, and at conſiderable diſtance from the places they repreſented; ſo that the miniſters, inſtead of conſulting the wiſhes of the people, and inſtead of rendering the event as little injurious as poſſible to the internal peace and quiet of the kingdom, had taken pains to render the diſſolution of parliament as great and calamitous an evil as could have happened.

He particularly condemned the miniſtry for the unconſtitutional uſe they had made of the army. The military, he ſaid, was a force at all times inimical to liberty, and therefore it behoved every Engliſhman to watch the army with a jealous eye. A few months ſince, perhaps, the delicate ſituation of affairs made it wiſer to acquieſce in a queſtionable meaſure, than to hazard the appearance of countenancing the inſurrection, by calling in queſtion the means uſed to ſuppreſs it; but now the occaſion was over, conſtitutional conſiderations muſt take their turn. He then proceeded to reprehend the

the miniſters in the moſt pointed terms, for having dared to ſend orders to officers in all the towns of the kingdom, as well in thoſe where there had not been the ſmalleſt proneneſs to tumult, as in thoſe where it had entirely ſubſided, and that quiet was perfectly reſtored, giving them power to act at diſcretion, without the authority of the civil magiſtrate. Theſe orders, he ſaid, had not been recalled, till almoſt every election was over; and he repreſented it as an alarming violence to the conſtitution, and a meaſure which called loudly for parliamentary enquiry.

He likewiſe arraigned the miniſters in terms of the utmoſt ſeverity, for the inſult which, he ſaid, had been offered to the navy, and the prejudice done to that ſervice by the late appointment of Sir Hugh Palliſer to the government of Greenwich hoſpital. A ſubject upon which he ſeemed to exhauſt all his powers of cenſure.

The original addreſs was at length carried upon a diviſion, by a majority of 212, to 130 who ſupported the amendment.

The addreſs in the houſe of lords was moved for, on the day that the ſpeech from the throne was delivered, by the Earl of Weſtmoreland. An amendment was moved by the Marquis of Carmarthen, which, like that in the houſe of commons, went to the omiſſion of the greater part of the addreſs. The debate was neither long nor intereſting; and the original addreſs was carried upon a diviſion, by a majority of 68 to 23. It was obſerved as a ſingularity upon this occaſion, and was afterwards commented upon in more places than one, that the moderation and virtue of not taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the late riots, to unite the arms of an enraged populace with thoſe of the military, and apply both to the overthrow of the conſtitution of this country, and the deſtruction of the liberties and rights of the people, according to the example a few years ſince ſet by the prince in a northern kingdom, were grounds of great acknowledgement and thanks to the ſovereign.

Upon the reſolution in the committee of ſupply, that 91,000 ſeamen, including marines, ſhould be voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year, Mr. Fox, after declaring his aſſent, pledged himſelf to the houſe that he would, after the holidays, move for the diſmiſſion of the Earl of Sandwich, and afterwards for bringing him to condign puniſhment, and gave notice that he ſhould found theſe motions on two different cauſes;—the firſt for adviſing his majeſty to promote Sir Hugh Palliſer to the government of Greenwich hoſpital;—and the ſecond for the ſhameful neglect of the navy during that nobleman's adminiſtration. Nov. 13.

A vote of thanks to Sir Fletcher Norton, the late ſpeaker, for his conduct in that office, being moved for by Mr. Townſhend, and ſupported by the oppoſition in general, met with great reſiſtance on the court ſide, and brought out conſiderable debate, although the miniſters themſelves took no direct part. It was, however, carried on a diviſion, by a majority of 136 to 96. Several of the new members took a part in oppoſing 20th.

oppoſing the vote of thanks; upon this occaſion Lord North went with the oppoſition upon the diviſion.

27th. In a few days after, the thanks of the houſe of commans were voted to Generals Sir Henry Clinton, Earl Cornwallis, and Admiral Arbuthnot, for the eminent and very important ſervices performed by them, particularly by the reduction of Charles Town, and by the late moſt glorious victory obtained at Camden.

Several of the eſtimates, particularly thoſe of the army, had, as uſual in the courſe of this war, at different times produced much debate, complaint, and altercation, in the committee of ſupply. Several motions were made by the oppoſition for papers and returns, intended to afford an exact knowledge of the ſtate of the forces employed on foreign ſervice at certain given periods, which they ſuppoſed, or ſaid, did not approach ſo near the preſent time, as to render the communication capable of any ill conſequence; but from which they intended to ſhew how far ſhort the real number of effective troops was at thoſe periods, from that which was ſtated on paper, and paid for by the nation. Some of theſe were rejected, and others agreed to. The old argument was again frequently recurred to, of the miſchief or danger of affording information to the enemy; and it was attempted to be thrown into ridicule by aſking, if it was ſuppoſed that Gen. Waſhington wanted any information at that time, as to the ſtate and condition of Sir Henry Clinton's army twelve months before?

The appointment of Sir Hugh Palliſer to the government of Greenwich hoſpital, and his taking his ſeat in the houſe as member for Huntingdon, were the means of bringing out, if not the moſt intereſting debate, at leaſt the longeſt, and by far the moſt angry diſcuſſion, which took place before the receſs. We have little inclination to enter deeply into a matter wherein perſonal reſentment, with the deſire of ſupporting a favourite of government, might well be ſuppoſed among the principal operative motives on both ſides; and which is beſides of no other moment now perhaps to the public, than merely the knowledge ariſing from it as an hiſtorical fact. It is, however, neceſſary, to take ſuch a view of the ſubject in this part, as will illuſtrate and explain the ſubſequent debates and tranſactions of which it was productive.

We have already ſeen the notice given by Mr. Fox of his intended motion, relative to the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliſer to his government; and it was ſuppoſed that avowal of a direct attack, was a motive with the other ſide in accelerating that gentleman's introduction to the houſe of commons, in order that he might there perſonally ſupport his own cauſe, and in a hope that his preſence might check that torrent of invective and cenſure, which the miniſters knew they ſhould otherwiſe ſuſtain upon his account. His intended appearance in the houſe on the day that the naval eſtimates were to be laid before the committee was known, and a perſonal quarrel between him and Mr. Fox was expected to be the conſequence.

Mr.

Mr. Fox was accordingly the principal aſſailant, and the miniſter himſelf ſtood forth as the able champion for the new governor. The diſcuſſion was renewed on the following day, upon bringing up the report from the committee; and the attack was ſupported at different times, by Mr. Thomas Townſhend, Admiral Keppel, Sir Robert Smith, Mr. Sawbridge, the Earl of Surrey, and Mr. John Townſhend. The brunt of the defence lay with the miniſter, and Sir Hugh Palliſer himſelf. Neither the admiralty lords, nor thoſe court members who uſually ſpoke upon other occaſions, taking any part on the preſent. But the noble lord at the head of affairs was in himſelf an hoſt.

Dec. 4th. The field was opened by Mr. Thomas Townſhend, who, with much cenſure upon the admiralty, particularly with reſpect to the officers, whom they did, and did not employ, obſerved, that in granting away ſuch vaſt ſums of their conſtituents' money, it was highly neceſſary they ſhould enquire into the cauſes of ſuch pernicious and ruinous conduct; and to know why, in this ſeaſon of great public exigency and danger, the nation was deprived of the ſervices and profeſſional abilities of ſuch men, as the admirals, Keppel, Lord Howe, Sir Robert Harland, Pigot, Campbell, and Barrington? He ſaid, that wherever this evil originated, the cauſe muſt be removed, in order to reſtore ſpirit and unanimity to the navy, and to give vigour and effect to its operations. The fate of the nation, he ſaid, depended on the remedy of this evil; and nothing leſs than that, along with a due diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments, could poſſibly recover our antient naval renown, and revive that noble ſpirit which had rendered us invincible at ſea. ---Sir Robert Smith, in treating the doctrine of rewards and puniſhments, obſerved, that it was not the hulks of ſhips, nor their guns, that conſtituted the ſtrength of the navy of England; it was the high ſenſe of honour, and the intrepid ſpirit of the officers and men; and when theſe were damped the navy was ruined.

This idea was adopted by Mr. Fox, and applied with the utmoſt ſeverity to the late promotion; repreſenting as the higheſt inſult which could be offered to the navy, and the greateſt ſtigma that could be affixed to the ſervice, that a perſon convicted of having preferred a falſe and malicious accuſation againſt his ſuperior officer, and who was barely acquitted by a court martial, upon charges exhibited againſt himſelf, on that very occaſion which he had made the ground of his accuſation, ſhould be promoted to a poſt of diſtinction, of honour, and of profit, which had heretofore been held by men of the firſt naval merit, and which was in fact intended as an honourable retreat and reward to thoſe who had eſſentially ſerved their country. He did not, he ſaid, blame the perſon who accepted that place; it was the firſt lord of the admiralty who was alone to blame, and whoſe conduct in it ought to be the ſubject of their enquiry. When it had been formerly ſaid in that houſe, at the time that the accuſation was firſt preferred againſt Admiral Keppel, that the accuſer

was

was only the inſtrument, and that the admiralty were the principals; that it was they who ſuggeſted, who prompted, and who ſpurred on the accuſation; the charge was then ſtrongly denied on the part of that board. But what will the navy, what will the nation now think, when they ſee the accuſer rewarded by that very board with a place of high honour, of great emolument?

He aſked, what had been the accuſer's own ſenſe of his conduct at the time; had he not abdicated his ſeat in parliament? Had he not reſigned his ſeat at the admiralty board? Had he not (to borrow a phraſe already uſed in the debate) made a diſcreet retreat from public notice? Were not theſe teſtimonials, and even tacit acknowledgements of his guilt? The diſcretion of that retreat produced its effect, in preventing ſome of the meaſures which that houſe were on the point of purſuing, and which would now have added to the ſtanding records of its ſenſe of the tranſaction. The cauſe had been aſked in the preſent debate, why the great officers, then named, were not now in the active ſervice of their country; and a noble lord on the other ſide, had attributed this unfortunate circumſtance to private motives. But the real motives, he ſaid, were well known to his honourable friend who propoſed the queſtion, and were indeed within the knowledge of thoſe who were the leaſt informed in public affairs. The reaſon was, theſe great characters could not ſerve with confidence or ſafety, under an adminiſtration guilty of convicted falſehood, and guilty not merely of notorious but of recorded treachery! This was the reaſon, the true, the only reaſon. Every friend to his country muſt therefore wiſh, that this bar to the ſervices of thoſe diſtinguiſhed officers might be removed; and that was his own motive for the enquiry which he propoſed after the holidays; an enquiry, he ſaid, which was eſſential to the navy, and to the public.

Lord North declared, that he did not care how ſoon the threatened enquiry was brought on; he was ready to meet it fully and frankly, to join iſſue with the honourable gentleman, and to go into an inveſtigation of the merits without reſerve. As to that ſentence of a court martial which pronounced, that the perſon who preferred a charge againſt Mr. Keppel, was a falſe and malicious accuſer, he ſhould only for the preſent obſerve, what he had heretofore, and ſhould again ſay more at large, that the court martial was convened for the purpoſe of trying Mr. Keppel, and not Sir Hugh Palliſer; they had a regular charge ſubmitted to their conſideration and deciſion againſt the one, and they had no charge whatever before them againſt the other; in pronouncing therefore ſentence upon the motives of the accuſer, they had exceeded the line of their juriſdiction, and had condemned a man unheard, without any form of trial, and without being permitted to enter upon his defence.

As to the late promotion of Sir Hugh Palliſer, which was held out as the principal ground of the propoſed enquiry, the charge, he ſaid,

ſaid, was not to be directed ſolely againſt the firſt lord of the admiralty, for he avowed his own full ſhare in the tranſaction; ſaid, that others of the king's ſervants were likewiſe concerned, and that he was ready to defend and ſupport the meaſure in that houſe, whenever it ſhould be agitated. The honourable gentleman had dwelt much upon the ſentence of the court martial which tried Sir Hugh Palliſer, and inferred, that it amounted only to a bare acquittal. He ſaw the matter in a very different point of view. What were the words of the former part of it? ---"That the court having taken "the whole of the evidence into "conſideration, both on the part "of the proſecution, as well as "in favour of the priſoner, were "of opinion, ſo far from the con-"duct of Sir Hugh Palliſer be-"ing reprehenſible on the 27th "and 28th of July, that in many "parts thereof, it appeared ex-"emplary and highly merito-"rious."

If he underſtood the meaning of the word meritorious, according to its true acceptation, it ſignified in this inſtance, that an officer whoſe conduct had been declared, after a moſt ſtrict ſcrutiny, to have been highly meritorious, was an officer who deſerved reward; and that exemplary conduct meant ſuch conduct as was a proper example for other officers to follow, and a fit object for imitation. Under this, which appeared to him to be the true and natural reading of the ſentence, Sir Hugh Palliſer was undoubtedly an object of reward, and after his conduct had been declared highly meritorious and exemplary, adminiſtration would have been criminally culpable, if they had neglected to give him a ſuitable reward.

He called upon gentlemen particularly to recollect the peculiar circumſtances that rendered Sir Hugh Palliſer's acquittal more than commonly honourable to him? Let them call to mind the arts that were uſed to ſet the public in a flame againſt him previous to his trial; and the pains that were taken to run him down, to render him the object of univerſal indignation; and that theſe endeavours were at length ſo ſucceſsful, that he became an object of commiſeration and pity even with ſome benevolent gentlemen of the oppoſition, who humanely did not wiſh that he ſhould be brought to a trial, under ſuch a load of public odium and prejudice. And let it alſo be recollected that it was under theſe circumſtances, that, conſcious of his innocence, he boldly demanded, and perſevered in his applications for a trial, which was brought on entirely at his own requeſt. And muſt not every diſpaſſionate man, every impartial reader of the ſentence, conſider ſuch an acquittal, in ſuch circumſtances, as the moſt honourable poſſible teſtimonial to the character of an officer? And could the king's miniſters do leſs, conſiſtently with their duty, than to pay a proper attention to ſuch ſufferings, and to follow up the danger of being purified by ſuch an ordeal, with reward, and with honour?

He ſeemed to make very light of many fine ſounding words, which, he ſaid, had been uſed againſt adminiſtration; but which unfortunately wanted truth for their ſupport. And as to the enumerated

merated liſt of officers, whoſe ſervices were ſaid to be withholden, through their want of confidence in the good faith or honeſty of adminiſtration, ſurely, if the fact were real, miniſters could be conſidered as no better than bedlamites, if they employed men who held ſuch opinions.

Sir Hugh Palliſer read a long, and ſeemingly laboured, manuſcript defence of his conduct. It held out the bittereſt complaints, and teemed with invective, againſt the conduct of Admiral Keppel, of the court martial by which he had been acquitted, of that powerful party by which he had been himſelf overborne, and of Mr. Fox in particular. He charged all his misfortunes and oppreſſions to the power, and to the malevolent perſecution of that party, which ſeemed ſtill to be in as full vigour as ever. He cathechized Mr. Fox with a great number of interrogatories, relative to the practice of the courts in caſes of high treaſon, and others, of parliament, in certain caſes, and of courts martial by ſea and land. He claimed merit from his moderation, in remaining for ſo long a time a ſilent ſufferer, rather than to increaſe the popular diſcontents, and the diſſentions of the navy, by attempting to oppoſe a party, which he acknowledged was too ſtrong for him to contend with. He declared, that he conſidered his acquittal as the moſt honourable circumſtance of his life; and he flattered himſelf, that if the houſe ſhould think an enquiry into the two courts martial neceſſary, he ſhould not, when that enquiry was over, if it were fairly gone into, be deemed a falſe and malicious accuſer.

Several parts of the new governor's detail, and particularly the charges which he made againſt the court martial that tried Mr. Keppel, were examined and commented upon by that Admiral, Mr. Fox, and others; but by none with greater ability, or ſo much ſeverity, as by Mr. John Townſhend. The miniſter's arguments and poſitions were likewiſe replied to and examined; and the new conſtruction which he put upon part of the ſentence of one court martial, the adroitneſs with which he paſſed over the unfavourable part of the ſame, and the little attention he paid to the ſentence of another, were all reſpectively brought into obſervation.

The matter being brought up on the following day, Sir Robert Smith moved, that a copy of the minutes of the trial and ſentence of the court martial held for the trial of Vice Admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer, ſhould be laid before the houſe. The Earl of Surrey ſeconded the motion, and among other reaſons for it obſerved, that as the vice admiral had on the preceding day thought proper to read to the houſe a long narrative, the greateſt part of which was calculated to arraign the juſtice of the court martial which had acquitted Admiral Keppel, and which had cenſured his accuſer, he ſaw clearly, that no man of honour in the ſervice, would be ſafe in doing his duty as member of a court martial in future, if an enquiry was not immediately made into the buſineſs. The preſent motion would open the

way to that enquiry. He acted ſolely for the ſake of juſtice. He was much averſe to any retroſpect into matters, which had already produced ſo much miſchief to the ſervice, and of courſe to the country; but ſince miniſters had, by bringing the vice admiral forward, given occaſion for reverting to paſt tranſactions, he thought the whole ſhould be fully enquired into; at the ſame time declaring, that he ſhould govern himſelf entirely by what appeared to be the truth, when the buſineſs was ſifted to the bottom. If it ſhould appear that the court martial was warranted in pronouncing the ſentence which they had paſſed, he ſhould give his vote for paſſing a cenſure on the vice admiral, who had thus publicly arraigned their juſtice; if on the other hand, it ſhould come out, that the vice admiral's complaints were founded, and that the court martial had denied him juſtice, he ſhould ſupport any proceeding againſt the members of that court, which the houſe ſhould think proper to adopt.—The motion was agreed to.

An unuſually early receſs took place. The Houſe of Commons adjourned on the following day to the twenty-third of January. Dec. 6th.

No public buſineſs of any conſequence was tranſacted in the Houſe of Lords before the receſs. That houſe adjourned on the 27th of November, to the 25th of January.

CHAP. IX.

Declaration of war againſt Holland, and hoſtilities commenced. Meſſage from the throne. Debates on the Dutch war. Addreſs moved by the miniſter. Amendment moved by Lord John Cavendiſh. The amendment rejected upon a diviſion, ſecond amendment by Lord Mahon rejected, and the original addreſs paſſed. Addreſs moved for in the Houſe of Lords by Lord Stormont; and an amendment by the Duke of Richmond. Unuſually late debate. Amendment rejected on a diviſion. Two Proteſts. Mr. Fox's motion relative to the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliſer to the government of Greenwich Hoſpital. Amendment moved by the miniſter, and after much debate carried upon a diviſion. Mr. Fox's concluding motion evaded, by moving for the order of the day. India affairs. Complaints againſt the ſupreme judicature of Bengal. Two petitions from India; one, from the governor general and council at Calcutta; the other, from the Britiſh ſubjects reſiding in Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa. Select committee of fifteen ballotted for, to examine the grounds of the petitions.

ON the 20th of December, 1780, the manifeſto and declaration of war againſt Holland was iſſued at St. James's. In that piece the ſtates general are charged with departing, through the prevalence of a faction devoted to France, from thoſe wiſe principles which uſed to govern the republic, and following the dictates of that court; with having adopted a policy deſtructive of the friendſhip which

which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations, and which was ſo eſſential to the intereſts of both.

The circumſtances of complaint and reſentment are then enumerated. The inattention to the friendly negociations propoſed by the Britiſh ambaſſador.—Their not fulfilling the mutual and perpetual defenſive engagements ſolemnly eſtabliſhed between both nations, and not even giving an anſwer to the repeated demands on that ſubject.——The total contempt of thoſe treaties ſhewn, in their ready promiſe to our enemies of obſerving a neutrality.—Their giving every ſecret aſſiſtance to the enemy, whilſt they withheld from us the ſuccours which they were bound to furniſh.—And their taking off the inland duties, for the ſole purpoſe of facilitating the carriage of naval ſtores to France.—The protection afforded to the American pirate, Paul Jones, and the privateers of our enemies in general; and the endeavours of their ſubjects, in concert with the French, to raiſe up enemies to England in the Eaſt Indies.

But the principal force and acumen of the manifeſto, ſeemed to be directed againſt the city and magiſtracy of Amſterdam, and againſt their penſionary Van Berkel, on account of the lately diſcovered treaty with the Americans; the reſentment being only ſecondary to the ſtates general, for their not immediately puniſhing that violation of public faith, and national inſult to Great Britain. All the foregoing cauſes of complaint, ſo inconſiſtent with all good faith, and ſo repugnant, as it was ſaid, to the ſenſe of the wiſeſt part of the Dutch nation, are accordingly aſcribed to the prevalence of the leading magiſtrates of that city; and it is wiſhed, from a regard to the Dutch nation at large, that it were poſſible to direct thoſe meaſures of public reſentment and juſtice which were now to be purſued, wholly againſt Amſterdam; but this, it is obſerved, cannot be, unleſs the ſtates general will immediately declare, that that city ſhall, upon this occaſion, receive no aſſiſtance from them, but be left to abide the conſequences of its aggreſſion.

In the midſt, however, of all the anger attending a rupture with old friends, a door for future accommodation is opened towards the end of the manifeſto. After obſerving, that whilſt Amſterdam is ſuffered to prevail in the general councils, and is backed by the ſtrength of the ſtate, it is impoſſible to reſiſt the aggreſſion of ſo conſiderable a part, without contending with the whole; it is then added—"But we are too ſenſible "of the common intereſts of "both countries not to remem-"ber, in the midſt of ſuch a con-"teſt, that the only point to be "aimed at by us, is to raiſe a "diſpoſition in the councils of "the republic, to return to their "antient union, by giving us "that ſatisfaction for the paſt, "and ſecurity for the future, "which we ſhall be as ready to "receive as they can be to offer, "and to the attainment of which "we ſhall direct all our opera-"tions. We mean only to pro-"vide for our own ſecurity, by "defeating the dangerous deſigns "that have been formed againſt "us. We ſhall ever be diſpoſed

"to return to friendſhip with the "ſtates general, when they ſin- "cerely revert to that ſyſtem "which the wiſdom of their an- "ceſtors formed, and which has "now been ſubverted by a power- "ful faction, conſpiring with "France againſt the true intereſts "of the republic, no leſs than "againſt thoſe of Great Bri- "tain."

On the ſame day, general letters of marque and repriſal were granted againſt the Dutch, and their ſhips in the different ports were ordered to be ſtopped. The appearances of vigour and ſpirit generally gratify the multitude, who are not much diſpoſed to look forward to conſequences, and are ſeldom diſpleaſed at any increaſe in the clattering of thoſe arms from which they think themſelves ſecure. Others looked forward to the expected ſpoils of a Dutch war; and a third ſort, though of a very different caſt from the two former, thought the war a right meaſure, upon the ſuppoſition, that Holland could do us leſs prejudice in an open conteſt, than as a ſecret enemy. Many, however, regretted the war, not only as it added a new enemy to the tremendous combination already formed againſt us, but from a perſuaſion of the natural connection and mutual intereſts of both nations.

Hoſtilities were ſoon commenced. The Princeſs Caroline, a Dutch man of war of 54 guns and 300 men, on her way through the Channel from Amſterdam to Liſbon, was taken, after a ſhort action, by the Bellona man of war. And in a few days after, Captain Elphinſton, in the Warwick of 50 guns, with a crew young in ſervice (moſtly preſſed men, or landmen), and greatly reduced in number by the manning of ſeveral Dutch merchantmen, fell in with the Rotterdam, of equal metal and 300 men, which he moſt gallantly attacked and took. A large Dutch Eaſt Indiaman, outward bound, with a number of other merchant ſhips, were taken within a few days.

A meſſage from the throne, including a ſhort account of the rupture with Holland, together with a copy of the manifeſto, and a number of other papers relative to that event, were preſented by Lord North to the Houſe of Commons, on the ſecond day after the receſs. Jan. 25th, 1781. Mr. Burke took up the buſineſs by obſerving, that however light a war with the ſtates of Holland might be in the opinions of ſome men, he had not forgotten the old faſhioned idea, that going to war was, at all events, a very ſerious matter; a matter which nothing but great neceſſity could juſtify. And then taking notice that ſeveral papers were ſtill wanting, which would be neceſſary to the information of the houſe, he proceeded, that though for want of the proper information, the juſtice of the war perhaps could not be entered upon, yet there were other conſiderations well worth their attention. Circumſtanced as we were, the *prudence and policy of* the war, were not leſs important points than its juſtice. Since therefore miniſtry by precipitating into the war, had reduced parliament (which they ſeemed to have adjourned for the very purpoſe) to the alternative of ſupporting that war at all events, or

or of becoming liable to the charge of abandoning the cauſe of their country, it was incumbent on them to lay ample proof before the houſe, that the war was prudent, or at leaſt unavoidably neceſſary.

He farther added, that the paper now before them, and ſtated in the manifeſto under the title of a treaty, was, in the expreſs terms of it, only the plan of a treaty, or the rough draught of a compact hereafter to be entered into between the intended contracting parties. He wiſhed to know from the king's ſervants, whether they had obtained a copy of any treaty actually entered into and executed? That draught before them, as far as they knew, was no more than a ſpeculative eſſay, a mere contemplative project; and therefore, on the face of things, no juſtifiable or aſſignable ground of hoſtility. He dwelt much upon the ſituation of the country, which he repreſented to be ſuch, as required prudence and moderation, inſtead of haſte and violence. That we ought rather to diſſemble and connive at ſome real injuries, than by forced and conſtructive ones, perhaps to create, and certainly to accelerate enmities. That when war was become as inſupportable as peace was neceſſary, it was a kind of madneſs to aggravate the one and obſtruct the other, by introducing a new and powerful party into the conteſt.

The miniſter declared, that he conſidered a war, at all times, as a matter of great ſerioufneſs; but that it was more particularly ſo in the preſent caſe, of entering into a war, that ſuſpended an alliance and friendſhip formed on that broad line of policy, which originally pointed it out, and has been a ſource of great benefit to both parties. That it was not therefore, as his majeſty had declared in his meſſage, without the deepeſt regret, that he felt himſelf under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of commencing hoſtilities againſt the united ſtates of Holland, who, in open violation of treaties, had refuſed to give Great Britain that aſſiſtance, ſhe is entitled to claim when attacked by the houſe of Bourbon; who had, in direct violation of the law of nations, for a long time perſiſted in furniſhing France with warlike ſtores; and at length had thought proper to countenance the magiſtracy of Amſterdam in their unprecedented inſult upon this country, by entering into a treaty with the rebellious colonies of North America; who were the ſubjects of a power, united in the ſtricteſt bands of amity and friendſhip with that republic. He then ſtated the ſtipulations of mutual aſſiſtance in the treaties between both countries; ſaid, that Great Britain had inviolably preſerved her faith at all times with Holland; had, in conſequence of a claim from the ſtates, ſent over ten thouſand of her troops there; and ſhewn herſelf upon every occaſion ready to perform all the conditions to which ſhe had made herſelf liable. After which he entered into a detail of the provocations given to Great Britain, and of the more particularly offenſive parts of the conduct of the ſtates general from the commencement of the American rebellion.

It might well be aſked, he ſaid, why miniſters had not ſooner adopted ſtrong meaſures, upon ſuch

repeated provocations, and ſo long-continued a violation of faith in refuſing to fulfil the abſolute conditions of treaties, which had been ſo ſolemnly eſtabliſhed and confirmed? The only anſwer to be given, he ſaid, was, their extreme unwillingneſs to come to a rupture with Holland, and their hope, that the ſtates would yet do juſtice, by complying with their ſolemn obligations. They could not bring themſelves to imagine, that Holland could be ſo blinded by any arts of an inſidious and treacherous power, the natural enemy of both countries, as to abandon her antient, natural, and beſt ally, and thereby her own intereſts and ſecurity, by aſſiſting the Houſe of Bourbon in the unjuſt war which they had commenced againſt Great Britain. The Britiſh miniſtry had done all in their power to bring the ſtates to a true ſenſe of their intereſt, and at the ſame time to ſhew them the regard and tenderneſs of this country for that republic; and when the neceſſity of the caſe obliged them to ſeize on Dutch ſhips carrying ſtores to France, they paid the full value for the cargoes, and returned the ſhips, ſo that neither the private merchant, the private adventurer, nor the ſtates, had ſuffered. France only had felt the meaſure, by her being deprived of that aſſiſtance which the freights would have given her.

In anſwer to Mr. Burke's remark, that the treaty before them was nothing more than a contemplative project, the miniſter replied, that it had been actually ſigned and ſealed, the names of the Penſionary of Amſterdam, and of M. de Neufville, a merchant and burgeſs of that city, being ſubſcribed to it on the part of that magiſtracy, and the name of John Lee, as commiſſioner or agent for the Congreſs of America; but it made very little difference in the ſcale of offence, conſidering the connections between the two ſtates, whether ſuch a treaty was fully ratified and conſummated, or only in progreſſion. But to put the matter entirely out of queſtion, it was only to be recollected, that the ſtates general refuſed to pay any attention (ſo far as a contemptuous ſilence might be conſidered as a refuſal) to the requiſitions made in his majeſty's name by Sir Joſeph Yorke for ſatisfaction, by taking proper notice of the conduct of the Penſionary Van Berkel, and his aſſociates; and on the other hand, that ſo far from diſavowing the fact, or attempting to palliate it, the principal magiſtrates of Amſterdam, not only avowed the whole tranſaction, but gloried in it; and expreſsly declared, even to the ſtates general, that what they had done, was what their indiſpenſable duty required.

He lamented, he ſaid, the neceſſity of a war with Holland, but it was an unavoidable meaſure. The ſituation of this country, he acknowledged to be truly alarming; but when he conſidered the ſtand that had been already made, againſt the moſt powerful confederacy that had ever been formed againſt Great Britain, the little ſucceſs the enemies of this country had met with in their various attempts againſt us, and the ſpirit and reſources of the nation, he confeſſed he could not perceive that gloomy and uncomfortable

proſpect

proſpect of things, which had been deſcribed by the honourable gentleman who ſpoke before him. Our difficulties were certainly great, but he truſted they were by no means inſuperable. He was neither deſirous of concealing their magnitude, nor afraid to meet them, great as they muſt be acknowledged; becauſe he was convinced, that when the force of this country was fully exerted, it was equal to the conteſt; and that the only means of obtaining an honourable and juſt peace, was to ſhew ourſelves capable of carrying on the war with ſpirit and vigour.

In taking notice of what Mr. Burke had ſaid, relative to the adjournment, he declared, that it would have been as agreeable to him that the houſe had ſat out the whole intermediate time as not; that the breaking out of the war at all, or the time of its commencement, were matters by no means ſo clear within the view of the king's ſervants, as to render it incumbent on them to ſtate the ſituation of affairs to parliament, as a reaſon for their continuing aſſembled during the cuſtomary ſeaſon of a receſs, which, he knew, would for various reaſons be highly inconvenient. The laſt efficient cauſe of the rupture, the anſwer of the ſtates, was not received from Sir Joſeph Yorke, until after the adjournment.

The noble lord then moved an addreſs of thanks for his majeſty's moſt gracious meſſage; with an aſſurance of the ſincere part which they took in the concern and regret his majeſty expreſſed, for the unavoidable neceſſity of hoſtile meaſures againſt the antient friends and natural allies of his kingdoms; an acknowledgement, in the warmeſt ſentiments of gratitude, of the wiſdom and moderation of his conduct, in uſing every endeavour with the ſtates general, to avoid proceeding to extremities; and the fulleſt aſſurance that, with a firm and determined reſolution, they will ſupport him againſt all his enemies, in the proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary war, for the maintenance of the honour of his crown, and of the rights and intereſts of his people.——The miniſter cloſed his motion with an obſervation, that the addreſs was drawn up in language the moſt proper for the houſe to adopt, and he therefore moved it.

The motion was ſeconded with ſpirit and ability by Lord Lewiſham, who obſerved, that the moſt wanton wars had been undertaken againſt Holland in thoſe periods, when the intereſts of the crown and of the people were diſtinct and different in this country; thence, he ſaid in the infamous reign of Charles the Second, they had not been more frequently than unjuſtly commenced. But in the preſent reign, when the intereſts of the king and of the people were one and the ſame, no rupture upon thoſe principles could take place; and the war now commenced againſt Holland was ſo far from being wanton or unjuſtifiable, that it would appear, even from a ſlight view of the conduct on both ſides, to be a war of unavoidable neceſſity on that of Great Britain. He attributed to the baneful influence of French gold, that treacherous conduct which he aſcribed to the Dutch; ſaid it was better to have to deal with an

open enemy, than with a treacherous friend; and declared, that he wiſhed not to live to ſee that day, when this country ſhould be obliged to put up with thoſe inſults, which her honour called upon her to reſent.

The apology made by the miniſter, with reſpect to the adjournment, did not by any means leſſen the ſeverity of oppoſition on that ſubject. The miniſters, they ſaid, had every year ſome work upon their hands, which they did not chuſe to do in the face of parliament. It had been their frequent practice to ſettle matters of the firſt importance during the holidays, and when the houſe met after the receſs, then to call upon parliament to ſupport them under all the conſequences of their ill conduct. In this manner the houſe had been led into the American war, that ſource of all our calamities; in this manner the treaty was ſtolen between America and France, without the poſſibility of their timely interference; in like manner the miniſters announced the French, and in the following year the Spaniſh reſcript; and now they come to declare that they have commenced war with Holland, our old and our natural ally.

Thus, year after year, had the noble lord in the blue ribbon come down to inform the houſe of ſome new enemy; but in that whole courſe of time, he never once brought them the welcome news of our having gained a new ally. The preſent miniſters had exploded the old ſyſtem of continental connections; they abandoned the continent, and moſt unfortunately, as we now experience, the continent, in return, has abandoned us. In thoſe glorious and happy days, when our affairs were conducted by Whig miniſters, and upon true Whig principles, we had the better half of Europe fighting by our ſide, in pulling down the power, and humbling the pride of the Houſe of Bourbon. But where now are our allies? We have adopted an oppoſite ſyſtem of principles, and are abandoned by all the world. Holland, our natural, our moſt reſpectable, and at length our only ally, is forced into the arms of Bourbon. Are theſe the benefits for which we are to return thanks to the crown?

They denied the neceſſity of the war with Holland. We loſt Holland, ſaid they, by our arrogance. By that domineering, inſolent ſpirit, through which we loſt America, and which has united half Europe againſt us in an armed neutrality. The haughty memorial of 1777, which is ſo cautiouſly kept back from the houſe by the miniſters, they urged, was juſtly obſerved by the ſtates general, to hold language not fitting to be offered to or received by any independent ſtate. It was not poſſible that any Hollander, who felt as he ought to do for the honour of his country, ſhould not reſent ſuch a public inſult. France, and the French party in Holland, naturally, and not unfairly, took the advantage of this temper. You ſee, ſaid they, the treatment you receive from your boaſted friends and protectors. Too much ſucceſs has changed the nature, or perhaps only expoſed to view the real diſpoſition, of thoſe haughty iſlanders.

ers. Instead of being the assertors of liberty, as they so often and so vainly pretended, they are not only endeavouring to enslave their own people, but they would become the oppressors and tyrants of mankind. If they hold this language, in the midst of an unsuccessful war, to you, their old friends and allies, what would it be if they were successful? if they succeeded in frustrating the generous views of France in favour of the Americans, and in establishing that universal dominion which they have long had the effrontery to claim over the ocean?

The reign of Charles II. they said, was sufficiently infamous. But they thought the observation rather unlucky at the present time. We had lost more, in a few years, through the present ministers, than by the whole race of Stuarts. The mischiefs brought on by the Stuarts were speedily repaired by a happy revolution. But the mischiefs brought on by the present ministers are irreparable. The prevalence of a faction in Holland was attributed to the influence of French gold; it would be happy if the influence of French gold, or, which was the same thing, English gold, operating in French interests, did not prevail, much nearer the capital of Great Britain. But why was not some of that gold sent over to counteract the operation of the French?

The noble minister complained, that the Dutch had broken the treaties subsisting with this country; but had proper means been used to induce them to abide by those treaties? Was the noble lord to be informed, that treaties never bound any nation in opposition to strong passions or interest? Had any pains been taken to keep those of Holland on our side? Was not our conduct in numerous instances the direct reverse? When we were throwing away the American commerce, were we so blind as not to see, that its advantages would be eagerly grasped at by other nations? Could we imagine that a people, wholly commercial, would not sooner or later follow the example of others, and endeavour to partake of those advantages? We should either have taken measures to provide for or to prevent this effect; or we should have refrained from the frantic measures which tended to produce it.

They observed, that when France was considered as the most formidable power in Europe, the nations on all sides confederated against her. We ourselves took the lead in that confederacy. We should have derived wisdom from that example, in which we had so great a share; and when this country rose to an envied and alarming pitch of greatness, a just apprehension of a similar hostile confederacy should have taught us justice, moderation and wisdom. But so far were we from adopting such a prudential mode of conduct, that the pride and arrogance of our councils disgusted or alarmed all mankind, and disposed them to any combination, whether for the lessening of our power, or the punishing of our insolence. In that state of things the British ministers, equally blind to our situation, and deaf to all remonstrance and reason, precipitated us headlong into the American war; thereby, through the

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pity and indignation which it excited, and the weakneſs which their miſerable incapability of conducting it cauſed and revealed, not only increaſing the general diſpoſition of ill-will, but giving the fulleſt and moſt unhoped for effect to the combination.

It had often, as they ſaid, been urged by the ſupporters of miniſtry, that it was vain and ſuperfluous to enquire by what means the difficulties of our ſituation had ariſen, the only matter of conſideration or enquiry being, by what means we ſhould extricate ourſelves? Events have ſufficiently confuted that reaſoning. For if we had inveſtigated the cauſes, and puniſhed the authors of the American war, they would not have been able to involve us ſucceſſively in thoſe with France and Spain. If we had thus enquired, we ſhould have avoided the war with Holland. While it is poſſible to add one more to the number of our enemies, until all reaſon for exertion is ſuperſeded by utter deſpair, the reaſons for enquiry will continue in full force. The firſt ſtep towards advancing our affairs, is to prevent them from declining. As this cannot be effected without inveſtigating and removing the cauſe of the progreſſive declenſion of our proſperity, the retroſpect now recommended, ſo far from impeding, is eſſential to the efficacy of all our future exertions.

The miniſter warmly reſented, and indeed much more ſo than he had done upon former occaſions, the charge of a change of political ſyſtem, of abandoning continental connections, and of our being therefore abandoned by all our allies. He ſaid, no man could be a warmer enthuſiaſt in reſpect to the Whig principles and ſyſtem of King William's reign, than he was himſelf: no man could wiſh more eagerly for continental alliances, upon the ſame principles, and in purſuit of the ſame ſyſtem, which then prevailed or was adopted. The Whig ſyſtem of that reign was the direct line of conduct now purſued. The object of all that king's wars, and indeed of his life, was to check the power of the Houſe of Bourbon, and to preſerve the balance of power in Europe. What are we fighting for at this moment?—the very ſame object. But it is ſaid that we have no allies; does that prove that we do not purſue the ſyſtem of King William's reign? If we have no allies, it only proves that we have not all the advantages of that ſyſtem: advantages that are incidental, that depend on time, on circumſtances, on that infinite variety of events, which deſtroy all poſſibility of perfect parallel in hiſtory.

The policy of Europe, he ſaid, had unfortunately changed of late years; and Holland, though her ruin muſt inevitably follow that of Great Britain, if the Houſe of Bourbon ſucceeded, rejects the old policy and adopts the new one; ſhe is no longer the friend and the ally of Great Britain, but has joined France, and broke her faith with this country. Great Britain had uniformly adhered to her old ſyſtem, and complied with the conditions of her treaties, whenever her allies were attacked, and claimed her aſſiſtance. Unfortunately for Great Britain, the other powers of Europe had not acted

acted with equal fidelity. He declared he was firmly perſuaded, that, had the Duke of Marlborough, had King William's and Queen Anne's Whig miniſters, been now alive, and at the head of affairs, our national ſituation would have been exactly the ſame that it is at this moment.

He juſtified the memorial of 1777 (to which the preſent rupture was attributed by the ſpeakers on the other ſide) by the circumſtances which produced it, and by the ſtate of public affairs at the time. He denied that the war with Holland had been made or ſought for by the miniſters; on the contrary, nothing could have been more adverſe to their inclinations. The Dutch had provoked the war. He truſted he had proved that they had taken a decided part againſt this country, and had thrown themſelves into the hands of France. Under theſe circumſtances, and when it was evident, from the anſwer of the ſtates-general to Sir Joſeph Yorke, that they only meant to gain time and trifle with Great Britain, it would have been madneſs to have loſt a moment, or to have pauſed upon the buſineſs; the time was arrived when our intereſts and our honour were equally at ſtake, and indeciſion would have been no leſs ruinous than ſhameful. So far was he from meaning to depart from that line of ſound policy, which for ſo many years had cemented an union between this country and Holland, that after all that happened, if he ſaw France turn her arms againſt Holland, and attempt to deſtroy the liberty of the United States, he ſhould ſtill conſider it as a Britiſh cauſe, and act as if the treaty of Weſtminſter had never been violated.

On the other ſide it was replied, that the application to Holland for furniſhing the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaties, was, in the preſent ſtate of things, exceedingly improper, ill-judged, and impolitic. That the ſtates-general, in not complying with the requiſition, had not only acted wiſely, under the circumſtances of the time, but had done us, in ſpite of ourſelves, a very great ſervice. For what, ſaid they, would have been the immediate conſequence, if they had furniſhed the 20 ſhips of war, and the 6000 troops, which they were bound to by the treaty of Weſtminſter? Why, that Holland would have been immediately invaded, and probably overrun, by a powerful French army; that ſhe muſt then not only have withdrawn her own ſuccours, but muſt have demanded from us a much greater force, which we were bound by the ſame treaty to furniſh for her defence. But that would not have been all; for as our fate would have been involved in the preſervation of Holland, we muſt, overborne as we already were, have encountered the whole force of France, in a land war, upon her own borders. Had we a ſingle ally that would have ſupported us in the unequal conteſt? At a time too, when our armies were diſperſed all over the globe, and either waſted in the American war, or periſhing under the rigours of a tropical ſun. Every body knows what the ſtate of Holland is in the preſent day, with reſpect to her own military force.

The oppoſition in general reprobated the war with Holland, as being

being in the higheſt degree, in our preſent ſituation, imprudent, impolitic, and dangerous; others went farther, and conſidered it no leſs unjuſt than impolitic; and a few only ſtood upon the defect of information on which to found any decided opinion, and therefore objected to their binding themſelves by the propoſed addreſs, until matters were more clearly explained and underſtood. It was probably in order to unite theſe opinions, that the amendment moved by Lord John Cavendiſh, propoſed only, that the regret expreſſed by the houſe for the *unavoidable neceſſity of hoſtilities*, ſhould be applied ſimply to the war with Holland, by the omiſſion of the four laſt words, and the ſubſtitution of the word *rupture*, in their ſtead. He at the ſame time gave notice, that if this was agreed to, he ſhould follow it up with another amendment, the purport of which was to be, that the houſe would take the papers before them into conſideration, and if it ſhould appear that the war with Holland was unavoidably neceſſary, they would uſe their utmoſt efforts to ſupport it with effect.

The amendment was rejected, upon a diviſion, by a majority of 180 to 101. Lord Mahon then moved another amendment, correſponding in ſubſtance and effect with that intended by Lord John Cavendiſh, in caſe the firſt had been carried. This being rejected without a diviſion, the miniſter's addreſs paſſed in its original form.

The meſſage from the throne, with the Dutch papers, were on the ſame day, preſented to the lords, and the addreſs moved for, by Lord Stormont; where the ſubject brought out no leſs debate than in the houſe of commons. The Duke of Richmond, after complaining of the deficiency of the information which was laid before them, and receiving no anſwer from the noble ſecretary, whether any more papers were intended for their inſpection? then moved for another addreſs, which went at leaſt to operate as a previous queſtion in poſtponing the former, and the tendency of which was,---that copies of the treaties lately ſubſiſting between both nations, of the correſpondence between his majeſty's miniſters and his late ambaſſador at the Hague, and of all memorials, remonſtrances, requiſitions, anſwers, or other papers, which had been preſented to, or received from, the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, ſince the commencement of hoſtilities with the North American colonies, ſo far as they relate to a rupture, or to any miſunderſtanding between Great Britain and Holland, ſhould be forthwith laid before that houſe.

The debate was continued to an unuſually late hour, being incumbered by a queſtion of order, which was much laboured by the chancellor and ſome of the court lords, whether any other matter could properly be brought forward or diſcuſſed, whilſt a meſſage from the throne was under conſideration, and until the anſwer to it was returned? Other parts of the debate were ſufficiently intereſting, and abounded with political obſervation and knowledge. The conduct of the Dutch was much more ſeverely treated by the miniſters here than in the other houſe; and

and their own was treated with ſtill leſs mercy by the oppoſition. Nor did the houſe itſelf eſcape better. Several of the lords declared, that nothing leſs than the preſent extraordinary occaſion could have brought them there; and that from a full ſenſe and long experience of that irreſiſtible corrupt influence, which rendered every attempt to diſcharge their parliamentary duty totally uſeleſs, they were determined in future to abſtain entirely from coming to the houſe.

Upon a diviſion, after one o' clock in the morning, the Duke of Richmond's motion was rejected, by the very great, though not, of late years, very unuſual, majority, of 84, including 16 proxies, to 19 lords, without any proxy, who ſupported the motion.

Two proteſts were entered; the firſt a ſtrong and exceedingly ſevere one, ſigned by nine lords; the other, conceived rather in milder terms, and ſigned by eight. They both, however, expreſſed the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions of the conſequences which muſt enſue, both to our foreign and domeſtic affairs, from that diſpoſition which induced miniſters to deny, and the houſes to acquieſce in the denial, of the information neceſſary on a matter ſo deeply affecting their moſt important intereſts.

The affair of Sir Hugh Palliſer was in a few days after a ſecond time brought forward. Mr. Fox, as introductory to the buſineſs, procured a copy of the charges exhibited by that officer againſt Admiral Keppel, of the ſentence of the court-martial on thoſe charges, of the charge and ſentence of Vice-Admiral Palliſer's court-martial, of the late ſpeaker's ſpeech on delivering the thanks of the commons to Admiral Keppel, and of the anſwer made by that commander, to be all read by the clerk to the houſe.

Feb. 1ſt.

He prefaced his motion with a very long ſpeech, which ſeemed to bring within one view all the infinite variety of matter relative to that ſubject, and in which he diſplayed more than a common ſhare of his uſual ability and eloquence. Having diſclaimed all perſonal enmity, he held out the following as the principal grounds on which he founded his intended motion—That the court-martial who tried Admiral Keppel were perfectly competent to declare, that Sir Hugh Palliſer had preferred a malicious and ill-founded accuſation; that the declaration was warranted by a variety of undeniable facts and circumſtances; that Sir Hugh Palliſer himſelf acquieſced in the juſtice of the ſentence; that the houſe of commons had acknowledged its truth; and, that the ſentence of the ſecond court-martial was neither an honourable nor an unanimous acquittal. The concluſion drawn from the whole being, that the late promotion of a man under ſuch circumſtances to a place of honour and emolument, was in the higheſt degree ruinous to the naval ſervice of Great Britain.

The motion run in the following terms---"That the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliſer to be Governor of Greenwich Hoſpital, after he had been declared guilty of having preferred a malicious and ill-founded accuſation againſt his commanding officer by the ſentence

ſentence of a court-martial, was a meaſure totally ſubverſive of the diſcipline, and derogatory to the honour of the navy."

The miniſter took up the defence with no leſs art than that which he attributed in the outſet to his antagoniſt, by requeſting the houſe to obſerve, that the motion before them was not tending either to criminate or acquit the vice-admiral; but was in reality a leading motion to convict and condemn miniſters, of having adviſed his majeſty to beſtow the government in queſtion on an unworthy object. That the houſe were therefore to act in a judicial capacity, and to try himſelf, and the reſt of the king's ſervants, upon the point ſtated in the motion; for if blame were due, he acknowledged he was liable to a ſhare of it, in common with other miniſters; he, however, truſted, that he ſhould be able to make it appear that the motion was falſe in fact, that it was unjuſt, and that no blame was due, for that miniſters had done no more than their duty.

He then proceeded, with his wonted ability and addreſs in the management of debate, to controvert the ſeveral poſitions upon which Mr. Fox had founded his motion; going generally, and neceſſarily, over in that courſe, the ſame grounds which we have heretofore trodden. He at length ſummed up the force of his arguments in the following concluſions ---That the part of the ſentence of Admiral Keppel's court-martial, which pronounced the accuſation malicious and ill-founded, was an extra-judicial opinion; that Vice-Admiral Palliſer had never been tried on any ſuch charge; that he had been moſt honourably acquitted by the court-martial which afterwards tried him; and that he had ſerved his king and country with undoubted bravery and honour for five-and-forty years.

He then propoſed ſeveral amendments to the motion, until at length, by the aſſiſtance of the ſolicitor-general, it was, with no ſmall difficulty, moulded into the following form---*That the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliſer to be Governor of Greenwich Hoſpital,* " who, by the " officers who ſat on the court-" martial held for the trial of Ad-" miral Keppel, and before whom " Sir Hugh Palliſer was not " charged with any malice in the " accuſation of the ſaid admiral, " or heard in his defence, is declar-" ed to have preferred an ill found-" ed accuſation againſt his com-" mander in chief, and whoſe con-" duct on the 27th of July, 1778, " by a ſubſequent court-martial, " was, after a full examination, " declared to be in many reſpects " highly exemplary and merito-" rious, and who has, during the " courſe of forty-five years, ſerved " the crown, both in his civil and " military capacity, with great " ability, bravery, and fidelity," *was a meaſure totally ſubverſive of the diſcipline, and derogatory to the honour of the navy.*

Lord North, before he ſat down, propoſed a ſort of compromiſe with Mr. Fox, by offering to withdraw his amendment wholly, if the latter would conſent to omit thoſe particularly obnoxious words, that the vice-admiral was, by the ſentence of a court-martial, declared to have preferred a malicious and ill-founded accuſation againſt his commander

commander in chief; by which amendment the motion would go to a diviſion, in theſe general terms,---That the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliſer, &c. was a meaſure ſubverſive of the diſcipline, and derogatory to the honour of the Britiſh navy. But Mr. Fox refuſing to comply with this propoſal, the queſtion was taken up with vigour, and obſtinately maintained on both ſides.

The opinion given by Lord Howe, that courts martial were not only competent to an opinion on the motives of an accuſation, and to paſs a cenſure on the accuſer, where they appeared malicious or ſcandalous, but that if the caſe were otherwiſe, there muſt be an end of all diſcipline, and the authority of a commander in chief would be entirely loſt, could not, conſidering the character, ſituation, and profeſſional knowledge of that nobleman, who had dedicated his whole life with ſo much honour to the ſervice, but carry great weight with the hearers.

He likewiſe obſerved, that the noble lord in the blue ribbon, had taken great pains to prove that the ſentence of the ſecond court martial, was an honourable acquittal. He had himſelf, he ſaid, read that trial through very attentively, but he could not comprehend nor underſtand the ſentence. It ſtated firſt, that the vice-admiral's conduct, in many inſtances, had been highly meritorious and exemplary; it then charged him with an omiſſion of duty, and next acquitted him. What puzzled him, he ſaid, was how to find out of what the vice-admiral was acquitted? In the charges, as they were called, upon which he had been tried, there appeared, to himſelf at leaſt, to be no accuſation. The vice-admiral, therefore, ſtrictly ſpeaking, could neither be convicted nor acquitted.

The debates continued till paſt two o'clock in the morning, when the amendment upon Mr. Fox's original motion was carried by a majority of 214, againſt 149.

This was, however, a cloſer diviſion, than the oppoſition could perhaps have hoped for upon many other queſtions.

Mr. Fox then moved the following amendment to the amended reſolution, to come in immediately after the words *heard in his defence*—viz. "That the judge advocate having by the direction of the ſaid court, declared, that it did not occur to the recollection of any of the members, that it had been the uſage of courts martial to admit any thing on the part of the accuſer, after declaring that he had gone through all the witneſſes he ſhould produce in ſupport of the charge, and that he had agreed, that the papers offered by the accuſer could not be admitted; and the ſaid court having in another part of the ſaid trial, declared, that they had continued of the ſame opinion, and had agreed that the whole evidence, not only on the part of the charge, but of the defence, having been cloſed, nothing farther, by way of addreſs from either, could be read."---This motion was avoided by moving for the order of the day, which the houſe was well diſpoſed at that hour to agree to.

The affairs of India now began to require and to attract the moſt ſerious attention of the Houſe of Commons,

Commons. It was ſtrongly inſiſted upon by many perſons of weight, that the interference of the crown under the ſanction of parliament, in 1773, in regulating the government of the Eaſt-India company's poſſeſſions in Aſia, and in the management of its affairs at home and abroad, inſtead of the benefits which were held out at that time, had produced ſuch ſcenes of diſorder, and ſuch a ſtate of confuſion in India, as has not often been the reſult of civil, or even of any regulated military eſtabliſhments.

It was pretty generally allowed, that the double intereſts, mutually counteracting each other, which were then formed, and the oppoſite powers which the company's ſervants looked up to, neceſſarily ſlackened all the bands of obedience, and by degrees deſtroyed all authority. The revolution at Madras, the fate of Lord Pigot, the triumph, rather than eſcape, of the authors of that cataſtrophe, with the extraordinary phenomenon of Indian Princes, at the diſtance of half the globe, becoming the authors of cabals, and the leaders of parties, in the capital of Great Britain, formed all together ſuch a combination of circumſtances, as pointed out the neceſſity of a review of our policy itſelf, in the government of India, as well as of the ſtriking effects which it had produced.

Bengal, by the new regulations, had been made the ſeat of government of the Britiſh dominions in the eaſt. Two ſupreme juriſdictions were there eſtabliſhed. The one, poſſeſſing all the political and executive powers of government, under the name of governor-general and council, extended its ſuperintendence and controul over the other preſidencies of Madras and Bombay. The ſecond, compoſed of judges ſent from England, was called the ſupreme court of judicature, and was entirely independent of the governor-general and council. As the one ſucceeded, with great additional powers, to the antient preſidency, ſo the latter did to the mayor's court of Calcutta: a court, which though compoſed of magiſtrates not bred to the knowledge of the law, yet by acting upon the general principles of rectitude, and with the aſſiſtance of juries, was highly diſtinguiſhed, as well for the moderate expence of time and money at which juſtice was obtained, as for the fairneſs of its proceedings, and the equity of its deciſions.

It was ſcarcely, perhaps, in the nature of things, that theſe ſeparate independent powers, eſpecially at ſuch a diſtance from home, as to be in a great meaſure beyond the reach of controul, ſhould ſubſiſt long together without claſhing. The public had hitherto received, only the charges againſt the ſupreme judicature of Calcutta. Their friends could therefore only requeſt, that no haſty opinion ſhould be formed, nor cenſure paſt upon their conduct, until they were heard.

In this ſtate of things, it is not eaſy to ſettle in what proportions the blame is to be laid, upon the conſtitution itſelf, or upon thoſe who acted under it. It ſeems, however, to have been generally acknowledged, that the meaſure of attempting to eſtabliſh the Engliſh laws, courts, and forms of juſtice, amongſt the various nations

tions, religions, languages, and races of men, ſubſiſting in India, and where ſcarcely any length of time could even render them intelligible, will probably ever be conſidered as a fundamental political error. The antiquity of the Gentoo civilization, laws, religion, and cuſtoms, fortified by the invincible attachment which it produced in the people, had, in all ages, procured the political attention, if not the reſpect, of the moſt ferocious and barbarous of their various conquerors. However the people were oppreſſed or pillaged, their prejudices in thoſe reſpects were ſacred and inviolate.

The Zemindars, who are the preſent great landholders of India, are likewiſe a ſort of hereditary princes of the country. They generally rent, from their ſubſiſting maſters, thoſe lands which their anceſtors poſſeſſed in ſovereignty. Some of theſe hold lands to the extent of ten or twelve thouſand ſquare miles, and as the rents were generally eaſy, and the people ſtill regard them with the higheſt degree of attachment and reverence, they are enabled to retain ſome appearance of former royalty in their palaces, and ſtill more in their authority. The Engliſh government in this country, is in a great meaſure maintained through this attachment of the people to their princes; and the deſire of enabling the Zemindar to diſcharge his rent, is a principal ſpur to their induſtry. All the judicial buſineſs of the country, had hitherto been tranſacted in their provincial courts, and matters of litigation decided according to the known laws and cuſtoms.

The authority of the native courts was not only denied by the new judicature, but their members were puniſhed even to ruin, as well as perſonal infliction, for the diſcharge of their functions, according to the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitution of their country, which had till now been acknowledged by all conquerors. We are at all times to recollect, that it had been the conſtant policy of the Eaſt-India company in the government of thoſe countries, to act under the apparent authority, and as the nominal ſervants and officers, of that ſhadow of the antient ſupreme ſovereignty, the repreſentative of the Grand Mogul, who ſtill reſided at Delly. So that the new ſyſtem of judicature operated not ſimply as a violent and unprepared innovation, but as a total revolution in the mode of government eſtabliſhed by ourſelves.

The aſtoniſhed and terrified natives of Bengal and the adjoining countries, now beheld the extraordinary ſpectacle of Engliſh bailiffs, accompanied by conſiderable bodies of armed Europeans, traverſing the country, at the diſtance of ſome hundreds of miles from Calcutta, to execute by force the decrees of the new judicature, founded upon laws and diſtinctions which they were utterly incapable of comprehending, in the palaces, and on the perſons, of the Zemindars; whom they viewed at once with the reſpect due to their natural princes, and to the medium of European authority. Force, in the defence of all that was held ſacred, was oppoſed to force. A kind of ſieges were formed; reinforcements were ſent

to ſupport the aſſailants; the timidity, not the inclination of the people, prevented their being cut to pieces; places were carried by ſtorm; the brother of one of the rajahs, with others of his friends or family, were killed in the defence of his palace.

The apartments of the women, which are held ſacred throughout all the Eaſt, and ſtill more ſo among the Gentoos of rank, were violently broken into, and their perſons, which are ſuppoſed to receive ſome defilement even from the caſual view of a ſtranger, were ſubjected to the rude handling and rough treatment of thoſe ſort of ruffians who are generally employed upon ſuch occaſions. But this was not the worſt. Their places of private and domeſtic worſhip were violated in the ſame manner; and thoſe ſymbols, or external objects of their adoration, which had been ſanctified by the reverence of ages, were dragged from their places by prophane hands, and thrown amongſt the heap of houſhold furniture and lumber, which were collected to anſwer the ends of the execution.

The governor-general and council, who conſidered all matters of finance, and conſequently all tranſactions with the Zemindars, as cognizable only by themſelves, and ſtill regulated in that reſort by the known laws and cuſtomary courſe of juſtice in the country, could not but reſent this invaſion of their authority. They had indeed much ſerious cauſe of apprehenſion, from the effects which this violence on the rights, paſſions, and prejudices of the people might produce, in a country where ſo many millions of natives were governed by a handful of ſtrangers.

They accordingly employed the military force of the company to reſtrain the violence of the civil power; and a gang, conſiſting of about fourſcore bailiffs and their aſſociates, were in one inſtance diſarmed, and ſent up priſoners to Calcutta. Two petitions were now preſented to parliament. The one from the governor-general and council, giving a long ſtatement of the tranſactions, and requeſting an indemnification from thoſe legal penalties, which, for the preſervation of government and of the country, they had been under a neceſſity of incurring, in reſiſting the decrees of the ſupreme court, and the operation of an act of parliament.

The ſecond petition was ſubſcribed by 648 of the Britiſh ſubjects reſiding in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, containing a long detail of the grievances, oppreſſions, and violations of their rights as men and as Britons, which they had endured under the authority of the ſupreme court of judicature; particularly of their being deprived of the benefit of trials by juries in all civil caſes; of the eſtabliſhment of *ex poſt facto* and retroſpective laws; of ſome matters relative to appeals, and the admiſſion of evidence, which ſeem to be exceedingly oppreſſive and unjuſt; with a number of other aſſumptions of power, which, as ſtated, appear of an extraordinary nature. They likewiſe confirm the accounts given by the governor-general and council, relative to the ſtate of confuſion, anarchy, and danger, which through

through theſe means prevailed in the country.

Feb. 12th. General Smith entered into an ample diſcuſſion of the petitions, and of the ſtate of affairs in India, in doing which he diſplayed the fulleſt knowledge of the ſubject; all tending to ſhew the greatneſs of the enormities committed, and the neceſſity of the immediate interference of parliament, for the preſervation of the Britiſh intereſts in that part of the world. He concluded by moving, that the petitions might be referred to a ſelect committee, conſiſting of fifteen members, to be choſen by ballot, and that it ſhould meet in a chamber above ſtairs.

He was ably ſeconded by Mr. Rouſe, and ſupported by ſome other gentlemen. The miniſter made no objection to the motion. He ſaid, the petitions well deſerved the ſerious attention of the houſe; and if the facts were founded, and that the judicial and political powers were in arms againſt each other in India, they ſhould take meaſures to put an end to ſo dangerous a conteſt as ſpeedily as poſſible. He, however, ſhewed the delicate nature of the ſubject, and recommended moderation in the courſe of the enquiry; but declared, that it was neither in his contemplation, nor in that of the houſe, when he brought in a bill a few years ſince for the government of India, that the court of judicature ſhould become the ſource of miſery, oppreſſion, or injuſtice; nor was it at all intended that it ſhould have extended its powers in the manner now repreſented.

The ſelect committee, of fifteen gentlemen, was accordingly ballotted in a few days after.

CHAP. X.

Debates on Mr. Burke's bill for the regulation of the civil liſt eſtabliſhments. Queſtion for the ſecond reading over-ruled upon a diviſion, and the bill put off for ſix months. Debates on the ſubject of the loan. Mr. Fox's motion for omitting the lottery clauſe, rejected upon a diviſion. Farther debates and ſtrictures upon the loan. Another motion againſt the lottery, which is again over-ruled upon a diviſion. Mr. Byng's motion for a liſt of ſubſcribers to the loan, agreed to; other motions rejected. Motion for the commitment of Sir P. J. Clerke's contractors bill, over-ruled upon a diviſion. Mr. Crewe's bill for reſtraining revenue officers from voting on elections of members of parliament, rejected upon a diviſion. Debate on the Duke of Bolton's motion for an enquiry into the conduct of the navy; motion withdrawn. Loan bill oppoſed by the Marquis of Rockingham. Proteſt againſt it. Report from the ſelect committee on India affairs. Debates on the miniſter's motion for a ſecret committee to enquire into the cauſes of the war in the Carnatic, Motion for an amendment, that the committee might be open, rejected on a diviſion. Great debates on Sir George Saville's motion, for referring the petition from the delegated counties for a redreſs of grievances, to a committee of the whole houſe. The motion rejected upon a diviſion. Debate on

Mr. Burke's motion for papers, tending to an enquiry into the ſeizure and confiſcation of private property in the iſland of St. Euſtatius. Motion rejected on a diviſion. Bill for new-modelling the ſupreme court of judicature in Bengal. Various propoſitions, motions, and debates, relative to the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company. Debates on the miniſter's bill, for ſecuring to the public a certain participation in the profits of the Eaſt-India Company. Great debates on Mr. Fox's motion, that the houſe do reſolve itſelf into a committee to conſider of the American war. Motion rejected on a diviſion. Lord Beauchamp's bill, for affording relief in certain caſes of difficulty produced by the marriage act. Mr. Fox's bill for amending the marriage act. Mr. Fox's marriage bill, loſt in the Houſe of Lords. Speech from the throne.

THE rejection of his bill of reform in the preceding ſeſſion, did not prevent Mr. Burke from bringing it forward again in the preſent. He opened his propoſition by ſtating the powerful motives which called upon him to reſume his undertaking.—The three celebrated reſolutions of the late parliament on the 6th of April, 1780—The general temper, expectation, and wiſh of the people—And the direct applications to himſelf by ſome of the counties. He ſupported the meaſure of reform with his wonted eloquence and ability. The firſt argument was deduced from the ſtate of public affairs, and the dangerous war in which we were involved with ſo many mighty enemies. This was a ground of policy immediately affecting the ſtate and government, and entirely independent of the applications or wiſhes of the people. It would operate equally if no ſuch applications had been made, or no ſuch deſire ſubſiſted. It would operate with equal force in any conſtitution of government. When a nation is involved in expences of ſo vaſt a magnitude as ſtretch to the utmoſt limits of the public ability, œconomy muſt be called in to preſerve the due proportion between the reſources and the demands. It was the duty of miniſters to have originally framed and carried into execution ſuch a ſcheme of reform; it was now their intereſt to ſecure themſelves from puniſhment, and to make ſome amends for their former neglect, by adopting the ſyſtem, and to give it efficacy by rendering it a meaſure of the ſtate.

Feb. 15.

He diſplayed no ſmall addreſs in his application to the new repreſentative body. The three reſolutions of the laſt parliament (which had been juſt read), he obſerved, were to be conſidered as a valuable legacy bequeathed to the public, and an atonement for the ſervility which had ſtigmatized their previous conduct. They formed a body of maxims, authorizing the people of this country to expect from their preſent repreſentatives that which is declared to be neceſſary by their predeceſſors. They were, indeed, unoperative in their preſent form; they wanted ſpecific concluſions to give the effect and benefit which they held out. The late parliament had been prematurely diſſolved. But if the preſent parliament neglected to accompliſh what the

other

other appeared to have deſigned, all the conſequences of refuſing ſo ſalutary a meaſure would be imputed to them, and thoſe reſolutions would ſtand upon the journals, as public monuments of exculpation to their predeceſſors, and of diſgrace to them.

He entertained a confidence, he ſaid, of meeting men in the new parliament, who would conſider it as their duty to go hand in hand with him, in carrying into execution the wiſhes of the people; or rather thoſe commands which had been delivered in thunder and lightning, and of which they expected in the ſucceeding tranquillity a faithful and happy execution. The wiſdom and power of the preſent parliament were the foundations on which the public confidence reſted. The people would not for a moment believe that parliament wanted integrity to adopt, what its wiſdom ſuggeſted, and its power could execute. They would not give harbour to ſuch a ſuggeſtion, until they could reaſon from experience. It was the buſineſs of parliament to juſtify the nation. And nothing could be more conducive to their own, as well as to the national intereſt, than that it ſhould be ſeen, that a free and generous confidence had more power to ſecure the fidelity of parliament from the beginning, than complaint, clamour, and violence had in recovering it after it was corrupted.

When enemy ſucceeded to enemy, and the guilty raſhneſs of miniſters leagued with contending ſtates againſt us, our independence, it had been ſaid, was to be maintained *by the ſpirit of the people*. Abandoned by our allies, and left by Europe to our fate; in every ſituation, in every emergency, and in every danger, we were to find conſolation and reſource, refuge or conqueſt, in the ſpirit of the people. But the effect of ſpirit, and the ſpirit itſelf, muſt depend upon ſtrength. Strength, and the juices which feed it, the wealth of the country, ought to be careſully nouriſhed and huſbanded, with care, with tenderneſs, and with ſolicitude, not weakened and exhauſted by diſſipation and profuſion. The method, he ſaid, by which the ſpirit can be kept alive in the breaſts of men, is by the participation of thoſe to whom they look up for example. Let the government *participate* in the ſufferings of the people! Let the king ſhew his ſubjects an example of retrenchment and œconomy, and the people will chearfully ſubmit to every difficulty and labour.

He ſuppoſed the commons in the imaginary ſituation of being the mere creatures of the crown; of their being conſtituted, fed by, and totally dependent on the court; and in that ſtate, he aſſerted, and reaſoned to demonſtrate, that it would be their duty, and ought to be their inclination, to adviſe the ſovereign to œconomy and retrenchment. By the plan which had been prepared, they would be able to give the king that which kings in general greatly deſired—power; for œconomy was power; it was wealth and reſource; it was men and arms; it was all that ambition could either covet or exert to accompliſh its ends. Were he then himſelf the creature of a deſpotic prince, he ſhould, as his counſellor, adviſe

him, in a time of trial and difficulty, to take from his civil expence, that he might add to his military eſtabliſhment; to take from ſhew, that he might add to ſubſtance; to make his people happy, that he might make them vigorous; to make his war a war of exertion, that his peace might be honourable and ſecure.

After placing the ſubject in every advantageous point of view, and adapting arguments to every ſituation, he informed the houſe that he laid before them the ſame plan, which had engaged ſo much of the time and attention of the laſt parliament to ſo little purpoſe. He had made no alterations in it; and he requeſted the houſe, and laid it before them in a hope and confidence, that if they meant to give it countenance and attention, they would do ſo with fairneſs and candour, and not with inſidious reſpect in its outſet, tempt it to a death of ſlow and lingering torture. He called upon the noble lord in the blue ribbon, who was to be the arbiter of its fate, and begged that, if he meant ultimately to give it a death-ſtroke, he would ſave himſelf and the houſe much fatigue, and the nation much anxiety and diſappointment, by ſtrangling it in its birth. Let them try the matter on that day, if it was to be tried. He called upon him to do this, and to be, at leaſt for one day, a deciſive miniſter.

Mr. Burke then moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the better regulation of his majeſty's civil eſtabliſhments, and of certain public offices; for the limitation of penſions, and the ſuppreſſion of ſundry uſeleſs, expenſive, and inconvenient places; and for applying the moneys ſaved thereby to the public ſervice."

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Duncombe, who paid high compliments to the mover, not only on account of the bill, but of the very great ability with which he had formerly ſtated his comprehenſive plan to the houſe, and the firmneſs and perſeverance with which he now had combated every obſtacle to the principle of the meaſure.

The miniſter, in anſwer to the call made upon him, ſaid he would very candidly declare, that his opinion on the ſubject had not at all varied from that which he had entertained on it in the preceding year, and that though he did not diſapprove of the plan in *toto*, yet the parts which appeared to him proper to be adopted, bore ſo ſmall a proportion to the whole of that very comprehenſive ſcheme, that he ſhould be obliged to oppoſe it in ſome future ſtage of the bill; he did not think it would be decent or candid for him, upon his own private opinion, to ſet his face againſt the bill in its firſt ſtage, by oppoſing its introduction; eſpecially as there were many new members in the houſe, who, though they might have a general knowledge of the ſubject, could not be ſo fully informed upon it as was neceſſary to their coming to an abſolute deciſion; he would therefore reſerve himſelf until the bill was printed, and the members were in poſſeſſion of the neceſſary information, when he ſhould think it his duty to ſtate ſuch obſervations and objections as might occur to him, to the houſe.

Under

Under this unfavourable auſpice, the bill was carried through to a ſecond reading; when it was again doomed to experience the weight of that influence which it was intended to reduce, but which for the preſent it was unable to ſurmount. As no new ground could be taken upon this ſubject, we ſhall not attempt repeating the arguments which were uſed in the preceding parliament, and which we fully ſtated in our laſt volume.

Feb. 26. On the day appointed for the ſecond reading of the bill, it brought out great debate; if it was ſtrongly oppoſed on the one ſide, it was no leſs ably and powerfully ſupported on the other; and the diviſion not only ſurprized many, but was more cloſe than the miniſter himſelf expected. Mr. Burke wound up the debate, by combating all the arguments that had been brought againſt his bill, with a degree of ingenuity and ability, which ſurprized even thoſe who were moſt acquainted with them. Mr. William Pitt, ſon to the Earl of Chatham, and the young Lord Maitland, were highly diſtinguiſhed by their ability and eloquence in ſupport of the bill.

The motion for the ſecond reading was, about midnight, overruled upon a diviſion, by a majority of 233 to 190. By a ſubſequent reſolution, the bill was put off for ſix months.

Of all the acts of the miniſter, during ſo long a government of public affairs, ſcarcely any brought upon him ſo much ſeverity of reprehenſion within doors, or perhaps ſo much cenſure without, as the loan of the preſent year. Twelve millions were borrowed, upon terms ſo advantageous to the lenders, that the price of the new ſtock roſe at market from nine to eleven per cent. above par.

Before this circumſtance was, however, known, the loan was, on its own bottom, ſtrongly objected to, and both its manner and principle ſeverely condemned, by Mr. Fox. For on the day March 7. of the miniſter's opening the budget, as it is called, when he had neceſſarily laid before the houſe the nature and circumſtances of the loan, that gentleman, in a ſpeech of great length, and in which, along with his uſual ability, he diſplayed ſuch a fund of financial knowledge, as ſeemed to excite ſurprize, endeavoured to eſtabliſh, by incontrovertible data, and by arguments that appeared no leſs irrefragable, that the bargain was exceedingly diſadvantageous to the public, and that the money might have been obtained upon much better terms.

But he farther contended, that the loſs to the public, however great, and however ill able they were to bear it, was comparatively but a ſmall part of the evil. For although the loan was liable to the ſtrongeſt objections, both as a queſtion of finance and a matter of œconomy, it was ſtill much worſe, and even highly dangerous, when conſidered in a political view. He calculated the profits on the loan, under every probable contingency, at ſomething near a million; and that great ſum, he ſaid, was entirely at the diſpoſal and in the hands of the miniſter, to be granted as douceurs to the members of that houſe, whether as compenſations for the expences of their elections, or for whatever other purpoſe of

corrupt influence might beſt ſuit his views. Thus the attempt made by his honourable friend to correct and reſtrain undue influence, by controuling the civil liſt expenditure, would have been of little avail if it had even ſucceeded, when a ſum equal to that whole revenue was to be annually thrown by a loan into the hands of a miniſter, to be applied to the worſt and moſt dangerous of all purpoſes, that of procuring and preſerving a conſtant majority in the houſe of commons upon every queſtion; and thereby affording ſupport and efficacy to all the views and deſigns of a bad adminiſtration, however pernicious or ruinous, and without a poſſibility of parliamentary redreſs to the public.

He particularly objected to the propoſed lottery, which was added to the douceurs of the loan, and afforded a benefit of one per cent. to the ſubſcribers. This he conſidered as the moſt pernicious and deſtructive of all ſpecies of gaming; as immediately affecting the morals, habits, and circumſtances of the lower orders of the people; and which, upon every principle of policy, ſhould be carefully avoided. He truſted he had clearly convinced the houſe, that the benefits to the ſubſcribers of the preſent loan were ſufficiently great without the lottery; and he hoped they would render the greateſt ſervice in their power to the public, by preventing its inevitable ill conſequences. He therefore moved, as an amendment to the miniſter's motion for agreeing to the terms of the loan, that the latter clauſe, reſpecting the lottery, ſhould be omitted.

The motion of amendment on a queſtion of ſupply brought out a good deal of debate. The miniſter acknowledged, that the bargain he had made for the public was a liberal one; but he juſtified it by ſtating the neceſſity of the caſe, and by poſitively aſſerting that the money could not have been obtained upon eaſier conditions. With reſpect to the ideas thrown out, that the loan was a ſource of influence, and that half of it was taken in that houſe, they were, he ſaid, extremely ſtrained. The loan was a public loan, very indiſcriminately taken; and, as a matter of conjecture (for it could be no more on either ſide), it was not reaſonable to ſuppoſe that a large part of it would be taken by members of that houſe, at the time the terms were propoſed. Nor did he believe that it would be ſo found in fact. He ſhould be ſorry to ſee a bankrupt houſe of commons; but that would be the probable effect, if its members embarked in money tranſactions to ſo vaſt an amount as twelve millions. As to the intereſt which any miniſter could be ſuppoſed to procure by ſuch a loan as the preſent, it was a very poor compenſation for the great fatigue and trouble of mind occaſioned by ſuch a burthen; he had full conviction that no buſineſs could be more diſagreeable.

It was the undoubted province of the houſe to conſider and judge of the terms of the loan; and it was in their power to accede to them or not. But he requeſted gentlemen to conſider the ill conſequences of their refuſing to accede to the propoſitions agreed on. The attention paid by monied men to the treaſury would be leſſened; and if it were uſual for the houſe

houſe to ſettle and alter the terms, they muſt go farther, and conduct the buſineſs, and make the bargain themſelves. That argument certainly would not go to the ſupport of any thing materially and palpably wrong. In that caſe the houſe ought to interfere; but unleſs the objections were very material, which he truſted they could not be, he left gentlemen to conſider the ill conſequences of refuſing to accede to the propoſitions which had been agreed on. With reſpect to the lottery, he ſaid it was a favourite part of every douceur with all money lenders; it was an encouragement and advantage to them, without its being any expence to government; on the contrary, 480,000l. was paid in, and remained without intereſt for the greater part of the year.

Mr. Fox's amendment was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 169 to 111; and the miniſter's original motion, with the reſolutions appertaining to it, were paſſed without farther difficulty.

This buſineſs, however, did not end here. Mr. Fox's diſcuſſion of the loan, having probably excited or increaſed a ſpirit of enquiry, much information had in the intermediate time been obtained relative to the circumſtances of that tranſaction, and to the price of the new ſtock at market, which occaſioned an unuſual and determined oppoſition to the report.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke took up the buſineſs, and arraigned in the bittereſt terms the bargain made by the miniſter; which he ſaid was ſo much againſt the public, as to become the ſubject of converſation, complaint, and ſurprize, in all places. He ſhould therefore move for recommitting the report, in order that the houſe might amend the terms, and prevent, what he termed, ſo ſhameful and extravagant a proſtitution of the public money. He ſaid the diſtribution of the loan had likewiſe been ſcandalouſly partial. That inſtead of being diſtributed among men of known reputation and character, who had always been the ſupporters of government in ſuch caſes, it had been given to the miniſter's creatures and friends, as a reward for paſt, and a retainer for future ſervices; and particularly he aſſured the houſe that he had been well informed, that the favoured contractor, whoſe name had been ſo long familiar to them, had no leſs than the prodigious ſum of 3,300,000l. of the loan aſſigned to his ſhare, or at leaſt diſpoſal.

He was ſupported by Sir George Saville, Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, Mr. Byng, and ſome other gentlemen, who beſides reprobating the loan in all its parts and circumſtances, inſiſted that the houſe was not in any manner bound to confirm the conditions.

Nothing, they ſaid, would tend more to injure public credit, than to ſhew the world, that it was not parliament but the miniſter that regulated the finances of this country. It was the idea of parliament's examining and controuling the public finances, that had raiſed the national credit to ſuch high eſtimation. It was that which gave the ſtamp and publicity to all our financial operations, and gave ſecurity both to the public and the

the creditors. That while the enemy were beginning to adopt a mode which they ſaw proved ſo highly advantageous to us, the miniſters of Great Britain were endeavouring to turn parliament into a court of regiſtry, which was to have no other concern with taxes and loans, than to give a ſort of official ſanction to whatever bargains the miniſter thought proper to make. Such a conduct would ſink the credit of parliament, and conſequently that of the nation, to nothing.

On the other ſide, Lord North contended, that he by no means conſidered his reputation as a miniſter to be ſtaked in the preſent tranſaction. He had made the beſt bargain he could for the public; but if the houſe did not approve of it, it would not be binding either on him or on them. Though the committee had agreed to it, if the houſe did not chooſe to confirm their reſolution, he ſhould be releaſed from the ſubſcribers, as the public would from the bargain. Let thoſe, who thought themſelves more competent to the buſineſs, make another. But even ſuppoſing the bargain to be a bad, and he allowed it not to be a hard one; yet he could not bring himſelf to think, that any reduction that could be now made from the profits of the ſubſcribers (even ſuppoſing them to be as high as they had been repreſented), could in any degree balance the miſchief to the public credit, which ſuch a meaſure muſt occaſion; and the inſuperable difficulties which would be thrown in the way of all future loans, when it was found that the miniſter had not authority to afford permanence to a bargain, and that the lenders were liable to be ſtript of the benefits ariſing from any favourable change of circumſtances, the chance and hope of which, had been among the principal inducements for parting with their money. But parliament certainly had a right to judge; and if they ſhould think that public credit would neither ſuffer nor be endangered by lopping off the lottery, then undoubtedly, as honour did not ſtand in their way, they would and ought to do it.

The terms of the loan, he ſaid, were perhaps too great; but it was impoſſible to pronounce with any certainty on that head, from the tranſactions which had taken place at change. Every bargain which had been hitherto made reſpecting the new loan was illegal, as thoſe who made them could have no certainty that they had any ſhare whatever in it; nor could it be known until that houſe had confirmed the reſolutions of the committee of ways and means; then, and not before, the liſt of the ſubſcribers, and of their reſpective ſhares, would be made out and ſent to the bank. Every body knew how eaſy it was to make bargains in Exchange Alley; and how cuſtomary it was to make them, not at any fair or market price, but at an extravagant premium for ſome ſiniſter purpoſes; theſe ſort of bargains might be made only for ſome ſmall ſums, and then the point was gained of publiſhing that the ſtocks were ſold at ſuch a high premium. But it was not from ſuch tranſactions that the value of ſtock could be aſcertained; nor could any tranſactions in the alley, until the liſt of

ſubſcribers

ſubſcribers was made out, and the whole of the loan was brought into market, be at all conſidered as a ſtandard by which to eſtimate the value of the new ſtock.

He denied that Mr. Atkinſon could have any ſuch enormous ſhare as had been aſcribed to him in the new loan. He had not indeed looked into the liſt; but the thing was incredible; and he would venture to undergo any cenſure the houſe ſhould impoſe if it was found to be a fact. Every one knew, that it was cuſtomary for gentlemen who wiſhed to ſubſcribe, to aſk for more than they expected or even wiſhed, becauſe they knew the miniſter ſeldom allowed them near ſo much as they aſked, and they endeavoured thereby to provide for his lopping off: on this principle, Mr. Atkinſon might probably have propoſed a large ſum; but it was neither to be ſuppoſed that it was all for himſelf, nor that he was taken at his offer; undoubtedly if he was preſent at the arrangement, he came in for his ſhare, like others, both for himſelf and his friends; but the whole could not amount to any ſuch ſum as had been ſtated.

The motion for the recommitment of the report being at length waved, the queſtion was (as the day before) confined to the lottery; whether that ſhould ſtand as part of the reſolutions. It was carried in the affirmative, upon a diviſion, by a majority of 133 to 80.

The miniſter was, however, far from yet getting rid of this very diſagreeable and vexatious buſineſs: indeed, the worſt of it was ſtill to come. Mr. Byng, who had taken extraordinary pains to develope the hiſtory of the loan, and to trace out all its relative circumſtances, attacked it on another ground, and moved, 12th. That a liſt be laid before that houſe of all the ſubſcribers to the new loan, ſpecifying the ſums ſubſcribed by each. But as this motion alone, he ſaid, would be inſufficient for bringing out the information neceſſary to enable the houſe to come at the bottom of this affair, he intended to follow it up with two others, viz. To lay a correct liſt before them of all thoſe perſons who had offered to become ſubſcribers to the new loan, but whoſe offers had been rejected; ſpecifying the particular ſums they had offered to ſubſcribe. ——And, for copies of all letters, notes, or other papers, that had been ſent to the miniſter, his ſecretaries, the commiſſioners of the treaſury, or any other perſons, from whoſe hands they were tranſmitted to him, conveying an application or propoſals for any part of the loan.

His object in theſe motions, he ſaid, was to convict the miniſter of having made a worſe bargain for the public than he might have made——To ſhew, that he might have borrowed money at five per cent. That he was offered the immenſe ſum of 38,000,000l. and conſequently was under no neceſſity of hurrying on a bad bargain —That theſe offers were made by wealthy and reſponſible men, who were fully equal to the ſupport of their propoſitions---That their propoſals were rejected with contempt; and, that it was evident, that the new loan could be made

made with no other view than that of corrupt influence.

He obſerved that it highly behoved the houſe to vindicate its character, by ſifting the affair to the bottom, which could alone remove thoſe imputations which now prevailed. If he failed in his proofs, and in bringing home his charges, the noble lord in the blue ribbon, would not only gain an honourable acquittal, but a complete triumph. His character would be new blazoned; and the public finding that he had been ſo flagrantly wronged in the preſent inſtance, would begin to think he had been equally ſo in many others.

The miniſter, chooſing to be the guardian of his own honour, and of the means of his exculpation, admitting that he had no objection to the firſt motion, treated the ſecond as uſeleſs, and the third as unfair and improper. For how could any ſuppreſſions in the liſt of ſubſcribers be detected, by the liſt of thoſe whoſe offers had been rejected? That as to the third motion, to endeavour to eſtabliſh the crime of partiality by calling for the key of his ſcrutoir, in order to examine his private letters and papers, was propoſing a new ſpecies of inquiſition, and ſuch as could never be countenanced in an Engliſh Houſe of Commons.

That neither the high prices of premium, nor the number of members of parliament or their connections who appeared on the liſt, were any proofs of corruption; for the one aroſe from an alteration of circumſtances, and as to the other, there was no reaſon why the nation ſhould be deprived of the aid of monied men, merely becauſe they happened to be members of parliament. That therefore, the charges of partiality not being capable of proof, ſhould, and could only be anſwered by ſolemn aſſurances, that no improper management had been uſed in the diſtribution, and that the terms were the beſt that could be obtained. And theſe he gave in the ampleſt manner.

Such were the topics employed on each ſide. The firſt motion being then agreed to, the ſecond was rejected upon a diviſion; and the third negatived without.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke had not yet given up the idea, notwithſtanding the repeated failure of his deſign, of excluding contractors (except under certain modifications) from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons. He accordingly brought in a bill for that purpoſe, which, upon the motion for its commitment, brought out conſiderable debate, being ſupported and oppoſed upon the ſame grounds which we have heretofore more than once ſtated. The motion of commitment was rejected, upon a diviſion, by a majority of 120, to 100; and the bill was, by a ſubſequent reſolution, laid by for ſix months. March 21ſt,

Mr. Crewe's bill, for reſtraining revenue officers from voting on the election of members of parliament, met, on the ſame day, with a ſimilar fate; the motion for its ſecond reading being overruled on a diviſion, by a majority of 133 to 86.

The Duke of Bolton having moved for a number of papers early

early in the ſeſſion, relative to the loſs of the great Eaſt and Weſt India convoy which had been captured by the combined fleets in the preceding month of Auguſt, they had accordingly been laid before the lords; and on the 15th of February he took the buſineſs up by a motion, That that houſe would, on the Monday ſe'nnight, enquire into the conduct of the navy, and the cauſe of the loſs of that valuable convoy, of ſtore ſhips, victuallers, and merchant ſhips.

The debate on this motion brought out no ſmall ſhare, of the now uſual and frequent ſeverity of cenſure on the ill conduct and government of the navy, and the ruinous ignorance and incapacity of that board which preſided in its direction. On the other hand, the conduct of the admiralty was defended by the firſt lord in his uſual manner, and the motion oppoſed on the old principle, ſo often urged and reprobated, of expoſing the ſtate and condition of the navy to the enemy. It was likewiſe oppoſed by other court lords, as being more general, and tending to carry the enquiry farther, than was to be inferred from the original motion for the papers. A great law lord combated it on his own peculiar ground, as an unjuſt and unpardonable anticipation of another more ſolemn enquiry, a legal enquiry, by a court martial, into the conduct of the captain, who had the command of the fleet at the time it was captured.

Theſe objections were combated. But the marquis of Rockingham, in a ſpeech, in which the conduct of the houſe underwent no leſs cenſure than that of the admiralty, recommended to his friend, the noble duke, to withdraw the motion, merely from the hopeleſſneſs of obtaining any redreſs, or of carrying any enquiry through, however neceſſary, or reaſonably and juſtly demanded by the public. That ſide of the houſe, he ſaid, had continued to predict conſequences, and to hold out preventive remedies, until the time was at length arrived, when all their further exertions would not only be ineffectual in the event, but vain and idle in the deſign. They would not be agreed to in the firſt inſtance; and if they were, he expected but little benefit now from them. He feared the nation was ruined beyond redemption; and under that opinion ſhould give himſelf no farther unprofitable trouble. The Duke of Bolton accordingly, after a recapitulation of meaſures which he aſcribed to ignorance, incapacity, and abſurdity; of inſtructions, which, he ſaid, exhibited nothing but a ſucceſſion of blunders, miſtakes, and contradictions, and which councils of war had been in vain held to interpret; and, in fine, ſuch a mixture of folly and confidence, as had never been exhibited in any naval adminiſtration in this country ſince the foundation of the monarchy, at length withdrew his motion; hoping, however, that the time would ſhortly arrive, when not a partial, but a full enquiry would be made into the conduct of the navy.

The loan bill, after bringing out continual execration in all its ſtages

ſtages through the Houſe of Commons, was carried through to a third reading, with extraordinary diſpatch, and an omiſſion of ſome of the cuſtomary forms in that of the Lords. In that March 21ſt. ſtate, it was encountered with no ſmall acumen by the Marquis of Rockingham; who, after only ſlightly touching upon the irregular manner in which it had been hurried through, without being committed, and every neceſſary form being diſpenſed with, contrary, he ſaid, to all precedent, and rule of parliamentary proceeding, directed his objections immediately againſt the ſubſtance of the bill.

He ſtated ſeveral eſtimates and calculations to ſhew, that the ſubſcribers received a premium of about ten per cent. for the loan of their money; ſo that the public were to pay 1,200,000l. for borrowing 12,000,000l. and that at the extravagant and uſurious intereſt of five and a half per cent. He did not doubt, he ſaid, but the meaſure originated in neceſſity; that is, in miniſterial neceſſity; for, notwithſtanding the numerous places, penſions, contracts, and every other ſpecies of emolument in the diſpoſal of the miniſter; notwithſtanding that laſt reſource of a weak and unpopular adminiſtration, the laviſh hand with which honours were conferred, upon all ſizes and deſcriptions of perſons, ſuch were the meaſures of government, that the miniſter found himſelf compelled to reſort to this ſhameful waſte of public money, in order to fix and attach the wavering and heſitating minds of his abettors. Thus, by the reduction in the value of ſtock (which, as the effect of their meaſures, was to be attributed to the miniſters), and by the imprudence of the preſent bargain, 21 millions are added to the capital of the national debt for the loan of twelve; five and a half per cent. perpetual annuity is given; and new taxes to the amount of 650,000l. a year, are to be levied upon the people.

After dwelling for ſome time on the topics which had been ſo largely treated in the other houſe, he proceeded to ſhew the terms upon which money had been raiſed during the late war, when the Duke of Newcaſtle preſided at the head of the treaſury. The profits on the omnium of the loan of 2 millions in the year 1758, he ſtated from authentic documents, to be only one and a quarter per cent. in 1759, upon 4 millions one half per cent. diſcount; in 1760, one and a half profit upon 8 millions; and in the following year, only three quarters per cent. although 12 millions were raiſed.

It was not, he ſaid, until 1763, the firſt year of Lord Bute's adminiſtration, that the miniſter ever thought of extending his influence, by plundering the nation in the midſt of thoſe diſtreſſes which are the inevitable concomitants of a ſtate of war. This abominable ſyſtem was adopted by an adminiſtration, in which a ſecret overruling influence was introduced, the fatal conſequences of which, he feared, would only terminate with the overthrow of our conſtitution, if not the total deſtruction of the nation itſelf. That fortunate and wiſe adminiſtration,

niſtration, which he had firſt mentioned, wanted no aid or ſupport from corrupt or ſecret influence; they were equally ſuperior to bribery on the one hand, and to the crooked machinations of ſecret intrigues on the other. The influence of that day aroſe from a very different ſource; from a well-founded confidence in the wiſdom of their meaſures; from a well-earned popularity; from their ſpirited and vigorous plans, moſt happily and ſucceſsfully executed; from an able and faithful diſburſement of the public money committed to their care and management; and, on the whole, reſting upon the only true baſis, on which national proſperity and ſucceſs can ever be ſafely eſtabliſhed, a firm and fixed attachment to the conſtitution, and a determination to preſerve every ſecurity and bleſſing we derive from it.

He concluded with contending, that the miniſter had broken his faith with parliament and the nation; that though he ſhould not put a negative on the bill, he deemed himſelf called upon, as an act of duty, to teſtify his total diſapprobation of a loan, which, in a time of ſuch public calamity as the preſent, when the utmoſt œconomy was, more particularly than at any other, become abſolutely neceſſary, wantonly and corruptly laviſhed about a million ſterling; and that, in his apprehenſion, merely for the purpoſe of influencing or bribing the repreſentatives of the people in parliament, to give their countenance and ſupport to the continuance of a moſt wicked, impolitic, and ruinous war.

The lords in adminiſtration did not make the ſmalleſt reply to the marquis; and the bill being read a third time, paſſed.

It, however, brought out a proteſt ſigned by eight lords, of whom was the biſhop of St. Aſaph; and which includes many ſeverities, but generally upon the ſame ground that had been gone over by the marquis.

We have ſome time ago ſeen that a ſelect committee was appointed to enquire into the affairs of India. This committee had already preſented a long report relative to affairs and tranſactions in the eaſt, and was ſtill in the courſe of its enquiries, when an account was received of the unfortunate war in the Carnatic, and of the dreadful ravages made by Hyder Ally. This intelligence being communicated to the Houſe of Commons by the miniſter, he moved for the appointment of a committee of ſecrecy, to enquire into the cauſes of the war now ſubſiſting in the Carnatic; and of the preſent condition of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in thoſe parts; and to report the ſame, with their obſervations thereon. Although the acknowledged, on all ſides, bad conduct of affairs in India, had rendered enquiries on that ſubject generally grateful, yet the propoſal of a ſecret committee was greatly diſliked and much objected to by the oppoſition. April 30th.

They ſaid, if the enquiry was ſeriouſly gone into, and fairly, openly, and impartially conducted, without being converted into a job, and rendered the mere engine of party and miniſterial views, as had been the caſe of former enquiries, nothing could meet their approbation

approbation more fully, as nothing could be more highly uſeful and neceſſary. But if theſe, and theſe only, were the fair and laudable objects in view, why carry on the buſineſs in the dark? Why refer it to a ſecret committee? No body was now to learn, that notwithſtanding the name and form of a ballot, the members of it would be virtually appointed by the miniſter. The nation had already ſacrificed too fatally, both in the Eaſt and in the Weſt, to jobs, to patronage, to partial proceedings, and to intereſted views. By theſe the empire had been convulſed in all its parts, and reduced to its preſent fallen ſtate. It was the glory of our conſtitution, that our courts of juſtice were open to all the world, and all our judicial proceedings publicly carried on. It was this, and not merely our laws, that afforded ſo high a reputation to the adminiſtration of juſtice in this country, and ſo deciſive a ſuperiority over that of others. Beſides, the members of a ſelect but open committee, would receive great aid, in examining ſo vaſt a maſs of papers, and enquiring into ſuch a multitude of facts, from the occaſional aſſiſtance of other gentlemen, many of whom would be led to attend from their great knowledge in the affairs of that country. Nor was it by any means to be forgotten, that however fairly the buſineſs was conducted, a ſecret committee would be liable to much public doubt and ſuſpicion. It was always the nature of ſecrecy to inſpire ſuſpicion.

They deſired the miniſter to conſider, that the Eaſt was now, almoſt, our laſt ſtake; that it was our principal remaining ſource of wealth and power. That the evils and dangers there had multiplied and riſen to a moſt alarming height. That the lives and fortunes of many individuals, and the preſervation of that great ſource of wealth and power, were all ſtaked on the propoſed enquiry. He was therefore requeſted, if he did not intend it merely as a mockery of juſtice, only to lay the clamour of the preſent moment, that he would, from a regard to public opinion, to the moſt eſſential intereſts of his country, and to juſtice itſelf, inſtitute a committee of ſelection inſtead of ſecrecy. What advantages might not then be expected from the labours of a committee, which was aided by all the ability, information, and induſtry in that houſe? They beſides wiſhed that he would extend the objects of enquiry much farther; ſo as to take in the whole affairs, and the government of India, as well as thoſe matters which related only to the Carnatic.

The miniſter declared, that the enquiry was meant to be ſeriouſly entered into, and that he had not the moſt diſtant intention of its being in any degree partial. He conſidered the ſubject as extremely weighty and important, and he hoped it would be enquired into fairly, ſeriouſly, and diſpaſſionately. He only preferred a ſecret committee, from the much greater diſpatch with which they tranſacted buſineſs than any other. The objects of enquiry were likewiſe of a nature which required ſecrecy in the committee. The ſame motive of diſpatch, which was now ſo neceſſary, rendered him averſe to

to multiplying the objects of enquiry; as that must retard its progress. He therefore wished to confine it to the Carnatic only, as the immediate scene of danger, and affording cause for the present apprehension and clamour. The affairs of Bengal were undoubtedly of the greatest consideration and importance; but they were not so immediately urgent.

The gentlemen on the other side, it was said, had totally mistaken the object of the enquiry; for it was not a judicial one. It was not intended that the committee should decide on the conduct of any man, much less proceed to punishment: their business would be simply to report facts, without giving any opinion upon them: and if those facts should appear to the house as grounds of accusation against any individual, he would then have an opportunity of defending himself, and the proceedings against him must be public. What had been said about proceedings in the dark was therefore unfounded. The proceedings of the committee must all come out in the end, if the House should think it necessary to call for their minutes; a circumstance which removed all the objections made to a supposed secrecy.

These reasons did not at all satisfy the opposition. The committee, it had been said, was only to report facts; but these facts were causes; the motion said that the causes of the war in the Carnatic were to be enquired into; it would not be found easy to state facts of that kind without giving an opinion along with them. But the very motion itself put the matter entirely out of the question; for the committee were not only desired to enquire into the causes of the present war, but they were specially directed to report their observations upon it. They concluded, that it appeared evidently upon the whole face of the matter, that the enquiry, like all others instituted of late years by ministers, was intended only to deceive the nation; and would be found, in the event, a mere mockery of justice, with the additional evil, of being rendered an engine for answering the most pernicious and unconstitutional ministerial purposes. Such would ever be the nature and the end of enquiries conducted with secrecy. The house were therefore earnestly called upon to consider the vast importance and magnitude of the subject; that we were in the very last crisis of our fate, and that the existence of our commerce and possession in the East, must depend upon the spirit and policy of the measures which were now to be pursued; and that, disdaining all party views and ministerial purposes, they would appoint an open select committee, as the only means by which substantial justice could be obtained, and by which the affairs of this country in India could, in any degree, be restored to their former state.

Mr. Fox accordingly moved, as an amendment of the minister's motion, that the words "of secre-"cy" should be omitted; in which he was seconded by Mr. Burke. The question being put upon this amendment, it was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 134 to 80. The original motion was then carried.

The event of the ballot was just

as it had been foretold by the oppoſition. Of fifteen members, who compoſed the ſecret committee, a majority of at leaſt four to one, were of the miniſter's particular friends, and moſt of them in high office. This occaſioned no ſmall diſſatisfaction and complaint on the other ſide; and ſuch remarks were made on the nature of the committee, and ſuch ill-boding prognoſtications of its conduct, as brought out no ſmall warmth of reply from ſome of the new members. The ſecret committee, beſides being endued with the uſual powers of demanding papers and examining witneſſes, were authorized to ſit in the India Houſe; to adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as it ſuited their convenience; and to meet and purſue their enquiries during the receſs of parliament.

The delegates which had been appointed by ſeveral of the aſſociated counties, in order to give ſupport and efficacy to the ſubject of their former petitions to parliament, met in London to the number of between thirty and forty. They had themſelves, as acting for their conſtituents, prepared a petition to the Houſe of Commons, in which the ſubſtance of thoſe already preſented being compreſſed within a narrower compaſs, the matters of grievance complained of, and the redreſs propoſed, were brought forward into one clear point of view. But as many perſons, otherwiſe fully coinciding with their opinions, were exceedingly jealous of the meaſure of appointing delegates, and ſo far from hearing or receiving any thing from them, would not acknowledge the political exiſtence of any ſuch body, upon that account, and in order to obviate the difficulties which would have been thrown in the way upon the ſame ground by their declared oppoſers, they ſubſcribed the petition merely as individual freeholders, without any aſſumption or avowal of their delegated powers or character, although they were matters known to every one.

The petition was preſented by Mr. Duncombe, one of the repreſentatives of the county of York, and continued upon the table for ſome weeks, until the recovery of that gentleman's colleague, Sir George Savile, who was to proceed with the buſineſs.

May 8th. Sir George introduced his motion for referring the petition (after the firſt reading) to a committee, with a ſpeech of very conſiderable length, in which, with his uſual accuracy and comprehenſion, he ſtated the cauſes, progreſs, and hiſtory of petitions without doors, with the reception they met, and the effect which they produced within; particularly reciting the reſolutions of the laſt parliament on the 6th of April, which afforded ſo clear a ſanction to the complaints of the people, and by which that houſe was pledged to a ſpeedy redreſs of their grievances.

The motion of commitment meeting with a ſtrong and determined oppoſition, and being no leſs vigorouſly and ably ſupported, all the arguments *pro* and *con*, that had hitherto been uſed upon the ſubject of petitions, grievances and redreſs, with all thoſe that could now be thought of, were repeated or brought forward; the

whole being blended with new matter, relative to the powers aſſumed by the delegates; which, though not properly within the line of debate, as they did not appear in that capacity with reſpect to the petition, was, however, continually preſſed into notice by thoſe who oppoſed the motion. The debates were long, and exceedingly intereſting; ſeveral conſtitutional points, with reſpect to the interference of the people, and the powers of government, were ably and fully diſcuſſed.

The motion for committing the petition was overruled upon a diviſion, by a majority of 212 to 135.

May 14th. Mr. Burke's motion for an enquiry into the conduct obſerved on the late capture of the iſland of St. Euſtatius, particularly with reſpect to the ſeizure and confiſcation of private property, as well as to many other outrages ſtated to have been committed there, brought out a long and moſt important debate, ſcarcely leſs intereſting to mankind in general, than to this nation and empire in particular. The motion went to an addreſs to his majeſty, for copies of all proclamations, memorials, orders, and inſtructions, from, to, or by the commanders by ſea and land, and of all official correſpondence from or to any of his majeſty's miniſters, relative to the diſpoſition of the property belonging to the States General and to individuals, inhabiting or intereſted, in the places or territories taken from the ſaid States General in the Weſt Indies.

As the abſence of the commanders who were ſo deeply concerned in the ſubject of the enquiry, was made the principal ground for oppoſing the motion by adminiſtration, and as the buſineſs was again brought forward, with additional information and evidence by the ſame gentleman in the enſuing ſeſſion, to which the account of this intereſting diſcuſſion more properly appertains, it is the leſs neceſſary for us to enter into the matter of the preſent debate. It is perhaps needleſs to obſerve, that the knowledge of ancient and modern hiſtory, and of the laws of nations, diſplayed by the mover, was not inferior to the philanthropy (as well as true policy) which dictated, or to the ability with which he ſupported his motion.

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Stanley, and well ſupported by Mr. Fox, and other members of the oppoſition, who ſeemed to contend with the mover, in repreſenting the tranſactions at St. Euſtatius, as the moſt impolitic, the moſt diſgraceful, and the moſt dangerous, of any that were ever recorded in the hiſtory of this country. The American Secretary, and the Lord Advocate of Scotland, were, in point of argument, the principal oppoſers of the motion.

The queſtion being put, the motion was rejected, upon a diviſion, by a majority of 160 to 86.

The committee for examining the petitions from Bengal, having delivered in their report, a bill, for new modelling the ſupreme court of judicature in Bengal, for indemnifying the governor and council for their reſiſtance to the decrees of the ſaid court, and for directing in future the operation of that juriſdiction, was brought

23d. in by General Smith. This bill, after ſome oppoſition, and modification in its paſſage, was at length carried through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent by the end of the ſeſſion.

The terms upon which the miniſter had ſome time ago propoſed a renewal of the Eaſt-India Company's charter, were deemed by the company ſo highly injurious to the rights, and ſo exceedingly prejudicial to the intereſts of that body, that all negociation was broken off, and the buſineſs lay entirely dormant during the two laſt years. We have ſeen in the laſt ſeſſion, that the miniſter carried a vote through the Houſe of Commons, for giving the three years notice decreed by act of parliament to the company, previous to the diſſolution of their charter, that the capital ſtock or debt of four million two hundred thouſand pounds which was owing to them by the public, ſhould be fully diſcharged, according to the power of redemption, by the 5th of April, 1783.

It was now undoubtedly time to bring matters to ſome concluſion with the company; and in order to quicken their motions, and to ſhew them the folly and danger of not ſubmitting to ſuch terms as he was diſpoſed to grant, the miniſter brought the buſineſs in ſo terrific a form into parliament, as ſeemed calculated to make any conditions that could almoſt be propoſed eligible. Among the propoſitions which he held out for the conſideration of the Houſe of Commons, were the following—Whether it would be proper for the crown to take the territorial poſſeſſions and revenues entirely into its own hands, or to leave them to the management of a company? Whether it would be proper to throw the trade to India entirely open, or to grant a monopoly of it to an other company? Or, if it ſhould be thought fitting to grant a new charter to the preſent company, he propoſed that it ſhould be only for a ſhort term, along with ſo vaſt a participation to the public in their profits and revenues, that it was ſcarcely poſſible, in the moſt favourable and fortunate circumſtances, they could ever be able to increaſe their dividends above their preſent ſtandard of 8 per cent.—He farther propoſed, that a tribunal ſhould be eſtabliſhed here for the ſole purpoſe of controuling and judging of the management of affairs in India, and for puniſhing ſuch ſervants of the company as ſhould be convicted of having abuſed their power; that all diſpatches received from India by the directors ſhould be communicated to the Secretary of State, and all diſpatches ſhewn to him before they were ſent. To crown the whole, he made a demand of ſix hundred thouſand pounds, as a debt due to the public; which he founded on a reſolution of the commons in 1773, eſtabliſhing a participation in the profits of the company, which was ſaid, not to be at all included, or confirmed by, the terms of the ſubſequent act of parliament, paſſed in that year upon the ſame ſubject.

The oppoſition reprobated the miniſter's propoſitions, in an unuſual ſtile of ſeverity and execration. They declared, that they included and intended the moſt flagrant injuſtice,

juſtice, and the moſt barefaced public robbery, that had ever been ventured upon, under any conſtitution of civil government, however arbitrary. It was ſtill worſe in a commercial ſtate than in any other; at once overthrowing every idea of ſecurity in the poſſeſſion of all property whatever, whether founded on the laws and the courſe of juſtice, or on confidence in the public faith. And, they inſiſted, that neither the miniſter, that houſe, nor the legiſlature at large, who were all parties in the queſtion, could at all be competent, under any colour of juſtice, to decide on the rights of the company, with reſpect to its territorial poſſeſſions and revenues. The houſe were more than once called upon, to recollect the danger attending the violation of charters. Maſſachuſett's Bay afforded them a notable inſtance, the conſequences of which would long be felt by the nation. They might alſo learn from the American war, that public robbery was not only diſgraceful but ruinous to a nation.

The ſubject neceſſarily brought out, in its long and various progreſs through the ſummer, moſt of thoſe arguments which we have heretofore ſeen, when the queſtions ariſing upon the rights of the company, the claims of the public, and the interference of government, have, upon ſeveral occaſions, been ſo fully and ably diſcuſſed.

Nor was the buſineſs leſs agitated in the company itſelf. Negociations were opened between the miniſter and the directors; and various propoſals made, and conditions offered, without coming to any concluſion. Courts of proprietors were frequently held; and in one inſtance, they overruled, or refuſed to confirm an agreement which had been entered into by the directors. In general, the terms held out by adminiſtration were deemed ſo grievous and unjuſt, that it was more than once offered in thoſe courts, that it would be better at once to diſpoſe of all their property at home and abroad in the beſt manner they could, and putting an end to their political exiſtence, ſtake their title to it on a legal deciſion, than ſubmit to demands ſo exorbitant and ruinous.

In the mean time, the bad news which arrived from India, and the doubtful and dangerous ſtate of the company abroad, could not but affect the face of affairs at home, and operate conſiderably upon the meaſures and tranſactions, on both ſides. The view of obtaining a large ſum of money, for the renewal of their charter, from the company, was, in the preſent ſtate of things, totally cloſed. The miniſter was wearied by the tediouſneſs of the buſineſs, and, though he carried every queſtion by a prodigious majority, he was no leſs tired out by the vexatious debate which it continually produced; at the ſame time that he was teazed by the continual calls and complaints of oppoſition, for ſuffering all the beſt part of the ſeſſion to elapſe, and deferring buſineſs of the firſt importance, and queſtions of the greateſt magnitude, until moſt of the independent members had retired to the country, and that the houſe was in a manner deſerted.

June 1ſt. The miniſter accordingly brought in a temporary bill, allowing the company, for a limited term, to continue their excluſive trade to India; to manage the territorial acquiſitions and poſſeſſions in Aſia, and to receive the revenues ariſing therefrom. The future proviſions of this bill, though they tended to eſtabliſh a very great participation to the public in the revenues and profits of the company, were not much controverted; as the ſhortneſs of its duration would afford an opportunity for ſettling thoſe matters upon a better footing. But the retroſpective effect of it, in compelling the company to pay the demand of 632,000l. made by the miniſter, under a claim of participation in its paſt profits, was ſtrenuouſly combated by the oppoſition, who repreſented it as a meaſure of the utmoſt violence and injuſtice. The company likewiſe petitioned, and were heard by counſel againſt the bill. Chance, however, had nearly effected, what the exertions of the oppoſition and company were totally unequal to. Through inattention and bad attendance, the thinneſs of the houſe probably induced the oppoſition, unexpectedly, to bring a queſtion for going into a committee on the bill to a diviſion; which was only carried by a majority of 28 to 25, ſo that the bill was within three of being loſt. It met with ſome faint oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, where the Duke of Chandos declared, that he could not conſent to a bringing a bill of rapine and plunder in aid of ſupply. We ſhould obſerve, that the miniſter's claim of 632,000l. upon the company, had been reduced in its paſſage through the Houſe of Commons to 402,000l. This bill received the royal aſſent, along with the Bengal judicature bill, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion.

The reſtrictions of the marriage act of the year 1751, had not only been much complained of by the younger part of the world, but had drawn the cenſure of ſome more ſerious, and even well-informed men, who ſuppoſing it unfavourable to population, conſidered it as contrary to the policy of all ſtates, but particularly to that of a commercial nation; and who condemned it likewiſe as being ariſtocratic in its principle.

An inconvenience, ariſing not ſo much from any end propoſed by the law, as from ſome incidental circumſtances of the penalties which were to enforce obedience to it, was the cauſe of its being at this time brought into diſcuſſion. As publicity was one of the objects aimed at in this law, it enacted, that all marriages celebrated in places, where banns had not been uſually publiſhed, and marriages celebrated, before the act, ſhould be conſidered as void *ab initio*. It happened, that a great number of new chapels and places of worſhip had, according to various exigencies, been erected ſince the paſſing of that law; and while the more oſtenſible, and originally operative parts of the law were well remembered, nobody thought of examining an old act of parliament, on any idea that its penalties extended to future and neceſſary contingency. Theſe newly erected chapels, being uſed for all other religious purpoſes, marriages were ſolemnized

nized in them, without any idea of contravening the letter or ſpirit of the law. All theſe were, however, ſhaken. The litigious induſtry of a country attorney, and diſpoſition of the officers of a pariſh, at length brought to light the full effect of this clauſe. It was evidently ridiculous, that the validity of a marriage ſhould depend upon the ſkill of the parties in the antiquities of the place of celebration. And as the point might become every day more obſcure, and more a ſubject of diſcuſſion, the evils, already ſeverely felt, threatened the moſt alarming and general conſequences, in the moſt delicate and valuable of all political conſiderations. Such is the teſt of legiſlation! The dependencies of civil affairs are ſo nice and various, that the contingent effects are often of greater moment than the immediate ones. A ſingle inaccuracy in one law may ſhake the frame of the whole community. The preſent inſtance is one among many to impreſs men in ſuch matters with the neceſſity of deliberation and foreſight.

The firſt legal deciſion upon this new queſtion of law, aroſe upon the calamitous caſe of a pauper, with a family of eleven children, who being denied a ſettlement by the pariſh, notwithſtanding an order of the juſtices in his favour, the matter came into the court of King's Bench; where the judges, though exceedingly contrary to their inclinations and feeling, thought themſelves under a neceſſity of adhering to the letter of the act.

This induced Lord Beauchamp to introduce the buſineſs in the Houſe of Commons, and to bring in the heads of a bill for affording relief to the many thouſands who were innocently involved in ſo grievous and calamitous a ſituation. Such was the concurring zeal of all parties, to prevent thoſe irremediable miſchiefs which were likely to ariſe from a knowledge of the late deciſion, that though the ſubject was only introduced on the 28 of May, the bill was read the third time, and paſſed, on the 7th of June.

The marriage act had in its origin been oppoſed with great zeal by the late Lord Holland; and Mr. Fox conſidering the oppoſition to it as devolved by deſcent upon himſelf, wiſhed to extend the proviſions of Lord Beauchamp's bill much farther than merely the relief intended with regard to the ſingle object in view.

This was likewiſe the wiſh of many others, who diſapproved either in the whole or in part of the marriage act. But it not being deemed prudent to run the riſque of delaying the operation or preventing the effect of the new bill by clogging it with any matter which might produce an oppoſition, Mr. Fox, as ſoon as it was paſſed, entered, with his uſual ability, into a full ſtatement of the marriage act, in which he reprobated in the ſevereſt terms its principle and deſign, painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the extreme impolicy and pernicious conſequences of its reſtrictions, and repreſented the whole as being equally tyrannical and abſurd. He obſerved, that by the newly diſcovered blot in that law, now confirmed by a legal deciſion, moſt of the clergy in the

kingdom

kingdom had been ignorantly guilty of felony by the celebration of marriages in the new chapels; ſo that (as he laughably continued) we might expect to ſee moſt of our prelates, either tranſported to America, or ſent in their lawn ſleeves to work on board the ballaſt lighters. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill for amending the marriage act; the amendment going to the repeal of every part of that law, excepting what related to the regiſtering of marriages.

The other ſide of the queſtion was taken up by Mr. Burke, and ſupported with great ability. He ſet the matter upon the conſiderations due to parents and relations, as Mr. Fox had confined it to thoſe of the parties themſelves. He urged and enforced all the topics which naturally preſent themſelves in oppoſition to clandeſtine marriages, contracted between perſons unequal in rank, fortune, and every circumſtance, at an age, in which the law does not allow diſcretion to perform any other act whatſoever. He contended, that the marriage act had pretty juſtly hit the medium, between cloſe and miſchievous reſtraint, and the former laxity, which had been the cauſe of ſuch diſorders and ſo many juſt complaints. He ſaid, that the period of free agency in this important matter, being reduced to that of legal diſcretion in other reſpects, there were no complaints on either ſide. If in the purſuit of improvement any incidental inconveniences had ariſen, we ought not for the cure of it to reſort to the original evil.

Lord Beauchamp's bill paſſed the Houſe of Lords, and received the royal aſſent; but Mr. Fox's bill was leſs fortunate, being loſt on the ſecond reading, without a a diviſion; the lateneſs of the ſeaſon had, however, been held out as a reaſon for its not then being proper to enter into the conſideration of a queſtion, of ſuch importance.

The hope of conciliation in ſome manner or form with America, and conſequently of withdrawing her from her new connections, was not yet entirely extinct with the oppoſition; and under this impreſſion, Colonel Hartley, on the laſt day of May but one, had moved for the bringing in a bill, to veſt the crown with ſufficient powers to treat, conſult, and finally to agree, upon the means of reſtoring peace with the provinces of North America. The miniſters ſeemed diſpoſed to have met the queſtion only with a ſilent negative; but being rather forced into a debate by Sir George Savile, it afforded an opportunity to Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, to throw out ſo much keen cenſure and invective upon the whole ſubject of the American buſineſs from the beginning, that a gentleman on the court ſide declared, the motion was at leaſt entitled to one praiſe, that of having produced two of the moſt elegant and powerful philippics againſt adminiſtration, which had ever been delivered in that houſe. The motion was rejected on a diviſion by a majority of 106 to 72.

An account of the battle of Guildford, in North Carolina, having ſoon after appeared in the Gazette, together with thoſe ſubſequent events, by which it appeared that the victorious army had

had notwithſtanding ſuffered the conſequences of defeat, in being obliged to abandon the country, with all the objects of their entering it, and to retire to the ſea-ſide, Mr. Fox thought this intelligence, ſo authenticated, afforded a proper foundation for bringing the buſineſs again forward.

He accordingly, on the 12th of June, making the Gazette the ground of his proceeding, moved, that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the American war; at the ſame time giving notice, that he intended to move a reſolution in the committee—"That his majeſty's miniſters ought immediately to take every poſſible meaſure for concluding peace with our American colonies."

As this motion occaſioned an exertion of all the ability on either ſide of the houſe, it neceſſarily brought out all the arguments that had yet, or that could now be offered, on the queſtions, of the propriety of continuing the American war, the grounds for hoping or deſpairing of ſucceſs, the prudence or policy of ſeeking a peace with America, the probabilities of obtaining it, or of detaching them from their allies, if ſought, the conſequences of granting independence to the colonies, which muſt be laid down as the firſt preliminary towards obtaining ſuch a peace, and whether the crown was not already endued with ſufficient powers for concluding a peace with America, if ever the neceſſity of ſuch a meaſure ſhould be eſtabliſhed? Both the competency of parliament to any interference in the buſineſs of the executive power, and the propriety, if competent, of ſuch interference, were likewiſe brought into queſtion, and fully diſcuſſed. Theſe, with other matters ariſing from the ſubject, were debated with great ability till towards midnight, when the motion was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 172 to 99.

The uſual vote of credit for a million being obtained, an end was at length put to this long, and exceedingly tireſome, ſeſſion of parliament. In the ſpeech from the throne, they were comforted for the unuſual length of attendance, by the ſatisfactory reflection, that their time had been employed in a faithful diſcharge of their duty to their country, in the preſent arduous and critical ſtate of public affairs. An entire approbation of their conduct, and a perfect confidence in the loyalty and good affections of this parliament, was declared. The zeal and ardour which they had ſhewn for the honour of the crown; their firm and ſteady ſupport of a good cauſe; and the great efforts they had made to enable his majeſty to ſurmount all the difficulties of this extenſive and complicated war, muſt, it was ſaid, convince the world, that the ancient ſpirit of the Britiſh nation is not abated or diminiſhed. That, in the midſt of theſe difficulties, they had formed regulations for the better management and improvement of the revenue; they had given additional ſtrength and ſtability to public credit; and their deliberations on the affairs of the Eaſt-India company had terminated in ſuch meaſures as would, it was truſted, produce great and eſſential advantages to

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theſe

theſe kingdoms. The ſubject of India affairs, was again and again recurred to; the benefits to be derived from the territorial poſſeſſions, and the attention to be paid to the reſtraining of abuſes, particularly noticed; and it was concluded that the buſineſs would be reſumed and completed at their next meeting. The uſual declarations, of wiſhing the reſtoration of the public tranquillity, and of endeavouring to bring back the deluded ſubjects in America to the happineſs and liberty they formerly enjoyed, were now made. But, though peace was the earneſt wiſh of his majeſty's heart, he declared, that he had too firm a reliance on the ſpirit and reſources of the nation, the powerful aſſiſtance of his parliament, and the protection of a juſt and all-powerful Providence, to accept it upon any other terms or conditions, than ſuch as might conſiſt with the honour and dignity of his crown, and the permanent intereſt and ſecurity of his people.

CHRO-

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

December 30, 1780.

THE Biſhop of Oſnaburgh left Buckingham Houſe, accompanied by Colonel Grenville, on his way to the Continent. Nothing could be more affecting than the parting between the prince and the reſt of the royal family. Their majeſties both wept ſeverely: and the Prince of Wales, in particular, was ſo much affected with the misfortune of being deprived, for ſo long a period, of the ſole companion of his youth, that he ſtood in a ſtate of entire inſenſibility, totally unable to ſpeak, or to expreſs the concern he felt ſo ſtrongly.

Jan. 1, 1781. His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales was declared of age, and appeared at court in his new character.

India Houſe. By a report of the committee of proprietors, appointed to examine the Eaſt-India company's accounts, the balance in favour of the company on Wedneſday the 20th ult. appeared to be 13,458,877l. including the value of the Eaſt-India Houſe and warehouſes, as eſtimated by the company's ſurveyor in January laſt.

Rome, Jan. 3. In a conſiſtory held the 14th inſt. the three new cardinals, Mancinforte, Antamori, and Altieri, received the hat from the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff. Cardinal Pamphili died the 4th inſtant at Verona. Cardinal de Simone died the 16th, at his ſeat at Terni; and the ſame day died at Rome, Cardinal de Boxadors, formerly General of the order of St. Dominic. There are at preſent eight hats vacant, beſides three that the Pope had reſerved *in petto*, two in the conſiſtory of June 23, 1777, and one in that of July 18, 1779.

A fire broke out at the Temple-hall ale-houſe, in Shire-lane, Temple-bar, which conſumed the ſame, with the two houſes on each ſide adjoining, beſides damaging two or three others. Two men, a woman, and a child, periſhed in the flames.

5th. A gentleman was taken into cuſtody for treaſonable practices, named Henry Francis de la Motte, which he bore with the title of baron annexed to it. He has reſided in Bond-ſtreet, at a Mr. Otley's, a woollen-draper, for ſome time.

When he was going up ſtairs at the ſecretary of ſtate's office in Cleveland-row, he dropped ſeveral papers on the ſtair-caſe, which

were immediately discovered by the messengers, and carried in with him to Lord Hillsborough. After his examination he was committed a close prisoner for high treason to the Tower.

The papers taken from him are reported to be of the highest importance. Among them are particular lists of every ship of force in any of our yards and docks, the complement of men they have on board at the time of their sailing, with remarks of their being well manned, when short of the regulated number, &c. He has even gone so far as to furnish the most accurate lists of the seamen in the different hospitals at Portsmouth and Plymouth.

In consequence of the above papers being found, Henry Lutterloh, Esq. of Wickham, near Portsmouth, was afterwards apprehended and brought to town. The messengers found Mr. Lutterloh ready booted to go a-hunting. When he understood their business, he did not discover the least embarrassment, but delivered his keys with the utmost readiness. In his drawers were found cash and bank notes to the amount of about 300l. but upon a careful perusal of the notes, it was discovered they were all drawn payable to the same person, and dated on the same day with those found on La Motte. Mr. Lutterloh is a German, and had lately taken a house at Wickham, within a few miles of Portsmouth; and as he kept a pack of hounds, and was considered as a good companion, he was well received by the gentlemen in the neighbourhood.

In a few days afterwards, a third person, named Ryder, was apprehended and brought to London, and who is said to be the person from whom Lutterloh derived all his information respecting the state of our marine and dock-yards.

Ryder, the last war, performed signal services to his country, by his extensive knowledge of the soundings on the enemy's coast; and for his active exertions he was rewarded with a pension of 200l. a-year, which has been regularly paid him ever since. At the same time he has been employed in the office at Plymouth; and by being so capable of giving assistance to the admiralty, he has been employed by them in contriving signals; and it has been through his means that the enemy has been furnished so exactly with our signals.

On the preceding day, a man named Rougee, and a woman named Dobrey (with whom he cohabited), were apprehended at their lodgings in Greek-street, Soho, in consequence of an information lodged against them, charging them with having conveyed various packets of intelligence to France, by way of Margate and Ostend. After a long examination both were committed to prison.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 10.

Captain Dacres, of his majesty's ship Perseus, and the Fortune sloop, arrived on the 7th instant in the Downs, with the Catherina Wilhelmina, a Dutch East-India ship of 900 tons, from Rotterdam to Batavia, laden with large masts and other naval stores, and having on board one hundred and thirty thousand dollars in specie.—The Perseus has also taken and sent into Portsmouth the Friendship, a Dutch

a Dutch veſſel, laden with fruit.—The Griffin and Rambler cutters have taken Le General Ville Patoux, French privateer, carrying 12 guns and 56 men.—And Lieutenant Furnival, of the Nimble cutter, has taken La Subtille French privateer of 14 guns and 43 men.

The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when the following priſoners received ſentence of death, viz. James Smith, for robbing Tho. Morris, on Conſtitution-hill, in St. James's-park, of two half-crowns; Charles Sheppard, for breaking into the dwelling-houſe of Jane Weſt, in St. Botolph's, Aldgate, with intent to ſteal her goods; Abraham Dry, for robbing Janet Atkinſon on the highway near the Broad-ſanctuary, Weſtminſter, of a bundle containing a quantity of ſtockings and other pedlars goods; William Dobey and John Darbey, for aſſaulting James Bing in a field near Tottenham-court-road, and robbing him of a pair of ſilver ſhoe-buckles and ſome money; Mary Jones and Anne Giſſon, for ſtealing in the ſhop of Meſſ. Allnut and Cox, in Southampton-ſtreet, Holborn, 57 yards of Perſian ſilk; Thomas Maple and Joſeph Maple, for breaking into the dwelling houſe of John Seager, the King's-head, in Gray's-inn-lane, and ſtealing a table cloth, a ſilk cardinal, and other things; Anne Martin, alias Harris, alias Lanſdale, alias Jones, for ſtealing in the dwelling-houſe of Geo. Eltoft, to whom the day before ſhe had been hired at a ſervant, a quantity of ſilver plate, a metal watch, two counterpanes, and other things; ſhe was alſo convicted for ſtealing in the houſe of Peter Crawford, eſq. Clerkenwell, where ſhe had been hired about five hours, a large quantity of ſilver plate, value 40l. and upwards. 12th.

This night's Gazette contains a proclamation for a public faſt and humiliation to be obſerved throughout England and Wales, on Wedneſday the 21ſt day of February next, and in Scotland on Thurſday the 22d day of that month. 13th.

The Houſe of Commons agreed to the report of the reſolution of yeſterday, for granting 80,000l. for the relief of the ſufferers from the late hurricanes at Barbadoes, and 40,000l. for thoſe at Jamaica. 25th.

A letter from Shrewſbury ſays, "Between twelve and one o'clock on Thurſday morning laſt a ſhock of an earthquake was felt by many inhabitants in different parts of the town, providentially without doing any damage; it was ſo ſtrong as to awaken ſeveral perſons out of their ſleep."

At the meeting of the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, the following candidates received the premiums adjudged to them for drawings:

Miſs Leonora Deyongh, of Bow, Middleſex, the leſſer ſilver pallet for a drawing of flowers.

Mr W. P. Tompkins, of Queen-Anne-ſtreet Eaſt, the greater ſilver pallet, for a drawing of landſcapes.

Miſs Anne Smith, of Portland-road, the leſſer ſilver pallet, for a drawing of landſcapes.

And the golden medal was adjudged to Wm. Melliſh, eſq; for having planted on his eſtate in

Nottinghamſhire, 47,000 larch-trees.

24th. Lord Geo. Gordon was brought up to the bar of the Court of King's Bench, by virtue of a writ of Habeas Corpus, iſſued to the Lieutenant Governor of the Tower.

The writ of Habeas being read, and a return made of it, the court ordered the indictment to be read; previous to which Lord George Gordon requeſted permiſſion of the court to be heard a few words. This being complied with, his lordſhip remarked, "That he was aſtoniſhed to find, on his arrival at Weſtminſter, that the doors of the hall were ſhut, and conſequently that the people had not free acceſs to his trial. He then enumerated the various hardſhips that had attended his ſingular ſituation and long confinement: ſaid he had ſuffered much in conſequeuce thereof by the force of public prejudice: expreſſed his ſurprize that ſuch a vaſt number of jurors ſhould have been ſummoned on his trial, as by this means he was deprived of the uſual benefit of challenging his jury: he had likewiſe heard that the very judges of the land had been conſulted on his caſe; but he hoped the fact would prove, that he had not been thus prejudged. Witneſſes, he found, were brought up from Scotland againſt him; what they were to prove he knew not; nor did he know how he was to bring up witneſſes from the ſame quarter to confront them, having been informed, that the juriſdiction of the court did not extend to Scotland.

"He underſtood by the law of the land, that the overt-act ought to be ſpecially ſet forth in the indictment for high treaſon; but as no particular charge was ſpecified in his, he ſhould find himſelf at a loſs to meet it with ſuch evidence as he might otherwiſe be enabled to produce.—He hoped, however, and truſted, that the court, as was cuſtomary in ſimilar caſes, would become his counſel in points where he ſtood in need of ſuch indulgence; adding, that he only wiſhed for a candid and impartial trial."

Lord Mansfield having aſſured his lordſhip, that he would meet with every indulgence the court could conſiſtently grant him, the indictment was read over, and the clerk of the crown aſked the priſoner to plead to it; when his lordſhip ſaid, "Not guilty."

The attorney-general now moved the court "for the priſoner to be again brought up to the bar of the court on Monday the 5th of February, then to be put upon his trial;" which being made a rule of court, his lordſhip was remanded back to the Tower, under the cuſtody of the lieutenant-governor.

31ſt. The Weſt-India mail, brought over by the Anna Tereſa packet, Captain Croſby, arrived on Monday evening at the Poſt-office, and brings diſpatches to the Admiralty from Sir George Brydges Rodney, dated the 10th of December, with advice, that he arrived at St. Kitt's from New York two days before, with the following ſhips of the line, viz. Sandwich 90 guns, Centaur 74, Ruſſel 74, Triumph 74, Reſolution 74, Alcide 74, Terrible 74, Shrewſbury 74, Torbay 74, Suffolk 74, and Intrepid 64: that he had

had been joined off Barbadoes by the Alfred of 74, Monarch 74; and likewiſe by the Ajax 74, and Vigilant 64, from St. Lucia.

Admiral Hood had been met within ten days' ſail of Barbadoes, all well.

DIED, *Dec.* 30, 1780. At Purſer's-croſs, Fulham, Mrs. Eliz. and Mrs. Fra. Turberville, in the 77th year of their ages, of an ancient and reſpectable weſt-country family; they were twin ſiſters, and both died unmarried. What adds to the ſingularity of this circumſtance, they were born the ſame day, never were known to live ſeparate, died within a few days of each other, and were interred the ſame day.

Sir Roger Burgoyne, bart.

Jan. 1, 1781. In White-hart-yard, Drury-lane, Mary Parker, aged 108.

FEBRUARY.

Hague, Feb. 1. The States of Holland and Weſt Friefland were aſſembled both yeſterday and this day, as were alſo the different colleges of admiralty: the princeſtadtholder is almoſt daily in council, and this day the three placarts, lately publiſhed by their High Mightineſſes, will be ſent to the different provinces.

The marine treaty ſigned at Copenhagen between the plenipotentiaries of the Empreſs of Ruſſia and thoſe of the court of Denmark on the 28th of June 1780, relative to the freedom of the neutral navigation, has appeared here, and ſeems to be entirely founded upon the memorial and declaration of the empreſs upon that ſubject; and the articles are nearly ſimilar. To this treaty the King of Sweden acceded on the 21ſt of July 1780, and their High Mightineſſes on the 20th of November in the ſame year.

On Monday was determined, after a hearing of three days, before the Barons of the Exchequer, the long depending cauſe between the Vicar of Kenſington, and ſeveral of his pariſhioners; when it was decreed, that peaches, melons, pines, and all other hot-houſe plants, and exoticks, and all ſhrubs, engrafted trees, and nurſeries, are tytheable in kind, whatever expence may attend the cultivation.

3d. The following narrative of the voyage of five of the veſſels arrived in Ireland belonging to the laſt Eaſt-India fleet from China to the Cape is contained in a letter from an officer on board the Calcutta to his friend in Edinburgh.

"We ſailed from China on the 20th of January, in company with the Worceſter, Royal Henry, Morſe, and Alfred; and inſtead of the uſual tract by the ſtraits of Sunda and Banca went by the ſtraits of Malacca, to avoid the riſk of falling in with an enemy. On the 26th of February we took our departure from Achinhead, and to get clear of danger gave the iſlands of Mauritius, &c. a large birth.

"Being ſtrictly ordered to keep to the ſouthward, to ſhun any cruiſers that might be off the Cape, we were, by ſtrong ſoutherly currents, and north-weſt winds, driven into the latitude of 41 degrees and a half, and experienced a long run of bad weather. From the

29th of April, that we were in the latitude of the Cape, to the 6th of June, we had (almoſt without intermiſſion) the moſt violent gales of wind and bad weather. During the gales we parted company with the Morſe.

"Upon the 7th of June, the Royal Henry proving very leaky, we were under the neceſſity of bearing away for Madagaſcar, that ſhe might be able, if poſſible, to ſtop her leaks. On the 25th we arrived ſafe at St. Auguſtin's Bay, Madagaſcar, where we had the good fortune to fall in with the homeward bound fleet from the coaſt, viz. the Belleiſle 64, Aſia 64, and Ripon 60, with the Ganges, General Barker, Talbot and Norfolk India-men.

"This fleet had come in very ſickly, and had been lying there about a week. Very ſoon after came in the Morſe, with whom we had parted company the 4th of May; ſhe had ſprung a leak, and had been obliged to throw four of her guns, and part of her cargo, overboard.

"The crews of the ſhips having got well rid of their ſeveral diſorders, and having got on board all the neceſſary refreſhments, we on the 28th of July ſailed for Cape Bona once more. After experiencing again two very hard gales of wind, by which ſeveral of the fleet parted company, we at length had the good luck to meet all again, and come into the Cape together the 22d of Auguſt. Upon our arrival here we had the ſatisfaction to find, that what had appeared to us moſt unfortunate in ſeveral parts of our paſſage, had really been moſt lucky. Indeed I believe a chain of more lucky events never happened to a fleet before.

"1. By our going to Malacca we avoided three ſail of French ſhips of the line in the ſtraits of Sunda, which probably would have taken us all.

"2. By our not being able to reach the Cape the firſt time, we avoided five ſail of French ſhips, which were cruiſing for us.

"3. By getting to Madagaſcar we fell in with the fleet, which we were actually ordered to go into the Cape to join, and alſo had the good fortune to find the Morſe again.

"4. If we had arrived at Table Bay a week or 10 days ſooner, when we had the laſt ſevere gale, we muſt undoubtedly all have periſhed;—for, by the accounts of the inhabitants, no ſhip could have rode it out."

Saturday, the Court of King's Bench was opened, and the previous buſineſs of admiſſions and bail being finiſhed, a petition was read from the poor priſoners of the King's Bench priſon, for the uſual allowance to be paid them ſince the time of their enlargement by the late riots. Lord Mansfield could not, he ſaid, grant the prayer of the petitioners, becauſe they were not in actual cuſtody, and therefore had a power to provide for themſelves, which when confined they are not ſuppoſed to have. He added, that ſince the firſt day of the term, he had received a great number of letters from all parts of the kingdom, informing him of the abuſes of ſome attorneys, endeavouring to delude the poor, arreſted and in cuſtody, to pay them money for their diſcharge. In order to remedy 6th.

medy this, he had now ordered a liſt to be publiſhed of all perſons, and their places of abode, who had ſurrendered, alſo the names of the bail and attorneys concerned ſince the 7th of June laſt. That unleſs the ſame were added to the names, the ſurrender ſhould for the future be void. And he ordered that the liſt ſhould be ſo printed and publiſhed, and every future certificate ſhould be no indemnity, unleſs it contained the additions of all parties.

5th. This morning Lord George Gordon was brought from the Tower to the Court of King's Bench, Weſtminſter Hall, to take his trial for a charge of high treaſon: after a trial which laſted one and twenty hours he was acquitted*.

12th. A dreadful fire broke out at Capt. Thoburn's, near King Edward Stairs, Wapping, which, aſſiſted by a ſtrong ſouth-weſterly wind, preſently communicated to a number of houſes and warehouſes contiguous, a misfortune principally fatal, on account of the narrowneſs of the ſtreets, both ſides of the way being on fire at the ſame time; the flames were ſo rapid for ſome time as to defy the utmoſt efforts of the firemen and inhabitants. About forty houſes were deſtroyed, beſides ſheds, &c. Alſo about four houſes in Sir William Warren's Square, with every houſe on both ſides the way between King Edward's Stairs and Wheat-ſheaf-Wharf.

The high winds this night did conſiderable damage amongſt the ſhipping. Several houſes were blown down in various parts of London and Weſtminſter.

16th. The recorder made the report to his majeſty in council of the thirteen convicts under ſentence of death in Newgate, who were condemned in January ſeſſions, viz. James Smith, Charles Shepherd; Abraham Day; Ann Martin, alias Harris, alias Lanſdale, alias Jones; John Darby and Wm. Doby; Jn. Henley; Ann Smith, and Eliz. Thompſon, alias Blackſon; Joſeph Maple and Tho. Maple; Ann Gibſon, and Mary Jones; when the four firſt were ordered for execution, and the nine laſt were reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure.

17th. This night's Gazette contains his majeſty's order in council for the releaſe and diſcharge of all ſhips and veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of the ſtates-general, which had been detained by virtue of the order in council of Dec. 22, 1780.

24th. On Thurſday a ſpecial jury, before Lord Mansfield in the Court of King's Bench, at Weſtminſter Hall, determined the important cauſe between Mr. Cole, proprietor of Ely-place, in Holborn, and the officers of the pariſh of St. Andrew, Holborn, in favour of the plaintiff, by which Mr. Cole is eſtabliſhed in the quiet poſſeſſion of a very conſiderable eſtate, protected from the burdens of the aſſeſſments of the pariſh, of which it was contended to have been a part. The jury by their verdict have confirmed a privilege which has been obtained ever ſince the year 1290, regarding the epiſcopal palace of Ely, on the ſcite

* For a particular account of this trial, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

of which Ely-place is now built, as extra-parochial, and not ſubject to pariſh aſſeſſments.

Amſterdam, Feb. 27. John Adams, Eſq. has opened a loan for a million of florins for the United States of America, according to the printed plan of which, each ſhare ſhall amount to 1000 florins, and bear five per cent. intereſt per annum. Meſſ. Neufville and ſons, merchants here, have the management of this affair, and the obligations, &c. are ſigned by Mr. Adams, and counterſigned by Meſſ. Neufville, and regiſtered by the notary, Anthony Mylins. The repayment of this capital (for which the Thirteen United States of America engage themſelves all together, and each of them ſeparately, as well as for the punctual payment of the intereſt) will be made after the expiration of 10 years; a fifth part, or 200 obligations each year, to be determined by lots, drawn in preſence of the notary and witneſſes, ſo that in 15 years all the capital will be paid.

DIED, at Norwich, aged 74, Henry Goodall, D.D. Prebendary of Norwich, Archdeacon of Suffolk, Rector of Mattiſhall with Patteſley, and alſo of Bixley with Earl Framingham, in Norfolk; likewiſe commiſſary of the peculiar juriſdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich.

At his chambers in the Temple, Edw. Capell, Eſq. deputy inſpector of plays. He devoted the laſt 37 years of his life to the ſtudy of Shakeſpeare's plays, of which he publiſhed an edition in the year 1768. Since that time he has been employed in compiling and printing the illuſtrations to it, the greater part of which we are informed are already finiſhed. He was the alterer of Antony and Cleopatra, acted at Drury-lane 1758. He was alſo editor of a volume of ancient poems called "Proluſions."

MARCH.

At the beginning of this month the diſtemper among the horned cattle broke out in the Iſle of Thanet. It began at Mrs. Cowell's, at Salmſton, near Margate, and is ſuppoſed to have been brought over from Oſtend by two ſheep ſkins, which being thrown on the beech were taken up with ſome ſea-weed, and laid on a dung hill. To theſe a cow ſmelt, and rolled on them. Six other beaſts died at Manſton; five more were ſhot there, and buried on the 9th; ſeveral others died; ſome were ſhot. On the 12th, an order of council was iſſued (as uſual) prohibiting the removal of diſtempered cattle, and ordering them to be killed, and buried at leaſt four feet deep, with their hides ſlaſhed, &c. Two more were ſeized with it at Minſter on the 16th, and immediately killed and buried. By the above, and other precautions, it is hoped, that it will ſpread no further. Some had been previouſly removed to Aſh and Chiſlet; though nothing ſeems eaſier than to confine them in this iſland, there being only three outlets, viz. at Sandwich, Sarr, and Reculver.

2d. The following account of the loſs of the General Barker Eaſt-Indiaman is given in a private letter from Holland, from a gentle-

gentleman on board: "In the hard gale of wind which came on between eleven and twelve at night on the 12th inſt. we parted with three cables a-head, and ſoon after loſt every anchor and cable we had. The following day we fired ſignals of diſtreſs, but could get no aſſiſtance. We were at laſt drifted againſt the Kentiſh Knock, where we lay for ſix hours; by the help of a ſtrong tide we got off in the evening, but not without the loſs of all our boats, and cutting away our main and mizen maſts. The gale continuing on the 15th, we were driven on ſhore on the coaſt of Holland, in which dreadful ſituation we remained all night, expecting every moment to be our laſt, and in which horrid ſuſpenſe fifteen of the crew actually periſhed. In the morning the Dutch very humanely came out to our aſſiſtance, and reſcued about ſixty of us from a ſituation more eaſily to be imagined than I can deſcribe. We are now at Norwaygon, where we meet with every ſympathy our condition merits."

5th. On Saturday was tried before Mr. Juſtice Buller and a ſpecial jury at Guildhall, the important cauſe between Mr. Langdale, the diſtiller, who ſued the late lord mayor under the riot act, to recover of the inhabitants of the city the damages he ſuſtained by the deſtruction of his premiſes and goods during the late diſturbances. The attorney-general, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Murphy, were counſel for the plaintiff, and the recorder, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Roſe, for the city. Mr. Langdale went for 51,559l. 19s. 7d. under ſeveral heads, viz. the great warehouſe, with the ſpirits behind the houſe, in Upper Holborn, at 22,478l. 3s. 8d. at prime coſt; the furniture 1010l.—at Holborn-bridge 7831l. 2s. 9d. beſides the dead ſtock of mills, worms, pipes, and damage done to ſeveral houſes adjoining to Mr. Langdale, held by him under leaſes. There was great diſpute about the eſtimates, as the witneſſes were not properly prepared to anſwer the counſel with their calculations. The recorder made a long ſpeech. He contended, that Mr. Langdale had no right to recover, becauſe the fire was communicated from the ſpirits which were firſt ſet in a blaze to the buildings and other property. To this point one witneſs was examined. The judge ſeemed againſt the diſtinction. Mr. Langdale admitted the receipt of 14,662l. from the Exciſe; 11,423l. of the Union Fire-Office; 1683l 8s. 8d. of the London Aſſurance Company; 900l. of the Hand in Hand Fire Office; but nevertheleſs he brought his action to include theſe ſeveral ſums for the benefit of the Exciſe and different offices. The judge without delivering any opinion left the whole caſe to the conſideration of the jury, who withdrew for near two hours, and gave a verdict for 18,729l. 10s. damages only. The jury added alſo, that Mr. Langdale could not recover the inſurances in truſt. The verdict is reſerved for the opinion of the judges, whether goods and ſtock in trade are within the meaning of the act of parliament, and a new trial will be moved for next term by the city, as the jury gave a verdict for the goods and ſtock in trade, which are included in the damages given, contrary, as the

the counſel ſay, to the riot act, whereby theſe buildings are to be repaired, and no other recompences provided for.

Charles Logie, Eſq. his majeſty's late conſul general at Morocco, arrived in town with diſpatches from Goy. Elliot of Gibraltar. Before Conſul Logie left Morocco, the emperor, under the influence of the gifts he had received from the Spaniſh court, threatened the inhabitants of Tangier with the moſt dreadful effects of his reſentment if they held any friendſhip with the Engliſh; and at his injunction, 50 of the principal inhabitants went to the conſul's houſe, and demanded an audience; on an interview being given, they ſucceſſively went up to Mr. Logie, ſpit in his face, pointed their daggers to his breaſt, and called him by every opprobrious appellation that could be uſed. Mr. Logie reports, that the greateſt ſcarcity of grain prevailed through the country, no rain having fallen for theſe three laſt years.

Amſterdam, March 8. The perſons appointed to receive the ſubſcription entered into by the inhabitants of this city for the relief of their countrymen who are in priſon in England, have addreſſed the Duke of Richmond, and begged of his grace, ſo famed throughout Europe for his ſentiments of generoſity and humanity, to give an eye to the diſpoſal of the money ſent to England for the above praiſe-worthy purpoſe. The duke, touched with ſo diſtinguiſhed a mark of confidence, returned the following anſwer in his own hand-writing.

"I cannot but be much flattered at being choſen to have the care of the money ſubſcribed by the inhabitants of Holland for the relief of their impriſoned countrymen; full of eſteem, and admiration of their ſentiments of humanity and beneficence, I beg the gentlemen ſubſcribers to be aſſured that I will willingly exert all my power in the execution of the truſt repoſed in me; and if I can be of any uſe towards rendering their generous efforts more advantageous, I will do it with all my heart.

(Signed) RICHMOND."

In conſequence of which the ſubſcribers have ſent one thouſand pounds ſterling to England, and have deſired the duke to appoint a proper perſon to have the diſtribution of it: they took the ſame opportunity to ſignify to his grace with what humanity the Engliſh priſoners were treated in Holland.

14th. This morning ſailed the following ſhips, with a large fleet of victuallers, &c. for Gibraltar, viz. Britannia, 100, Vice-admiral Darby, Rear-admiral Kempenfelt, Captain Bradley; Royal George, 100, Rear-admiral Roſs, Captain Bourmaſter; Prince George, 98, Rear-admiral Digby, Captain Williams; Queen, Maitland; Duke, Douglas; Formidable, Cleland; Namur, 90, Sawyear; Ocean, Qurry; Union, Dalrymple; Foudroyant, 80, Jarvis; Alexander, 74, Longford; Bellona, Onſlow; Canada, Collier; Cumberland, Peyton; Courageux, Mulgrave; Defence, Cranſtone; Dublin, Dixon; Edgar, Elliot; Fortitude, Bickerton; Marlborough, Penny; Valiant, Goodall; Bienfaiſant, 64, Braithwaite; Inflexible, Cotton; Lion, Cornwallis;

tis; Magnanime, Wolfeley; Nonſuch, Wallace; Repulſe, Dent; Medway, 60, Harmood; Minerva, 38, Fielding; Flora, 36, Williams; Monſieur, Phipps; La Prudence, Waldegrave; Ambuſcade, 32, Conway; Emerald, Marſhall; Creſcent, 28, Pakenham; Kite, 14, Trollope; and Furnace, Firebrand, Harpy, and Lightning fire-ſhips; which are to be joined from Plymouth by two frigates, and from Ireland by the St. Albans and Veſtal.

15th. The following is a liſt of his Majeſty's ſhips on the Jamaica ſtation which were loſt or damaged in the late hurricane, viz. Stirling-Caſtle of 64 guns, loſt, the Captain and about 50 people were ſaved. Phœnix of 44 guns, loſt on the Cuba ſhore, moſt of the people ſaved. Scarborough of 20 guns, loſt at ſea, and every perſon periſhed. Hector of 74 guns, loſt all her guns and maſts. Grafton of 74 guns, loſt all her maſts. Egmont of 74 guns, ditto. Trident of 64 guns, ditto. Ruby of 64 guns, ditto. Briſtol of 50 guns, ditto. Endymion of 44 guns, ditto. Ulyſſes of 44 guns, ditto. Pomona of 28 guns, ditto. Thunderer of 74 guns, loſt.

20th. Two gold medals of 15 guineas each, given annually by his Grace the Duke of Grafton, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, for the encouragement of Claſſical learning, were adjudged to Mr. George Law, of Queen's, and Mr. Robert Pedley, of St. John's, BB.A.

22d. At a Court of Common Council, 1000l. was ordered to be paid out of the Chamber, towards the relief and ſupport of the ſufferers by the late hurricanes in the Weſt-India Iſlands, to the Treaſurer of the Committee, for their relief.

DIED, at Wreſt-Houſe, in Bedfordſhire, aged 30, Lord Polwarth, only ſon of the Earl of Marchmont, and ſon-in-law to the Earl of Hardwicke. Dying without iſſue, the Engliſh barony of Hume, created in 1776, is extinct.

Thomas Knight, Eſq. at Godmerſham, in Kent, in the 80th year of his age. This gentleman, who died poſſeſſed of a large eſtate, was elected citizen in parliament for Canterbury, A.D. 1734, and was many years chairman at the quarter ſeſſions. His paternal name was Brodnax, which early in life he exchanged for that of May, and afterwards by a ſtatute of 9 Geo. II. he took the name of Knight, which occaſioned a facetious member to propoſe "a general bill to enable that gentleman to take what name he pleaſed." Through a long extent of life he ever maintained a dignity ornamental of human nature, and a piety irreproachable, which nothing but the ſincerity of his religion could inſpire; evidenced by a conſtant attendance on his chriſtian duties, and realized by a moſt exemplary patience and reſignation during a tedious and painful illneſs. His own family have loſt in him a moſt indulgent parent, his relations and friends a ready and able help, and the neighbourhood a munificent patron and benefactor.

APRIL.

Hague, April 1. We are aſſured that Mr. Van de Parre, director of

of our East-India Company, and Mr. de Boers, advocate of the ſaid company, are returned from Paris; that the former with the approbation of their High Mightineſſes, has there ſigned a treaty offenſive and defenſive for the Dutch East-India Company; one of the conditions of which is, "that ſix French men of war, already ſailed for the Cape of Good Hope, and which are to be joined by ſome others from the iſland of Mauritius, ſhall aſſiſt in protecting the Cape, and the poſſeſſions of our company in the Indies, in conjunction with the ſhips of the latter now there." We are aſſured, that the alliance was concluded the end of laſt month; conſequently the Cape is ſafe from every inſult; and the more ſo, as the governor foreſeeing the hoſtilities, has put the place in a proper ſtate of defence, and armed 6000 peaſants.

2d. Captain Donnellan, convicted of the murder of Sir Theodoſius Boughton, about ſeven in the morning was carried in a mourning coach from Warwick gaol to the place of execution, and hanged according to his ſentence; after which his body was given to the ſurgeons, to be diſſected. Before he was turned off he addreſſed the ſpectators in the following terms: "That as he was then going to appear before God, to whom all deceit was known, he ſolemnly declared, that he was innocent of the crime for which he was to ſuffer."

3d. The ſubjects propoſed by the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, for the two prizes given by the Right Hon. John Townſhend and James Mansfield, Eſq. members for the Univerſity of Cambridge, are,

For Senior Bachelors: Quænam ſint cauſæ cur Aſiatici ſervitutis ſemper fuerint patientiores, quam Europæi?

For Junior Bachelors: Utrum is ſit in oratorum numero habendus, qui non ſit omnibus iis artibus, quæ ſunt libero dignæ, perpolitus?

Dublin, April 7. Letters were on Thurſday received in town from Captain Murphy, of the Charming Mary privateer of Dublin, to his owners, which contain the agreeable news of his having taken and brought into Loughſwilly a rich Dutch merchant ſhip, from St. Euſtatia, bound to Amſterdam, computed to be worth 30,000l. She had 300 hogſheads of ſugar on board. The Charming Mary mounted only eight guns.

India Houſe, April 10. At a general Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock held, according to advertiſement, on ſpecial affairs, Mr. Jones roſe and introduced the following motion:

"That a Committee of ſix Directors, and ſix Proprietors, be appointed, to conſider of their chartered rights, and of the nature and extent of their right to the territorial poſſeſſions acquired in India; and at the ſame time to conſider of propoſitions to be offered as the baſis of an agreement between Government and the Company, for the prolongation of their excluſive right to trade in India."

This meeting was in conſequence of a motion made in the Houſe of Commons by Lord North the day before, "That this

this Houſe will, on Wedneſday the 25th of April, reſolve itſelf into a Committee, to conſider of the propriety of the Crown taking into its own hands the territorial acquiſitions of the Eaſt-India Company, and ſecuring to the public a ſhare in the revenue ariſing therefrom. On this occaſion Lord North inſiſted upon it, as an eſtabliſhed maxim, that whatever territorial acquiſitions are made by ſubjects, muſt neceſſarily belong to the public; and that conſequently he was as clear as he was of any thing whatever, that the territorial poſſeſſions in India are the undoubted right and property of the crown and people.

11th. Came on the election of a Governor, Deputy Governor, and twenty-four Directors of the Bank of England, for the year enſuing, when the following gentlemen were choſen: William Ewer, Eſq. Governor; Richard Neave, Eſq. Deputy-Governor; Samuel Beachcroft, * Daniel Booth, * Lyde Browne, Richard Clay, William Cooke, Edward Darrell, George Drake, * Peter Du Cane, Martyn Fonnereau, Peter Gauſſen, * Daniel Giles, Chriſtopher Hake, William Halhed, Thomas Scot Jackſon, * Job Mathew, Benjamin Mee, * Joſeph Nutt, Edward Payne, * Geo. Peters, * Henry Plant, Chriſtopher Puller, William Snell, Sam. Thornton, and Mark Weyland, Eſqrs. Directors.

Thoſe marked with * are new Directors.

India Houſe, April 12. This day the report of the ballot for the choice of Directors was made at the Eaſt-India Houſe, by Mr. Deviſme, Chairman of Scrutineers The numbers were:

Richard Hall -	839
John Hunter -	580
Samuel Peach -	528
Joſeph Sparkes -	855
John Smith -	797
George Tatem -	724

The Norriſian prize for 1781 was aſſigned to Mr. Joſ. Whiteley, of Magdalen College, Cambridge, for his Eſſay on the Advantages of Revelation.

16th. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, with their ladies, met at the Manſion-houſe, and from thence proceeded, attended by the Governors of the City Hoſpitals, City Marſhals, &c. to St. Bride's church, where an excellent ſermon was preached by the Right Rev. Dr. Roſs, Lord Biſhop of Exeter; after which, the report of the ſtate of the City Hoſpitals was read before the Governors.

In Chriſt's Hoſpital, 188 placed out, 10 whereof inſtructed in mathematics and navigation. Remain 1177; buried 13.

In St. Bartholomew's, 3942 cured. Out-patients relieved, 6054. In the Hoſpital, 382. Out-patients, 209. Buried 177.

St. Thomas's, 3249 cured. Out-patients relieved, 3861. In-patients remaining, 470. Out-patients, 263. Buried 259.

Bridewell. Admitted, 459. Maintained in Trades, 37.

Bethlehem. Admitted, 200. Cured, 179. Remain, 267. Buried, 20.

Paris, April 21. Monſieur de Monteille being on a cruize off Cape François, with a ſquadron of ſix ſail of the line and three frigates,

frigates, from Toulon, upon the 25th of February met with a moſt violent gale of wind, which commenced about eight P. M. and continued to blow very hard until the next day at five A. M. in which time the fleet ſuffered very much.

Liſt of the ſquadron, and the damages they have ſuſtained.

	Guns	
Le Palmier	74	(flag) loſt 36 guns
Le Victoire	74	loſt lower maſts
L'Intrepid	74	lo upon the rocks
Le Couton	64	no damage
Le Triton	64	ditto
Le Refleche	64	loſt her lower maſts
Le frigate Gentille	44	ſafe
L'Andromache	44	ditto
L'Atalante	38	ſunk by the Palmier, who ran foul of her.

Admiralty-Office, April 23, 1781.

Copy of a letter from Captain Patten, of his Majeſty's Ship Belle Poule, to Mr. Stephens, dated Leith Road, 18th inſtant.

I beg you will pleaſe to acquaint their lordſhips, that his Majeſty's ſhips Belle Poule and Berwick being near the entrance of the Firth of Edinburgh, on the 17th of April, at day-break, we fell in with, and after ſhort action took the Callonne privateer, of 32 guns, and 240 men, commanded by Luke Ryan. She had been but five days from Dunkirk, and had only taken and ranſomed one ſmall brig.

At the annual election for Preſident, Council, and Officers of the Society of Antiquaries, the following noblemen and gentlemen were choſen for the year enſuing:

Members of the Old Council continued:

Jeremiah Milles. D. D. F. R. S. Dean of Exeter, Preſident. The Honourable Daines Barrington, F. R. S V. P. Owen Saluſbury Brereton, Eſq. F. R. S. V. P. Edward Bridgen, Eſq. F. R. S. Sir William Chambers, Knt. P. S. F. R. S. Richard Gough, Eſq. F. R. S. Director. Edward King, Eſq. F. R. S. V. P. Michael Lort, D. D. F. R. S. V. P. Thomas Morell, D. D. Sec. William Norris, M. A. Sec. Daniel Wray, Eſq. F. R. S.

New Members of the Council:

George, Earl of Cheſterfield. John, Lord Biſhop of St. David's. Sir Henry Charles Engleſield, Bart. F. R. S. Richard Kaye, D. LL. F. R. S. John Munro, M. D. F R. S. Robert, Lord Petre Robert Richardſon, D. D. John Topham, Eſq. F. R. S. Sir Richard Worſley, Bart. F. R. S.

Officers;—Preſident, the Dean of Exeter. Treaſurer, Edward Bridgen, Eſq. Secretaries, the Rev. Mr. Norris, and the Rev. Dr. Morell. Director, Richard Gough, Eſq.

Navy-Office, April 30. By the returns from the Navy-office, preſented to the Houſe of Commons by Lord Liſburne, Jan. 23, 1781, it appears, that from Sept. 29, 1774, to September 29, 1780, there were raiſed for his Majeſty's ſea ſervice, including marines, 175,900 men, that of them in the five years, beginning with 1776, and ending with 1780, 18,545 died, 1243 were killed, and 42,069 deſerted. — Total 61,857. And by returns from the War-office, preſented by the ſecretary at war, it appears, that there were raiſed in Great Britain and Ireland for his Majeſty's land ſervice, militia and fencible men in North Britain not included, from Sept. 29, 1774,

to

to Sept. 29, 1780, 76,885 men, of which there have died in N. America and the Weſt-Indies 10.012; been taken priſoners, including thoſe under the convention of Saratoga, 8629; deſerted 3801; and been diſcharged the ſervice 3885. — Total 26,327. The Britiſh corps and recruits ſent to North America and the Weſt-Indies were, in 1778, 3774; in 1779, 6871; and in 1780, 10,237. — Total, 20,882.

"*Conſtantinople, April* 30. On the 23d inſtant, a fire broke out in the quarter of this city which is almoſt entirely inhabited by lawyers. It was ſo violent, that, notwithſtanding all poſſible aſſiſtance, it continued burning eleven hours; it is computed that 200 houſes were deſtroyed.

A fortnight ago the plague broke out again in this city; the hotel of the Venetian ambaſſador has been affected with it, one of whoſe domeſtics is dead. It is very probable that this terrible calamity was brought hither from Salonica, from whence we learn that it has made ſuch ravages there, that though two thirds of the inhabitants had left the place, it carries off upwards of 100 perſons daily."

Died, Lady Mary Carr, ſiſter of Lord Darlington, and wife of Mr. Carr of the Adelphi. Among other qualities, better and more valuable to her family and her friends, a diſtant acquaintance may be allowed to mark her memory, as a woman of a diſtinguiſhed taſte; it was her ladyſhip who directed the laying out of much of the ground, at Mr. Carr's fine place, at Cocken. Cocken is a cultivated ground on the Wier, three miles beyond Durham; it is by many thought a rival to what was Mr. Morris's ground at Chepſtow; the ſtyle of the country is at both places much the ſame, very bold inequalities, woods, and rocks; the river Wier, on which Cocken is ſituated, is at the ſouth rock very finely ſmooth, at the north rock the current is as finely rough, ſo far producing a harmony of the compleateſt kind, the other objects ornamenting the ſcene; but without the incloſure, are Durham cathedral, the ruin of the abbey, belonging to Dr. Kaye, prebend of Durham, the ſpire at Cheſter le Street, and Lumley Caſtle; the whole forming many enchanting ſcenes, yielding both in beauty and ſublimity to none but Piercefield.

At his houſe at Kennington, in his 72d year, Sir Joſeph Ayloffe, Bart. of Cranfield, Suſſex, V. P. A. S. and F. R. S. He was deſcended from a Saxon family antiently ſeated at Bocton Alof near Wye, co. Kent, in the reign of Hen. III. who removed to Hornchurch, co. Eſſex, in that of Hen. VI. and to Sudbury in that of Edw. IV. Sir Wm. Ayloffe of Great Braxted, co. Eſſex, was knighted by James I. and afterwards created a baronet 1612; and from his eldeſt ſon by his 3d wife, the late baronet was the fourth in deſcent and fifth in title. His father and grandfather were both of Gray's-Inn. He was born about the year 1708, admitted of Lincoln's-Inn, 1724, and of St. John's Coll. Oxf. elected F. A. S. Feb. 10, 1731, one of the firſt council under their charter 1751, vice preſident 17 , F.R.S. 17 . In 1748, he prompted Mr. Kirby, painter

painter in Ipſwich, to make drawings of a great number of monuments and buildings in Suffolk, of which 12 were engraved, with a deſcription, 1748, and more remained in his patron's hands. On the building of Weſtminſter-bridge he was appointed ſecretary to the commiſſioners 1736-7; auditor general of the hoſpitals of Bridewell and Bethlem 1750; and on the eſtabliſhment of the Paper-Office on the reſpectable footing it at preſent is, by the removal of the ſtate papers from the old gate at Whitehall to new apartments at the Treaſury, he was nominated one of the three keepers of them; and 1772 publiſhed in 4to. "Calendars of the Antient Charters, &c. and of the Welch and Scotiſh Rolls now remaining in the Tower of London, &c." with a judicious and learned account of our public records, by way of introduction. He drew up the account of the chapel on London bridge, of which an engraving was publiſhed by Vertue 1748, and again by the Society of Antiquaries 1777. His hiſtorical deſcription of the interview between Hen. VIII. and Fra. I. on the Champ de Drap d'Or, from an original painting at Windſor, and his account of the paintings of the ſame age at Cowdry, were inſerted in the Archæol. vol. iii. 1775, and printed ſeparately to accompany engravings of two of theſe pictures by the Society of Antiquaries. His account of the body of Edw. I. as it appeared on opening his tomb, 1774, was printed in the ſame volume, p. 376. His intimate acquaintance with every part of Weſtminſter-abbey and city diſplayed itſelf in his accurate deſcription of five monuments in the former, engraved by the ſame ſociety, who muſt reckon, among the many obligations which they owe to his zeal and attention to their intereſts, the laſt exertions of his life to put their affairs on the moſt reſpectable and advantageous footing, on their removal to their new apartments in Somerſet-houſe. He ſuperintended the new edition of Leland's Collectanea, in 9 vols. 1770, and of the Liber Niger Scaccarii, in 2 vols. 8vo. 1771; to both which he added a valuable appendix; to the latter the charter of Kingſton on Thames, of which his father was recorder. His extenſive knowledge of our national antiquities and municipal rights, and the agreeable manner in which he communicated it to his friends and the public, muſt make him ſincerely regretted by all who had the pleaſure of his acquaintance. He married Margaret, daughter and ſole heireſs of Tho. Railton, Eſq. of Carliſle, by whom he had one ſon of his own name, who died at the age of 21, Dec. 19, 1756.

MAY.

1ſt. Was holden, at Sion College, the anniverſary meeting of the London clergy, when a Latin ſermon was preached in St. Alphage Church, by their preſident, the Rev. James Waller, D. D. After which the following gentlemen were elected officers for the year enſuing: the Rev. John Douglas, D. D. preſident; Peter Whalley, LL. B. and William Romaine, M. A. deans; Thomas Weales, D. D. Samuel Carr, M. A. George Stinton,

Stinton, D.D. and Henry Whitfield, D.D. aſſiſtants.

Dublin, April 24. Yeſterday being quarter-day of the guild of merchants, the ſubject, which has lately engaged the public attention, of Portugal's refuſing the entry and ſale of Iriſh manufactures, received a full inveſtigation. In the courſe of a long debate, after many able ſpeakers had expatiated upon the ſchemes of ſome perſons in England, to render the boaſted grant of a free trade to Ireland a mere nullity, and that the Court of Portugal had adopted this injurious partiality of refuſing our munufactures through their artifice, it was on the other hand clearly evinced, that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and the Right Hon. Mr. Eden had taken, on the earlieſt information, the moſt active part to obtain an immediate remedy. This having fully appeared from two letters of Mr. Eden, and from other authorities, and that there was a great probability of their endeavours being crowned with the wiſhed-for ſucceſs, it was reſolved, that the thanks of the guild ſhould be preſented to his Excellency the Earl of Carliſle, and to the Right Hon. Mr. Eden, for their warm and earneſt exertions in favour of the commercial intereſts of Ireland.

Trieſte, May 4. There is a plan here on foot to build about thirty veſſels againſt the next ſpring, in order to carry on a trade with all nations, and with the belligerent powers under the Auſtrian flag; great advantages are expected from this trade.

8th. Yeſterday the Court of Exchequer gave judgment in the cauſe, wherein Meſſrs. Eyre and Strahan, his majeſty's printers, were plaintiffs, and Mr. Carnan, bookſeller, was defendant. The bill was brought againſt Mr. Carnan, for printing the Form of Prayer appointed to be uſed on the General Faſt day, when the excluſive right of his majeſty's printers to print the ſaid Form of Prayer was fully eſtabliſhed, and a decree given in their favour with coſts.

Naples, May 8. Mount Veſuvius has been very quiet for a long time, but the mountain called Somma, not very far from the former, opened laſt month, and the lava runs very violently. No one ſuſpected this mountain to contain ſo much combuſtible matter, nor has any lava iſſued from it before during the memory of man.

St. James's. This day, after the levee, Dr. Brownlow North, Biſhop of Worceſter, kiſſed his majeſty's hand, on being tranſlated from that ſee to the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter. As did Dr. Hurd, Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry, on his tranſlation to the ſee of Worceſter. 9th.

Yeſterday was held the anniverſary meeting of the Sons of the Clergy; at which were preſent the right honourable the lord mayor; his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſident, the right honourable the lord chancellor, Sir John Skynner, vice-preſident, his Grace the Archbiſhop of York, his Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland, the Marquis of Carmarthen, the Earl of Hillſborough, their lordſhips the Biſhops of Rocheſter, Bath and Wells, Lichfield and Coventry, Bangor, Cheſter, Lincoln and 19th.

St. David's; Lord Coleraine; Aldermen Plomer, Clarke, Woolridge, Pugh, and Kitchin; Sheriff's Sainsbury and Chrichton; the Deans of Durham and Windsor, Sir Thomas Egerton, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Philip Yorke, Esq; with many of the clergy and gentry. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Markham, Rector of St. Mary, White-chapel, from Jeremiah xlix. 11. 'Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive, and let thy widows trust in me.'

	l.	s.	d.
Collection at St. Paul's on Tuesday the 15th inst. — —	200	5	6
Ditto, on Thursday the 17th — —	261	13	6
Ditto, at Merchant Taylors-hall — —	567	2	4
Total	1029	1	4

A donation of fifty pounds, by the late Anne Fox, and a further sum of 24l. 7s. 10d. being the half year's dividend on the sum of 1626l. 4s. 9d. in the three per cent consol. bank annuities, purchased with the legacy of the late Margaret Dongworth, made a part of the collection at the hall.

21st. A general court of proprietors was held at the East-India House in Leadenhall-street, in order to take into consideration the propositions submitted by the directors for the basis of an agreement between government and the company, when some new matter was started that will require very serious discussion. It arose from words in the first proposition, that all the company's present chartered privileges shall be preserved entire, so far as is consistent with the rights of the crown *and legislature*. It was proposed to leave these last words out; and Mr. Rous was called upon for his opinion, who made no scruple to declare that the rights of the legislature were *novel rights*. That the rights of the crown were distinct; and so were those of the company derived from, and dependent on, those of the crown; but he ventured to give a decided opinion that the law and constitution knew of no rights of the legislature independent of the known privileges of parliament, which had nothing to do in the present case. The words therefore *and legislature* were struck out.

Lord North (the whole house being in a committee) moved, that the propositions of the general court of East-India proprietors be laid before the committee; as follows:

"That all the East-India company's present charter rights be preserved to them entire, so far as is consistent with the rights of the crown: that their exclusive trade be prolonged for 10 years from March 1, besides the three years' notice to be given according to the act of Geo. II. and that, in order to the utmost of their power to alleviate the public burthen, the directors are impowered to pay into the Exchequer 600,000l. on condition of receiving in return bills on his majesty's Exchequer, which, in case of any unexpected exigencies on the part of the company, the commissioners of customs and excise should receive as cash for the company's accruing duties; such bills not to bear interest, or to be brought to market like other bills.

His

His lordſhip roſe and declared his diſapprobation of the ſaid propoſitions, moving the following reſolution at the ſame time:

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that three-fourths of the ſurplus of the net profits of the Eaſt-India Company, ever ſince the company's bond debt was reduced to 1,500,000l. and the company's dividends have been 8 per cent. per ann. belong to the public, and that 600,000l. in lieu thereof be paid into his majeſty's Exchequer by inſtalments at ſuch times as ſhall be agreed upon." This produced a warm debate, but was finally carried in favour of Lord North.

A cauſe came on to be tried before Lord Mansfield, in which Mr. Wilſon was plaintiff, and Dr. Myerſbatch *(the late water Doctor)* was defendant, for the recovery of 200l. for a bill of exchange returned from Germany. The Dr. ſo long ago as 1779, drew a bill to his own order on a perſon in an obſcure place near Hamborough. This bill was returned proteſted; and the defendant, being then abroad, could not be come at till laſt ſummer, when the action was brought. He ſet up a two-fold defence; one, that he had no value for the bill; the other, that he had failed to give notice of non-payment in due time, and therefore had made the bill his own. But both pleas failing, the jury gave a verdict for the whole ſum, with intereſt and coſts of ſuit.

The felons and deſerters confined in the Savoy Priſon attempted an eſcape, by undermining and breaking through the wall; but being diſcovered, two rank and file were ſtationed in the priſon to prevent the like attempt for the future. Theſe the villains ſecured, made themſelves maſters of their arms, and made a deſperate attempt to force the guard, who were obliged to fire among the aſſailants, three of whom were killed, and nine wounded.

Yeſterday there was a general court of the proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock at their houſe in Leadenhall-ſtreet, purſuant to adjournment, for the final determination by ballot of the following queſtion, viz. 24th.

"That this court doth approve of the propoſitions read and amended at a general court held on Monday the 21ſt, to be offered to government as the baſis of an agreement for the prolongation of the company's excluſive trade."

For the queſtion - 256
Againſt it - - 32

DIED, at Whitbeck, near Whitehaven, Rich. Harriſon, well known by the name of Tea-kettle Harriſon, many years a guide over the Sands; the ſame day died alſo his wife, and his daughter-in-law; and the next day his ſon alſo departed this life.

At Snitterfield, Warwickſhire, the Rev. Rich. Jago, M.A. Vicar of that place, and Rector of Kimcote Leiceſterſhire. Mr. Jago was author of "Edge Hill," a poem, 1767, 4to.; of "The Blackbirds," a beautiful elegy in the Adventurer (ſee Dr. Johnſon's Life of Weſt); and of many other ingenious performances. He was the intimate friend and correſpondent of Mr. Shenſtone, contemporary with him at Oxford, and it is believed his ſchool-fellow. He wrote "Labour and Genius," a

poem, 4to. 1768; took the degree of M.A. July 9, 1738; was of Univerſity College; was the author of ſeveral poems in the 4th and 5th volumes of Dodſley's Poems; and publiſhed a ſermon, in 1755, on the Cauſes of Impenitence conſidered, preached May 4, 1755, at Harbury in Warwickſhire, where he was then vicar, on occaſion of a converſation ſaid to have paſſed between one of the inhabitants and an apparition in the church-yard there.

At *Dublin*, in the 66th year of his age, the Right Hon. William Croſbie, Earl of Glandore, Viſ. Croſbie, of Ardert, and Baron of Branden, one of his majeſty's moſt hon. privy council of Ireland. In Nov. 1745, he married Lady Theodoſia Bligh, ſiſter of the preſent Earl of Darnley, and by her, who died in May 1777, he has left iſſue one ſon and three daughters. His lordſhip married ſecondly the relict of——Ward, Eſq; by whom he had no iſſue.

JUNE.

1ſt. On Wedneſday a general court was held at the Bank of England, when the proprietors were informed, that government had agreed to renew the charter of the governor and company of the bank of England (which will expire anno 1785) for 25 years, on condition that the bank advances to government 2,000,000l. at the intereſt of three per cent. per ann. to be paid off within three years out of the ſinking fund.

4th. Saturday 19 priſoners were tried at the Old-Bailey, one of whom was capitally convicted, viz. Alicia Hamilton, for ſtealing four ſilver watches, a metal watch, and a coffee-pot plated with ſilver, the property of Mr. Ward, in his houſe in Hyde-ſtreet, Bloomſbury. John Macneal and William Ridgely, were tried for ſtealing from an auction-room, lace to the value of 2000l. they were convicted and ſentenced to the ballaſt-lighters. Three other priſoners were convicted of grand larceny, and the remainder acquitted.

The ſeſſion being ended, the recorder paſſed ſentence of death on 14 capital convicts.

The ſeſſion of the peace is adjourned to the 14th curt. and the ſeſſion of gaol delivery to the 11th of July next, at the Old-Bailey.

Paris, June 5. All the ſhips taken belonging to Commodore Hotham's fleet, are, by order of that court, come into Breſt to be ſold, and a great number of purchaſers are already arrived there. They have all been condemned as good prizes except one, which will be reſtored. It had been taken by an Engliſh privateer, who had put it under the protection of the eſcort of the St. Euſtatia fleet. The States of Holland have reclaimed nothing on this occaſion, though the contrary appears in ſeveral Dutch Gazettes; ſome claims have, indeed, been made by bankers, and a few other particulars, whoſe pretenſions have not been admitted by the council of prizes. They have appealed to the council of ſtate, who will finally ſettle the diſpute in a few days.

Copy of the Sentence of a General Court-Martial, upon the Trial of Lieutenant-Governor Corbet.

"The court having duly 6th. conſidered and weighed the evidence

evidence given in ſupport of a charge againſt the priſoner, Lieutenant-governor Moſes Corbett, with that produced by him in his defence, is of opinion, that he, the ſaid Moſes Corbett, is guilty of the whole charge exhibited againſt him, and doth adjudge, that he be therefore ſuperſeded in his commiſſion of lieutenant-governor of the iſland of Jerſey."

8th. Laſt week, a court-martial was held at Sheerneſs, on the captains of the Ariadne, Fury ſloop, and London armed ſhip, on a charge of not bearing down and engaging three French privateers which they fell in with laſt ſummer, and which, in conſequence, eſcaped. Capt. Squires, of the Ariadne, was honourably acquitted; but Captain Agnew of the Fury, and Capt. Rains of the London, were ſentenced to be broke.

9th. A melancholy accident happened at Liverpool. The eldeſt ſon of the Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick, about nine years old, died, convulſed, in conſequence of eating a conſiderable quantity of the roots of hemlock-dropwort, miſtaking them for the earth-nut, the flowers having ſome reſemblance. He, with four other boys of the neighbourhood, had collected a number of theſe roots in the fields adjoining to the Leeds canal, of which they had each eat ſome, and were affected, in proportion to the quantity taken, with giddineſs and heavineſs. One of them was, beſides, ſeized with twitchings for ſome hours; but he, as well as the others, having been made to vomit, recovered. Though emetics were given in large quantities to the youth who died, yet the ſtomach partook ſo much of the general inſenſibility, that theſe produced not the leaſt effect, and, in ſpite of all that could be done to ſave him, he died in about four hours. So fatally certain is the effect of the poiſons of this claſs, whoſe immediate action is to deſtroy the power of the ſtomach to expel them, by which means only the miſchief can be put a ſtop to;—whereas many mineral-poiſons may be decompoſed by an alcali (as pot-aſh), and even the danger from drinking ſpirits may be greatly leſſened, by conveying into the ſtomach large quantities of water to dilute them, after the power of vomiting, as well as of ſwallowing, is loſt. [*See, on this ſubject, our vol. for laſt year; and, in the London Medical Journal, July, 1781, a more particular account of this accident given by Dr. Houlſton of that place.*]

Oſtend, June 11. The evening of the 15th inſt. the whole city was illuminated, on account of the publication of the placart, by which his imperial majeſty declares this to be a free port.

13th. Captain Moutray, of the Ramillies, was tried by a court-martial, held on board one of the king's ſhips on the Jamaica ſtation juſt before the departure of that fleet; by which circumſtance they were delayed from ſailing for ſeveral days. After enquiring into all the particulars of the unfortunate capture of the large and valuable outward-bound fleet under his convoy, he was, by the ſentence of the court, ſuſpended.

Bruſſels, June 14. The emperor arrived here about 11 o'clock on Thurſday night, and ſince that

time has been almoſt continually employed in attending to the petitions and requeſts of his people. On Friday he ſaw only two or three of the principal miniſters. On Saturday he received the public bodies, and yeſterday and this day he has given audience to every one who demanded it. It is not merely the rich and the noble who find admittance to the imperial preſence; the poor of every denomination are received with equal grace and favour; every claimant has the privilege of telling his own ſtory in his own way to the father of his people, who receives them all unattended by a ſingle perſon, and lays aſide every form which might awe the modeſt and the humble from making their wants or diſtreſſes known to him.

15th. *India Houſe.* Yeſterday a general court of proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock, was held at their houſe in Leadenhall-ſtreet, to determine by ballot the following queſtion, viz. "That this court doth approve the report of the committee appointed by the general court on the 10th of April laſt, to enquire into the chartered rights of the company laid before the general court, on Thurſday the 7th curt. and that the petition therein mentioned be fairly tranſcribed, and ſealed with the company's ſeal, and preſented to the Houſe of Commons." The balloting cloſed at ſix o'clock, and at ſeven the ſcrutineers made the following report:

For the queſtion	258
Againſt it —	127

According to government accounts, the number of priſoners exchanged by cartel with France ſince the commencement of the preſent war, is 44,000, and upwards.

Hanover, June 15. Since the return of Lieutenant-general Faucitt from London, we are raiſing two new regiments of 1000 men each, for the ſervice of Great Britain.

Copenhagen, June 16. On the 7th of this month the chamberlain Beringſchiold was conducted to the citadel under a ſtrong guard, aud confined where the unfortunate Count Brandt was; and it is ſaid three or four other rooms are preparing for different priſoners of ſtate. As to the crime of this gentleman it is not publicly known, but it is ſaid by ſome that he held an illicit correſpondence with the court of Stockholm; whilſt others aſſert, that he endeavoured to render the preſent miniſtry odious in the eyes of the peaſants, in order to foment a ſedition among them.

Admiralty office, June 19, 1781. *Extract of a Letter from Captain* Fanſhaw, *of the Egmont, to Mr.* Stephens, *dated at Sea, the* 31ſt *of laſt Month.*

In the courſe of our voyage from Jamaica, the Endymion took the French ſhip Le Marquis de la Fayette, ——— Galletha, commander, 1200 tons, mounting 40 guns (pierced for 60), 200 men, laden with arms and cloathing on account of the American Congreſs, and bound to Philadelphia, after a handſome running action of about two hours.

16th. Yeſterday a court of common council was held at Guildhall, at which were preſent the lord mayor, four aldermen, the two ſheriffs, Mr. Recorder,

corder, and a great number of commoners.

Mr. Merry moved, that the adjourned motion of the laſt court, 'That the reſolution of the 2d of October, 1780, for the chamberlain not to pay the then lord mayor any more than the ſum of 3521. 19s. as the balance due to him of the city's ample allowance for the expences of his mayoralty, be reſcinded,' be now agreed to. After a very long debate, in which the old arguments were recapitulated on both ſides, the queſtion was withdrawn; and another motion made, 'That 1000l. be paid Brackley Kennet, Eſq; in lieu of all demands he may have on this city on account of his mayoralty;' which was agreed to.

Florence, June 23. Several ſevere ſhocks of an earthquake have for ſome weeks paſt done great miſchief in many parts of the pope's ſtate, particularly in the province of Umbria; the city of Cagli was totally thrown down, and many people were buried in the ruins. It extended on the other part to San Sepolchro, a Town in Tuſcany, where, and in the neighbourhood, it cauſed great damage. In the laſt week the great duke ſent a conſiderable ſum to the relief of the inhabitants, who had fled into the country, and ſtill live in wooden huts.

26th. Yeſterday the Rev. Mr. Bate, editor of a morning paper, ſurrendered himſelf in the Court of King's-bench, to receive judgment for the inſertion of a libel in his paper againſt the Duke of Richmond. Mr. Lee and Mr Peckham ſeverally ſpoke to the enormity of the offence. Mr. Bearcroft ſpoke in extenuation for the defendant. Mr. Juſtice Willes pronounced the judgment. He ſaid, that a gentleman of the defendant's function to employ himſelf in penning paragraphs againſt the moſt amiable perſons in this country was very improper. The defendant was ſentenced to be in the cuſtody of the Marſhal of the King's-bench priſon one year.

Bologna, June 29. We ſtill continue to feel ſhocks of earthquakes; at St. Donat Della Carda, the curate and 113 people were cruſhed, and all the houſes in the neighbouring villages deſtroyed; ſeveral thouſand perſons are ſaid to have periſhed by thoſe ſad diſaſters, and for miles together nothing but ruins are to be ſeen.

DIED, Suddenly, at Briſtol Hot Wells, Lady Miller, author of "Letters from Italy, by an Engliſhwoman," and of other more glorious works of charity, humanity, and goodneſs, which will remain more durable monuments of her virtues, and of her loſs. Her ladyſhip died about the middle period of life, in her chair, and without a groan. The wealthy and the indigent will have equal cauſe of regret; for ſhe did not ſtudy to enlarge and multiply the elegant entertainments of the former, with more aſſiduity than ſhe ſought occaſion to adminiſter to the comforts of the latter. Of this thouſands who have viſited her villa, near Bath, or who reſide near its vicinity, can witneſs. Her merits excited ſome envy, but her heart retained not the ſenſe of injuries, and ſhe was not more eaſy of acceſs, than of conciliation. Few perſons in the county of So-

merſet could be leſs ſpared, by the ſons of riches or poverty, to an early tomb; nor will any be more ſincerely lamented by both.

JULY.

4th. Yeſterday Mr. Attorney-general moved the court to paſs ſentence upon the late printer of the London Courant, on the late printer of the Noon Gazette, on the publiſher of the Morning Herald, and on the printer of the Gazeteer, for having publiſhed a libel againſt the Ruſſian ambaſſador. Mr. Attorney expatiated upon the enormity of the libel, and urged the court to paſs ſuch a ſentence as would prevent the further abuſe of the liberty of the preſs.

After hearing affidavits of the different priſoners, the court were pleaſed to order, that the original publiſher of the paragraph in queſtion ſhould be fined one hundred pounds, impriſoned for a year, and at the expiration of his confinement be ſet on the pillory for one hour. The Noon Gazette printer, for having copied the paragraph, was ſentenced to pay a fine of 100l. and a year's impriſonment; and, as he had alſo publiſhed a paragraph next day, juſtifying what he had done, he was for this ſecond offence ordered an additional ſix months impriſonment, and to ſtand on the pillory. The Morning Herald publiſher was ordered to pay a fine of 100l. and to be impriſoned a year; and the printer of the Gazetteer (being a female) was ſentenced to pay 50l. and to be impriſoned ſix months.

5th. Yeſterday Mr. Wheildon, publiſher of the Whitehall Evening Poſt, and Mr. Ayres, printer of the Middleſex Journal, were ordered to attend in the Court of King's-bench, for the publication of a libel againſt the Ruſſian ambaſſador, and were each ſentenced to pay a fine of 100l. and ſuffer a year's impriſonment.

11th. The ſeſſions began at the Old-Bailey, when 22 priſoners were tried, ſeven of whom were capitally convicted, nine were convicted of felony, one of petit larceny, and five were acquitted.

14th. This morning came on before Judge Willes, at the Old-Bailey, the trial of Mr. de la Motte for high-treaſon. Mr. Lutterloh, the chief evidence againſt the priſoner, ſwore, that he had been employed by M. de la Motte to procure for the French miniſtry the moſt authentic intelligence reſpecting our naval operations, at 50 guineas per month. A number of papers found in Mr. Lutterloh's garden were produced, and proved to be his hand-writing, giving an exact detail of the ſtate of our docks, the ſailing of our fleets, the number of men on board each ſhip, and other uſeful information, which had been obtained through the means of a clerk in one of the public offices in the naval department. Among other circumſtances contained in theſe papers, was an account of Governor Johnſtone's intended operations. The trial laſted 13 hours, when the jury, after a ſhort deliberation, pronounced the priſoner Guilty, when ſentence was immediately paſſed upon him, 'To be hanged by the neck, but not till dead; then to be cut down, and his bowels taken out and burnt before

before his face, his head to be taken off, his body cut into four quarters, and to be at his majeſty's diſpoſal.' The priſoner received the awful doom with great compoſure, but inveighed againſt Mr. Lutterloh in warm terms.

It is ſaid that in the laſt war, he was colonel of the regiment of Soubiſe, and behaved on ſeveral occaſions with gallantry. Upon the concluſion of the war his regiment was broke; ſoon after which the title of Baron Deckham, with an hereditary eſtate, devolved to him. Having lived beyond the limits of his fortune, he retired to England ſome few years ſince, where he has continued to reſide till the commiſſion of that act which he is to expiate by the forfeit of his life.

His behaviour throughout the whole of this trying ſcene, exhibited a combination of manlineſs, ſteadineſs, and preſence of mind. He appeared at the ſame time polite, condeſcending, and unaffected, and, we preſume, could never have ſtood ſo firm and collected, at ſo aweful a moment, if, while he felt himſelf juſtly convicted as a traitor to the ſtate which gave him protection, he had not however miſtakenly felt a conſcious innocence within his own breaſt, that he had devoted his life to the ſervice of his country.

The Sheriffs of London and Middleſex having received M. de la Motte, on Friday morning, from the Lieutenant of the Tower, and being deſirous that he ſhould have every poſſible comfort, took upon themſelves to confine him, on Friday, in New-priſon, Clerkenwell, where he had a very commodious apartment, and was attended by one of the under ſheriffs, who ſat up in his bed-chamber all the night, and who brought him from thence on Saturday morning to the bar. They alſo applied on Friday, by letter, to Lord Stormont, reſpecting the place of his confinement, in caſe of conviction, repreſenting to his lordſhip, that in the preſent ruinous ſtate of Newgate, there was no apartment of ſafe cuſtody in that jail, except the cells, already over-crowded with capital convicts, and that the other priſons in the county were not properly ſubject to the control of the ſheriffs; humbly ſubmitting to his lordſhip, whether it might not be proper, in caſe the priſoner ſhould be convicted, to order him to be re-committed to the Tower. His lordſhip, in a few hours, returned an anſwer, by letter, to the ſheriffs, ſignifying to them his majeſty's pleaſure (in conſequence of their repreſentation) that Monſ. de la Motte, if convicted, ſhould be remanded to the Tower, and deſiring that they would give immediate notice to one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate of his conviction, if it ſhould ſo happen, that the neceſſary directions might be given to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to receive him back from the ſheriffs, into his cuſtody. In conſequence of this, as ſoon as ſentence was pronounced, the ſheriffs diſpatched one of their under ſheriffs to the ſecretary of ſtate's office, who, in little more than an hour, brought back an order from Lord Hillſborough, in Lord Stormont's abſence, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to which place M. de la Motte was conveyed at twelve o'clock at night, by Mr. Sheriff Chrichton, accompanied by Sir Stanier Porten, one of the under ſecretaries of ſtate, who having

ing been an evidence on the trial, was neceſſarily attending all day at the Old-bailey, and, at the requeſt of the ſheriff, was ſo obliging as to accompany him to the Tower, to remove any difficulties that might ariſe concerning the receiving of the priſoner at that late hour of the night. Mr. De la Motte was in another coach, attended by Mr. Akerman, who ſays, that he never in his life ſaw a man in his ſituation with more becoming firmneſs and fortitude; and that he only expreſſed the ſame wiſh to him as he had to the ſheriffs, that his diſſolution might be immediate, by ſtriking off his head, if his majeſty would graciouſly grant him that indulgence. After waiting about a quarter of an hour, till the neceſſary directions could be obtained for opening the gates, Mr. Sheriff Chrichton delivered over, and took leave of the priſoner, who expreſſed in the warmeſt terms, his moſt grateful acknowledgment to Mr. Sheriff Sainſbury and him, for their polite attention to him while in their cuſtody; and particularly for the trouble they had taken in obtaining an order for his being ſent back to the Tower.

Bruſſels, July 17. On Tueſday laſt, the 10th inſt. their Royal Highneſſes the Archduchеſs and Duke Albert of Saxe Teſchen made their firſt public entry into this capital, to take upon them the government of the Auſtrian Netherlands. Since the arrival of their royal highneſſes at Bruſſels, the nobility, and other inhabitants of the place, have uſed their utmoſt endeavours to manifeſt their unfeigned joy and attachment; and the whole city was illuminated during three ſucceſſive evenings.

The Eaſt-India company have received advices of the 19th. ſafe arrival of the following ſhips, which ſailed in June, 1780, at the ſeveral places of their deſtination, viz, Pigot, Captain Morgan; Earl of Mansfield, Capt. Fraſer; Glatton, Captain Clements; Lord Holland, Capt. Williams; and Vanſittart, Captain Young, at China: Dartmouth, Capt. Thompſon; Neptune, Capt. Scott; Belmont, Capt. Gamage; Groſvenor, Captain Coxon; and Rochford, Capt. James Todd, at Coaſt of Bay; and Royal Admiral, Hoddart, at Bombay.

Portſmouth, July 21. Yeſterday ſailed with a fair wind the following ſhips:

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Britannia	100	Admiral Darby Capt. Bradley
Royal George	100	Admiral Roſs Capt. Bourmaſter
Victory	100	Howarth
Duke	98	Sir C. Douglas
Queen	98	Maitland
Formidable	98	Cleland
Namur	90	Sawyer
Ocean	90	Ourry
Union	90	Dalrymple
Foudroyant	80	Jarvis
Alexander	74	Lord Longford
Courageux	74	Lord Mulgrave
Cumberland	74	Peyton
Edgar	74	Elliott
Valiant	74	Goodall
Defence	74	Cranſton
Inflexible	64	Cotton
Repulſe	64	Sir Digby Dent
Emerald	32	Marſhall
Ambuſcade	32	Conway
Alarm	32	Cotton
Crocodile	24	King
Narciſſus	24	Edwards
Zebra	16	Bourchier
Harpy Furnace Firebrand Lightning		Fireſhips.

31ſt. The

31ſt. The lateſt letters from Turky adviſe, that the plague has broke out both at Smyrna and Cairo.

DIED, in Cumberland, Tho. Wintrop, a farmer. Though not quite 80 years of age, he was followed to the grave by 27 children, 74 grand-children, and 13 great-grand-children; he had been three times married; to his firſt wife before he was 17.

In the county of Tipperary in Ireland, Mrs. Mathew; whoſe funeral exceeded any thing of the kind ever ſeen in that kingdom. Beſides the different corps of Mr. Mathew's volunteers, who came upwards of 20 miles to meet the body, and to pay the laſt honour ſo juſtly due to the reſpected wife of their eſteemed commander, all the nobility and gentry of the county and its neighbourhood ſeemed to vie with each other in their expreſſions of ſorrow. The aged, the young, and infant tears were ſhed for the death of this beauteous, worthy, and accompliſhed woman. Nor was this tribute more than juſtly due to ſo much virtue and exalted merit. One hundred and fifty mourning coaches, fifty-four of which were drawn by ſix horſes, with a great number of ſervants, were ſent by them to join the funeral proceſſion; and when it arrived within a few miles of the place of interment, every thing was arranged in melancholy ſtate and funeral order. His Grace the Archbiſhop of Caſhel, dreſſed in his full pontificals, with his mitre on his head, accompanied by a long train of his dioceſan clergy, appeared, and joined the ſolemn march, as did alſo the titular or Popiſh Archbiſhop, with his clergy, together with the greateſt tenantry in Ireland; alſo one hundred and twenty domeſtics dreſſed in black, and a numerous train of old men and women in deep mourning, penſioners, who were cloathed and fed by the humane hand of this charitable woman; and almoſt all the inhabitants of the country round. The place of interment of that antient and reſpectable family is in the centre of Thomaſtown-park (the greateſt and moſt princely demeſne in this kingdom), embowered in a wood, in the cemetery of a ruined monaſtery; to this there is no road; but the peaſantry of the place, unſolicited, and of their own free motion, ſince the death of their much-loved and lamented miſtreſs, gravelled a road through the park, of ſome miles in length to it, and over the ſacred ſpot, where her remains were to be depoſited, erected with pious hands a rude though handſome mauſoleum. The proceſſion, which extended near five miles, being arrived here, his grace the archbiſhop performed the funeral ſervice, whoſe diſtreſs was ſo viſible, and whoſe feelings were ſo nicely expreſſed, with the circumſtances of the place, the number, and the unfeigned ſorrow of thoſe who aſſiſted, added an awful dignity to this grand and mournful ſcene. Eight noblemen bore the pall on this occaſion. The family diſſenſions, which for a century have divided the great people of the country, ſeemed to be buried with the body, and is an happy preſage of ſucceeding days of peace and harmony.

AUGUST.

AUGUST.

1ſt. Lieut. Macdougall, of his majeſty's cutter Flying Fiſh, captured off Whitby the Maro Deur privateer, of 14 ſix and four pounders, and 74 men, belonging to Dunkirk, with the loſs of one man killed and nine wounded. The enemy had four killed and ten wounded. The Flying Fiſh mounts 12 carriage guns and 64 men.

Mentz, Aug. 6. Our elector has obtained the pope's permiſſion to aboliſh two of the richeſt convents in this city, and the bull, permitting the ſaid ſuppreſſion, contains a remarkable exhortation to the Catholic princes, that they will as much as in their power prevent the Proteſtants from availing themſelves of the abolition of religious houſes in favour of their ſchiſm.

Fortitude, at ſea, Aug. 7, 1781. The admiral deſires the captains of his majeſty's ſhips who were in the line on the * 5th to accept and communicate to the officers and ſeamen of the ſhips they commanded, his thanks and perfect approbation of their good conduct and bravery ſhown on that day.

H. PARKER.

10th. On Thurſday came on before the lord chancellor, at Lincoln's-inn-hall, the hearing of a petition from a young gentleman, entitled, when of age, to an eſtate of 600l. a year, beſides conſiderable perſonal effects, complaining of a perſon having cut down timber upon the eſtate to the value of 800l. and requeſting his lordſhip to order the payment of this money into the Court of Chancery. The ſolicitor-general made ſome remarks on the conduct of the perſon. Mr. Price, on the part of the perſon, ſaid he hoped his lordſhip would permit his client to deduct about 400l. which he had expended in the education of the young gentleman, and alſo ſtood engaged by contract for further ſums to his ſchoolmaſter: but the lord chancellor ſaid, No: the preſent application was confined only to the 800l. and every ſhilling of that money his lordſhip ordered into court.

Whitehall. Letters were this day received from Peter Cheſter, eſq; late governor of Weſt Florida, giving an account of the ſurrender of that province to the arms of Spain. That the garriſon was obliged to capitulate on the 8th of May, and the articles were ſigned on the 9th, by which the Britiſh troops, &c. were allowed to march out with the honours of war, to be conducted to one of the ports belonging to Great Britain, the port of St. Auguſtine and the iſland of Jamaica only excepted; and not to ſerve againſt Spain or her allies until properly exchanged.

Hague, Sept. 14. The Prince Stadtholder returned yeſterday from the Texel to the *Maiſon de Bois* at two o'clock in the morning. We have learned the following particulars reſpecting his voyage, which are too intereſting to be paſſed over in ſilence. His ſerene highneſs was accompanied by his chamberlains Baron de Kell, and the Comte de Heiden, and General Stockten. He was received at the

* In the action with the Dutch off the Dogger Bank.

Helder

Helder on the 8th, by the Baron de Boetzelaer, deputy from the body of the nobles of the province of Holland to the admiralty at Amſterdam, and by Mr. Boreel, advocate-fiſcal, to the admiralty, and the principal naval officers who were at anchor in the Texel. The prince entered a ſloop with Admiral Hartſink, and ſailed for the man of war L'Admiral General, where he held a council of war, the iſſue of which was, to give orders for diſpatching the Ajax cutter, and Le Dauphin, to reconnoitre. Orders were alſo given for the Jaſon and La Bellone frigates, of 36 guns each, being ſtationed at the entrance of the harbour. On the 10th, the Ajax reported, having ſeen five Engliſh men of war, and a cutter; and they ſoon after came within view of the port, upon which Le Sud Baveland of 64 guns, was diſpatched to reinforce La Jaſon, and La Bellone. Towards evening, our ſhips and thoſe belonging to the Engliſh, being within ſight of each other, Rear-admiral Van Braam, to whom his ſerene highneſs had given the command of the fleet, gave the ſignal for weighing anchor; on the 11th the whole fleet ſet ſail, and was to be joined by the ſhips in the Vlie, with our merchantmen that were bound for the Baltic; and as the Meuſe diviſion had put to ſea on the 10th at ſix in the evening, it is probable that it is reinforced by this time, or at leaſt, that it ſoon will be.

17th. *St. James's.* The king and the Prince of Wales embarked at Greenwich in different yachts, and proceeding down the river, were ſaluted as they paſſed Woolwich Warren, by the ſhips in Long Reach, and by Tilbury and Graveſend forts, and about four in the afternoon anchored in Sea Reach.

18th. The yachts got under way at five in the morning and arrived at Blackſtakes about nine; went on ſhore, and viſited the dock-yard and new fortifications. About 12 they left the yard, and returned to the Nore, where they were ſaluted by Vice-admiral Parker and his ſquadron, who were that moment come to an anchor. The vice admiral had the honour of dining with his majeſty; and in the evening the king and the prince went on board the Fortitude, in which ſhip the admiral's flag was flying. The royal ſtandard was hoiſted, and the whole fleet ſaluted with 21 guns each. His majeſty ſoon after retired into the great cabin, where the captains and officers of the ſquadron were graciouſly received, and had the honour to kiſs his majeſty's hand. His majeſty and the prince, after viſiting the ſeveral parts of the ſhip, returned to their yachts, and ſailed for Chatham, where they arrived at nine next day.

28th. This day an expreſs arrived at the Admiralty from Admiral Darby, with an account of his ſafe arrival, with the following ſhips under his command, off Torbay, from a cruiſe.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Britannia	100	Vice Ad. Darby Capt. Bourmaſter
Royal George	100	Bradley
Victory	100	Howarth
Queen	98	Maitland
Duke	98	Sir C. Douglas
Formidable	98	Stanton
Namur	90	Sawyer
Ocean	90	Ourry

Union

Union	90	Dalrympie	
Foudroyant	80	Jervis	
Marlborough	74	Penny	
Courageux	74	Lord Mulgrave	
Valiant	74	Goodall	
Defence	74	Cranſton	
Cumberland	74	Peyton	
Arrogant	74	Corniſh	
Conqueror	74	Balfour	
Alexander	74	Lord Longford	
Hercules	74	Briſbane	
Edgar	74	Boſton	
Repulſe	64	Sir Digby Dent	
Inflexible	64	Cotton	
Medway	60	Hammond	

Twelve large frigates, ſix of which mount 36 guns, and ſix fire-ſhips.

Glouceſter, Aug. 20. A neat marble monument has been lately erected in our cathedral, to the memory of Dr. Warburton, late biſhop of this dioceſe, upon which appears the following inſcription:——

To the Memory of
WILLIAM WARBURTON, D.D.
For more than xix years BISHOP of this See.
A Prelate
Of the moſt ſublime Genius, and exquiſite Learning.
Both which Talents
He employed, through a long Life,
In the ſupport
Of, what he firmly believed,
The CHRISTIAN RELIGION;
And
Of what he eſteemed the beſt eſtabliſhment of it,
The CHURCH OF ENGLAND.
He was born at Newark upon Trent,
Dec. 24, 1698.
Was conſecrated Biſhop of Glouceſter,
Jan. 20, 1760.
Died at his Palace, in this City, June 7, 1779.
And was buried near this Place.

Beneath the Entablature is the head of the biſhop in a medallion.

DIED, in Liquorpond-ſtreet, Eſther Davies, aged 103. She had ſubſiſted by charity above 30 years, and hoarded near one hundred and ſixty pounds, which were found in her lodgings.

At Carrickfergus, Patrick Blakeney, eſq; aged 104, formerly a captain in the army, and ſerved under the Duke of Marlborough.

On Windſor-foreſt, John Armſtrong, aged 99 years, who had been a wood-cutter on that foreſt in the reign of three kings.

SEPTEMBER.

Conſtantinople, Sept. 1. The troubles which prevail in Egypt oblige the Porte to ſend a conſiderable army thither. A revolt is alſo broke out in Romelia, principally in the diſtrict of Kirkilick; and the commandants who were ſent thither to puniſh the mutineers, have been maſſacred by them, as well as the greateſt part of the ſoldiers under their command.

This day at noon the lord mayor held a wardmote in the veſtry of St. Mary-le-Bow church, Cheapſide, for the election of an Alderman of Cordwainer's ward, in the room of the late Alderman Hayley, deceaſed.

Two candidates only offered, viz. William Pickett, Eſq; citizen and goldſmith, and Barnard Turner, Eſq; captain of the city aſſociation; both theſe gentlemen addreſſed the aſſembly in the uſual manner.

Upon the ſhow of hands, which were held up twice, to prevent miſtake, the lord mayor declared the majority to be in favour of Mr. Turner, but a poll was demanded by the friends of Mr. Pickett; however, Mr. Pickett ſoon after thought proper to relinquiſh the conteſt, in a handſome

ſome ſpeech, expreſſive of his high opinion of Mr. Turner, and wiſhing him health to enjoy the gown.

4th. Yeſterday afternoon, about five o'clock, a diſturbance broke out in New-priſon, Clerkenwell, which has been ſome time expected, on account of the great number of priſoners confined there (upwards of 200), there being no part of Newgate tenable but the condemned cells. Several magiſtrates aſſembled on Saturday, and took every precaution in their power. A woman brought a hanger concealed into the priſon, with which the ringleader armed himſelf, ruſhed between the gates, and attacked the turnkey, but was fortunately ſeized, and ſeverely wounded in the ſtruggle: the moſt active of the priſoners had in the mean time forced the others, with drawn knives, to join them in a general attempt to force open the gates; but the ſentinels being now alarmed, a ſerjeant's guard, which attends the priſon, turned out, and fired about fifty ſhot into the priſon-yard, by which three priſoners were killed, and twelve wounded: the priſoners then ſubmitted, and were properly ſecured.

The ringleader in the above riot was —— Trentham, who had got his irons entirely off; the ſecond was one Lee, committed for coining, whoſe irons were ſawed ſo nearly through, that a ſlight touch with the fingers would have broke them aſunder; and the third was a man for houſe-breaking. Theſe three were killed.

Hague, Sept. 18. We are aſſured that the Dutch ſquadron, which put to ſea to eſcort the trade to the Baltick, is returned into port, by order of the court, who feared they would not be ſtrong enough to reſiſt the Engliſh forces, now the combined fleets have finiſhed their cruize. One of the ſaid Dutch fleet, called the Prince William, of 74 guns, by the ignorance of the pilot, ſtruck a ſand-bank, near the Helder, and is totally loſt, but the crew are ſaved.

Yeſterday the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when 22 capital convicts received judgment of death. 19th.

The recorder, when he paſſed ſentence on the abovementioned 22 capital convicts, remarked, that the number of offenders every ſeſſions ſhewed ſo much the increaſe of vice, that he was afraid it would become neceſſary to withhold mercy, by way of deterring in the utmoſt degree the repetition of thoſe daring robberies which had lately alarmed the metropolis: he ſaid the experiment had been tried with ſucceſs, at a time like the preſent, when the town abounded with deſperadoes, to condemn all to their ſentence, and he did apprehend the dreadful trial would be renewed. He therefore adviſed the convicts to a ſerious and unfeigned repentance.

The following Eaſt-Indiamen are taken up by the company, in addition to thoſe already intended to be employed in their ſervice the following ſeaſon, which will make in all twenty-ſeven ſail:

Bute,	Britiſh King,
Ankerwyke,	Europa,
Shrewſbury,	Godfrey,
Talbot,	Royal George.
Gatton,	

Every Eaſt-Indiaman which goes out this enſuing ſeaſon will take

a quota

a quota of ſoldiers for the ſervice of the company, amounting to 260 for each ſhip. As 27 ſhips are in the whole to ſail, this will conſtitute all together, an army of 6020 men. Theſe ſoldiers will fill the ſhips ſo completely, that an order has been given, that no ladies ſhall be received on board as paſſengers, which is a very unuſual prohibition. The captains of the different veſſels have been alſo abridged in their privilege of private quantity; the eſtabliſhed weight which they have been permitted to carry, for years back, on their own account, having been fifty-ſix ton, and it is now reduced to eighteen, for the conveyance of the ſoldiers; but as a compenſation for this diminution in the quantity, they have been permitted to carry copper, which was previouſly prohibited; and this article bears ſo high a value in India, that it is thought the eighteen ton of that freight will be equal in profit to the 56 tons of any other materials.

22d. A general meeting of the proprietors of bank ſtock, agreeably to advertiſement in the Gazette for that purpoſe, was held at the great room in the bank on Wedneſday laſt, to determine by ballot the following queſtion: 'if it was the ſenſe of the proprietors to increaſe their dividend one half per cent,' which was carried, ſo that it will now be ſix per cent. ——Thurſday, the ſaid proprietors had a general meeting in order to confirm the ballot of the preceding day, and alſo to make a call of eight per cent. on the capital ſtock of the company, which was agreed to, and to be paid in as under—

—1 per cent. the 19th of Oct.
2 per cent. the 20th of Dec.
2 per cent. the 17th Jan.
3 per cent. the 15th of Feb.

8 per cent. which will make an increaſe to their capital ſtock of

862,400
10,780,000 former capital.

11,642,400l. their capital ſtock now. So that the intereſt at 6 per cent. will be 698,544l. per annum.

23d. Yeſterday came on at Guildhall the election of a repreſentative in parliament for this city, in the room of George Hayley, Eſq; deceaſed. The two candidates were the lord mayor and Alderman Clark. The court being opened by the common cryer, the recorder and city remembrancer came forward on the huſtings, and acquainted the livery with the buſineſs of the day. After the uſual ceremonies were obſerved, the two candidates were put in nomination; and on the ſhew of hands, the ſheriffs were of opinion the choice had fallen on the lord mayor, but to remove all doubt they were put up a ſecond time, when the ſhew appearing greatly in favour of the lord mayor, his lordſhip was declared duly elected. He addreſſed the livery in a ſpeech of ſome length, thanking them for the honour they had conferred on him, and promiſing to exert his utmoſt endeavours on every occaſion to ſupport the conſtitution of his country, and the rights and privileges of his fellow citizens. Mr. Alderman Clark alſo ſpoke a few words on the occaſion. A poll was then demand-

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ed in favour of Alderman Clark, which began at three o'clock and closed at five.

Died, at Rotterdam, one Richard Solomons, aged 110 years.

In St. John's-street, Thomas Theebridge, who had by his wife thirty-six children, all born alive, twelve of whom are now living. He was fifty years painter to the Charter-house.

OCTOBER.

1st. On Saturday a common-hall was convened, according to the annual custom on Michaelmas-day, to elect a lord mayor for the ensuing year. The poll for a member of parliament, then carrying on, was accordingly adjourned by proclamation, at one o'clock, and the lord mayor and aldermen, with their attendants, being seated, the recorder declared the purpose of the meeting in a short speech. He said that "though he was happy at all times to have an occasion of addressing himself to the livery whom he so much respected, he did not think proper to interrupt the business in which they were at present engaged, longer than it was necessary, by any speech of his. They well knew the purpose for which they were convened, and the importance of it, namely, to elect a lord mayor for the ensuing year, as chief magistrate of the first city in the world; and from the prudent choice they had been accustomed to make in former years, he doubted not that they would make as wise an election of a proper person at present."

The lord mayor and aldermen then returned to the council chamber, and the sheriffs remained on the hustings to nominate the several aldermen who had served the office of sheriff, for the livery to return two, according to the custom of the city, whose names are immediately to be carried by the sheriffs to the court of aldermen, who scratch for which of the names they approve.

The greatest shew of hands appeared for Mr. Alderman Plomer. The appearance was doubtful between Mr. Alderman Peckham, and Mr. Alderman Newnham, who were next in number; but, upon a second shew of hands being demanded by the sheriffs, it was decisive in favour of Mr. Newnham.

The aldermen soon returned from the council-chamber, and it was announced, that the election had fallen upon Mr. Plomer, who then came forward, and spoke to the following purport:

"Give me leave to return you my thanks for the share you have had in electing me to an office so honourable and so important; it shall be my endeavour to merit your approbation, and to promote the happiness of my fellow-citizens.

"I hope to be favoured with your advice and assistance, whenever it shall be necessary for me to call you together; it will give me great pleasure to act in conjunction with you, gentlemen, who I am certain will not mislead me; it is my desire also to live friendly and upon good terms, not only with every member of the court, but likewise with all persons whatsoever."

The poll for member of parliament was then resumed.

At the final close of the poll on Saturday at four o'clock, for a member to represent this city in parliament, the numbers were, for Sir Watkin Lewes, 2685; for Mr. Alderman Clark, 2387; majority for Sir Watkin Lewes, 298.

Sir Watkin Lewes then came forward on the hustings, and thanked the livery for this signal mark of their approbation, assuring them, that on his part nothing should be wanting to support the principles which he had always maintained, and to merit the honour conferred on him. An uniformity of conduct he would endeavour always to preserve, and no influence should ever bribe him to desert the cause in which he had engaged, or betray the trust his fellow citizens had reposed in him. Alderman Clark made a short speech, thanking his friends for the assistance they had given him during the poll. Alderman Wooldridge attempted to speak, but the noise was so great that he could not be heard.

Cadiz, Oct. 2. Advices have been received which confirm the account that the revolt at Peru had entirely subsided; that Tupac Amora, the leader of the revolters, had been taken, and with his family, and the principal officers, set to Cusco. Don Joseph de Vella, the Spanish general, on entering Tupac's capital, ordered 18 of the revolters to be immediately hanged. Six pieces of cannon, six chests of money, also a large quantity of arms, powder, and ammunition, fell into the hands of Don Joseph, together with two packets of papers, containing the correspondence maintained by the revolters, which will afford an insight into the promoters and concealed abettors of this rebellion.

Turin, Oct. 3. On the 29th past her Royal Highness the Princess Carolina, fourth daughter of the King of Sardinia, was married to his Serene Highness Prince Anthony, brother to the Elector of Saxony. His Royal Highness the Prince of Piedmont, was proxy upon this occasion. A few hours after the ceremony, the elector's ambassador-extraordinary set out for Augsburgh, where he will wait to receive the princess, and conduct her to Dresden. Her Royal Highness went from Moncallier the next day, and was accompanied as far as Vercelli by the King and Queen of Sardinia, and the Prince and Princess of Piedmont; and yesterday their majesties, with their royal highnesses, returned to Moncallier.

Edinburgh, Oct. 6. On Monday last some trials were made of the hundred pounder carronade lately mounted on the battery at Leith; a gentleman who was present informs us, that the gun, being loaded with 11 pounds of powder, and elevated to 15 degrees, threw its shot about two miles into the sea; and, by way of comparative trial with one of the 24 pounder guns belonging to the battery, a shot was fired at the same time from one of them, with the same quantity of powder and elevation, and by the observation of the guard and others at the end of the pier, the 100 pound shot went farther than the 24 pounder by about 30 yards. Another trial was made at an elevation of four degrees, when the

the 24 pounder ſhot ranged between 300 and 400 yards farther than the 100 pound carronade.

Several other experiments were made on this gun, by firing at a mark, and throwing ſhells and grape ſhot, all which ſeemed to ſucceed perfectly well. There was a number of ſpectators upon this occaſion, among whom were the Duke of Buccleugh, the lord advocate, Capt. James Ferguſon, of the navy, &c. who all ſeemed much ſatisfied with the performance of the gun.

Bazil, in Switzerland, Oct. 7. Some matters relative to the eſtabliſhing peace in Geneva, which the cantons of Zurich and Berne could not ſo well determine, have been twice debated upon in the council of the King of France, and after mature deliberation upon the nature and cauſes of the diſſenſions at Geneva, his majeſty perceives that the guarantee he granted that little republic in 1738, in conjunction with the cantons of Zurich and Berne, ſo far from contributing to its tranquillity, has only ſerved to foment the ſpirit of diſcord among the citizens of Geneva. This, together with the conſideration how improper it is for the differences of an inconſiderable people to take up the time of the miniſters of a great king, has induced his majeſty to write to the cantons, co-guarantees with him, of the regulation of 1738, and to the republic of Geneva, that he holds himſelf from henceforward, diſengaged from the guarantee of the republic of Geneva, and that he leaves it entirely to them to endeavour to reſtore peace to that republic; nevertheleſs, that his own intereſt will not ſuffer him to ſee with an indifferent eye any innovation in the government, or any diſorderly tumult, but will, in any ſuch caſe, uſe the power he has in his hands to put an end to them.

Cadiz, Oct. 8. This morning the diſagreeable news was brought to camp of the loſs of three tranſports from Carthagena, having on board, beſides ſtores, proviſions, and ammunition, a regiment of light infantry, conſiſting of 700 men, which marched from Cordova, and all the officers, ſeamen, and ſoldiers, periſhed in the ſea.

15th. An inſtance of recovery which lately took place in the Liverpool Infirmary, not more remarkable than pleaſing, was laid before the public, by order of the board.

A hale, ſtrong man, of 32, Iſaac Elliſon, of Saint Helen's, was attacked by a fever in June, laſt, in which he was delirious, and which continued eleven days. From that time he loſt entirely both his ſpeech and hearing, tho' his health and ſtrength returned perfectly, and he could explain himſelf clearly and ſenſibly by writing. When he had remained in this ſtate above two months after his fever left him, he applied to the infirmary, and was admitted an in-patient. In about a week afterwards he heard the clock ſtrike and a muſket fired, though, when admitted, he was not ſenſible of the loudeſt, neither was he capable of uttering the leaſt ſound. Within a fortnight he could hear a perſon ſpeaking moderately loud near his ear, and could anſwer very intelligibly in a whiſper, and before he had been a month in the infirmary he could

hear perfectly, and his ſpeech was reſtored to him.—The means Dr. Houlſton employed for his relief were chiefly bleeding, the dry vomit, warm bath, æther and electricity.

16th. On Saturday night Mr. Cricket, marſhal of the High Court of Admiralty, arrived in town with Ryan and ſeveral other priſoners. Ryan was put under an arreſt, and ſlept that night at a houſe in Doctors Commons.

Yeſterday Ryan and his mate were examined before the worſhipful William Wynne, Doctor of Laws, and king's advocate, at the Horn Tavern, in Doctor's Commons, and fully committed to New Priſon, Clerkenwell.

The only queſtions aſked of Ryan were the following, viz. Whether his name was Ryan? Whether the names Luke Ryan, ſigned to the bond for his Engliſh Letter of Marque, which was produced to him, were of his hand-writing? To both of which he anſwered in the affirmative, which was the whole of the examination.

Both Ryan and his mate ſeemed much affected with their commitment, wrung their hands and wept, and ſeemed in very great agitation. Ryan ſays, that the mate, when he engaged him, was ſtarving in France, and ſhipped himſelf with him as an American, and he inſiſts that America is the place of his birth.

22d. The young Dauphin of France was baptized by the name of Louis Joſeph Xavier François. The ſponſors were the Emperor and the Princeſs of Piedmont, repreſented by the Count de Provence and Madame Elizabeth.

Hamburgh, Oct. 25. The whole of the town of Raſtadt, in the Archbiſhoprick of Saltzbourgh, on the borders of Auſtria, two buildings only excepted, was reduced to aſhes on the 15th of September by lightning: the two buildings that eſcaped were, the convent of the capuchin friars, and the corn magazine, which had been raiſed for the benefit of the poor.

31ſt. This day a very numerous and reſpectable meeting of freeholders, convened by the high ſheriff for taking into conſideration the low price of wool, was held at the caſtle of Lincoln. It being proved that wool was fallen in price 50 per cent. within theſe five years; a committee was appointed to enquire into ſeveral different plans for a redreſs ſuggeſted by the county at large; and to co-operate with ſuch other counties as may be in a ſimilar ſituation.

DIED, Iſaac Martin Rebow, Eſq; colonel of the eaſtern battalion of Eſſex militia, and Recorder of Colcheſter, which borough he had repreſented in five parliaments.

NOVEMBER.

3d. A petition of a very extraordinary nature was preſented to the High Court of Chancery by Mr. Schreiber, ſtating, that his ſon, an infant of 17 years of age, and a ward of that court, had been decoyed away from his tutor's, a clergyman of character, and influenced to marry Mrs. Greene, a widow, and therefore praying judgment againſt the ſaid Mrs. Greene, her mother, and all concerned in that tranſaction, for a contempt of court: the lord chancellor

cellor, after hearing the affidavits read, enlarged upon the infamy of trepanning infants, and lamented, that the court could inflict no severer punishment for offences so atrocious than imprisonment; and concluded with ordering the offenders to attend the court on the next day for hearing petitions. With regard to the infant, the lord chancellor ordered him to be returned to his father; but he was no sooner out of court, than he conducted his lady to an elegant carriage that stood waiting for her, and behaved with the gaiety and gallantry of a full-grown gentleman.

5th. The recorder has directed that 28,219l. be raised upon the inhabitants of this city, to repair the damage in the late riots; to be paid by the constables, who are to collect the same, into the chamber of London immediately as the same is raised, to prevent embezzlement, whereby the inhabitants would be further sufferers.

10th. The cotton-mills at Hockley, near the town of Nottingham, took fire, and in less than two hours that spacious building was reduced to a shell.

12th. On Tuesday last, being the first day of this present Michaelmas term, a very unusual ceremony, at least at this time, was performed in the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, being that of swearing in the four knights to return the writ of right, wherein John earl of Leicester was defendant (who claims Penshurst-place-park and premisses, as the only son and heir male of Joceline Sidney, and Elizabeth his wife, the late Earl and Countess of Leicester, both deceased), and Elizabeth Perry, widow, tenant (who claims the same premisses as the daughter of Colonel Thomas Sidney, deceased, and as the neice of the said Earl Joceline). The four knights came into court girt with swords, and were then swore lawfully and truly to choose 12 other knights, *Gladiis cinctis*, to declare the truth between the parties, which 16 knights form the grand assize.

13th. An official account was received from the commissioner of his majesty's navy at Hallifax, of the capture of the Magecienne French frigate of 32 guns and 280 men, by the Chatham man of war of 50 guns. The frigate engaged the man of war half an hour, had 32 men killed and 54 wounded. The Chatham, Capt. Douglas, had only two men killed and four wounded.

17th. Wm. Townshend, late lieutenant of the Rover privateer of Bristol, was executed at Execution Dock for the wilful murder of Capt. Giralmo Silvestini, of the Victoria, a Venetian ship, by ordering a gun to be fired into the vessel, which killed the captain. He acknowledged the gun to be fired by his order, but without the least intention to kill any body. He behaved with great penitence.

18th. Three hundred and forty flat-bottomed boats, of various sizes, were destroyed in the Boat-house at St. Maloes by fire, supposed to be wilfully done.

A new and very strong fortification is erected in Stockes-bay, near Portsmouth, where our merchant ships usually ride. The Gilcicker, which was a sea-mark

for pilots, is taken down, and another erection ſet up at ſome diſtance to anſwer the purpoſe. The buoys between that place and Spithead are alſo removed.

21ſt. The Great Duke and Ducheſs of Ruſſia arrived at Vienna in perfect health, accompanied by his imperial majeſty in the ſame carriage, who had gone to meet them on the road.

23d. Wedneſday morning John Wilkes, eſq; as chamberlain of London, waited on Sir George Brydges Rodney, at his houſe in Albemarle-ſtreet, with the honorary freedom of the city in a gold box.

30th. Upon opening lately a ſmall part of a tumulus, or burrough, near the Roman Foſs-road, in the pariſh of Hampnet, Glouceſterſhire, it was diſcovered to be full of graves of a ſingular conſtruction. They were made of rude maſſy ſtones collected together, ſome of them about ſix feet long, three feet broad, and a foot and a half thick; theſe were put in, or on the ground, ſideways, in rows, and the bodies depoſited north and ſouth in the diviſions or compartments. The whole was covered over with leſſer ſtones and earth, which made the tumulus; though ſeveral of the larger ſtones appear now above the ſurface. Each compartment contained a body. The bones in general were in a very decayed and mouldering ſtate, but ſome of the jaws were perfect, and had teeth in them of a fine white. The tumulus is about twenty yards long, and ten broad. If the bodies depoſited are Roman, they muſt have lain in the ground fifteen or ſixteen hundred years.

Came on before the Court of Exchequer at Edinburgh a trial of great conſequence to the mercantile people of Scotland, wherein Meſſ. Falls of Dunbar were plaintiffs, and the hon. commiſſioners of his majeſty's cuſtoms for Scotland, defendants, by declaration of treſpaſs on the caſe, for the defendants refuſing to iſſue orders on the receiver-general, for payment of certain bounties claimed by the plaintiffs, for buſſes employed by them in the white-herring fiſhery; when, after a trial of thirteen hours, the jury, after withdrawing a few minutes, returned a verdict againſt the defendants, for damages equal to the bounties and intereſt, and full coſts of ſuit.

DIED, in Bartholomew-lane, aged 83, the youngeſt and laſt of twenty-one children, Mr. Mungo Murray, brother of the late Wm. Murray, Eſq. of Polmaiſe.

Of the ſtone in his kidneys, at the ſeat of Earl Fitzwilliam, in Northamptonſhire, the Rev. Tho. Crofts, M. A. F. R. and A. SS. Chancellor of Peterborough, and Rector of Donyat, co. Somerſet; diſtinguiſhed for his general attainments, as well in ancient erudition, as in the refinements of modern information, gleaned in a long courſe, not of reading only, but of the moſt intelligent travels. He was alſo diſtinguiſhed for a moſt rare and critical knowledge of books. His many friends will bear ample teſtimony to the former, in their regret for the loſs of his converſation; of the latter he has left a convincing proof in one of the moſt choſen of private libraries.

At his houſe in the Warren, Wool-

Woolwich, aged 77, Lieut. gen. Geo. Williamſon, col. of the 2d battalion of the royal reg. of artillery; he was near 60 years an officer, and was buried on the 16th at Woolwich with military honours.

Fra. Simpſon, LL. D. advocate in the Court of Arches, official to the Archdeacons of London, Canterbury, Middleſex, and Rocheſter, Chancellor of the Dioceſe of Lincoln, and Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He was nephew to the late Sir Edw. Simpſon, Dean of the Arches, and was editor of Biſhop Ellys's Tracts on Spiritual Liberty.

DECEMBER.

1ſt. Came on in the Court of Common Pleas, at Guildhall, before Lord Loughborough, an action brought againſt the commander of a cutter, for detaining a veſſel and its contents, conſiſting of rum and tea, to the amount of 3000l. as ſmuggled goods. The judge ſaid, he had no doubt of the goods being run, but as they were ſeized beyond the reach of the exciſe laws at ſea, a verdict muſt follow, and the jury gave 3000l.

6th. A common-hall was held at Guildhall, purſuant to a requiſition of ſeveral of the livery to the lord mayor, when the common-cryer having mentioned the cauſe of their being ſummoned, Mr. Hurford came forward and moved, that an addreſs, petition, and remonſtrance, be preſented to his majeſty by the lord mayor, aldermen, &c. on the preſent alarming ſtate of affairs, which being agreed to, the following addreſs was read by Mr. Biſhop, and unanimouſly approved of, and the ſheriffs ordered to go up to know when his majeſty will be pleaſed to receive the ſame *.

Admiralty-Office, Dec. 7.

Capt. Macbride of the Artois writes, that on the 3d inſt. he had made prize of the Hercules and Mars privateers, belonging to Amſterdam, both new ſhips, carrying 24 nine-pounders and ten cohorts each, faſt ſailers, and commanded by two Hogenboomes, father and ſon, inhabitants of Fluſhing. The father was well known laſt war by the nickname of Hardapple, and did much miſchief to our ſhipping and trade. The Hercules had 164 men, of whom 13 were killed and 20 wounded. The Mars had 146 men, of whom nine were killed, and 15 wounded. The Artois had only one man killed, and ſix wounded.

10th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old-Bailey, when the following priſoners received ſentence of death, viz. Charles Peat, for aſſaulting Richard Downes, Eſq; on the highway on Finchley Common, and robbing him of 23s. in different coins; Hannah Brown, for ſtealing a large quantity of wearing apparel, linen, laces, and other things, in the dwelling-houſe of Miſs Catherine Thiſtlethwayte, in South-Audley-ſtreet, where ſhe was ſervant; and Geo. Townſend, for ſtealing a mare, the property of Mr. Hedge, a watchmaker at Colcheſter, in Eſ-

* For a Copy of the Addreſs, ſee the State Papers.

ſex. Benjamin Honey was convicted of feloniouſly killing and ſlaying Richard Hobbs. They were both bargemen, had quarrelled on board, and agreed to decide the matter on ſhore, in which the deceaſed, by a fall, received a concuſſion of the brain, of which he died the ſame day.

A man for publiſhing a certain inflammatory hand-bill, intitled, "England in Blood," and recommending a certain paper, then ſhortly intended to be publiſhed, called, "The Thunderer," and tending to inflame the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects, againſt the peace and good government of the kingdom; and which bills were, to a great amount, diſtributed in the afternoon of the 6th of June, 1780, at the time the rioters were proceeding to deſtroy the gaol of Newgate, and, perhaps, if not providentially ſtopped, the whole metropolis; was fined five ſhillings, and ſentenced to be impriſoned one year in Newgate.

Being the anniverſary of the inſtitution of the Royal Academy, a general aſſembly of the academicians was held at the Royal Academy, Somerſet-place, when P. J. De Loutherbourg was admitted an academician, and received his diploma ſigned by his majeſty: three ſilver medals were given, one to Mr. Peter Holland, for the beſt drawing of an academy figure; one to Mr. Charles Roſſi, for the beſt model of an academy figure; one to Mr. Geo. Hatfield, for the beſt drawing of architecture, being the front and ſpire of St. Giles's in the Fields, done from actual meaſurements.

The aſſembly then proceeded to elect the officers for the year enſuing, when Sir Joſhua Reynolds was re-elected preſident.

Council.

Geo. Barret, Nat. Hone, G. M. Moſer, Tho. Sandby, Edw. Burch, Charles Catton, P. J. De Loutherbourg, Joſ. Nollekens, Eſqrs.

Viſitors.

Charles Catton, Nath. Dance, Benj. Weſt, John Zoffanii, James Barry, J. B. Cipriani, P. J. De Loutherbourg, Jer. Meyer, Eſqrs. Rev. Mr. William Peters.

Yeſterday there was a numerous meeting of electors, 11th. and other inhabitants of Weſtminſter, at Weſtminſter-hall, to conſider of ſuch meaſures as may be thought adviſeable in the preſent ſituation of the kingdom. The committee having taken their places on the ſteps leading up to the Court of Common-Pleas, Mr. Fox opened the buſineſs in a long ſpeech, the purport of which was to draw a compariſon of the management of public affairs during the adminiſtration of Lord Chatham, and ſome preſent perſons in office; this he did in a variety of inſtances, proving, as he ſaid, that the former had raiſed us to the higheſt pinnacle of reputation and glory, as a magnanimous, free, and independent people, while the latter had reduced us to diſtreſs. After ſome other gentlemen had delivered their opinions, an humble petition and remonſtrance, in ſubſtance the ſame as that agreed on at Guildhall, London, was produced, which being read, was received with burſts of general applauſe, and a committee appointed to preſent it to his majeſty.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Southwark it was alſo reſolved, that

that an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to the ſame purport with that of the city of London, by a committee.

13th. A few evenings ago, when the family of Mr. Pickett, goldſmith, of Ludgate-hill, who reſides in Harpur-ſtreet, near Red-lion-ſquare, were retiring to reſt, his eldeſt daughter, as ſhe ſtood by the fire ſide, was employed in ſome little act of dutiful attention to her father, when the fire unperceived caught hold of her clothes, and in an inſtant her whole dreſs was in a blaze. The father was ſtruck motionleſs on the occaſion, but recovering a little, burnt his hand in attempting to extinguiſh the flames; and the young lady finding no relief, ran from room to room to ſeek it, but in vain. In her progreſs ſhe ſet fire to the bed, which was with difficulty extinguiſhed, and where ſhe fell the floor was actually on fire. No relief could be given her till her clothes were totally burnt off her back, when her whole body was left as if it had been broiled, or rather burnt on a grid-iron. Medical aſſiſtance was ſoon procured, but it was impoſſible for human art to afford the leaſt relief; and in this dreadful ſtate ſhe lay till the next evening, and then expired.

19th. This day, purſuant to advertiſement from the ſheriffs, there was a general meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middleſex, at the Mermaid, at Hackney, when it was unanimouſly reſolved that a ſimilar petition to that of the city of London ſhould be preſented to the king by their two repreſentatives in parliament.

21ſt. At a meeting of the Weſt-India merchants, Mr. Bailey in the chair, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that an humble addreſs and petition be preſented to his majeſty, repreſenting the dangerous ſtate of the Weſt-India iſlands, and imploring immediate relief. Several other reſolutions were alſo entered into unanimouſly, there being no oppoſition.

At the above meeting it was declared, by a formal reſolution, that what Mr. B. Gaſcoyne had ſaid in the houſe, of their not being under any apprehenſions for the ſafety of the Weſt-Indies, was deluſive, falſe, and groundleſs.

Same day a meeting of the freeholders of Surrey was held at the Spread-Eagle, Epſom, Sir Francis Vincent in the chair, when Mr. Budgen moved for a petition and remonſtrance to the ſovereign; the motion was ſupported by Admiral Keppel, Sir Joſeph Mawbey, Sir Robert Clayton, and others, and carried.

Died, in Stafford-row, Weſtm. aged 79, Mrs. Madan, daughter of Spencer Cowper, Eſq. formerly one of the juſtices of the Court of Common Pleas, and relict of Col. Martin Madan, who died at Bath in 1756. This lady very early diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her poetical talents, as appears by her "Verſes to the Memory of Mr. Hughes," 1720, printed with his poems; and "The Progreſs of Poetry," in *The Flower Piece*, 1731. She has left two ſons, the Rev. Martin Madan, author of *Thelyphthora*, &c. and Spencer Madan, D. D. Prebendary of Peterborough. Her eldeſt daughter was married to Wm. Cowper, Eſq. of Hartingfordbury (her firſt couſin), and her

her youngeſt to the Hon. Colonel (now Lieut. Gen.) Maitland.

At Halifax, aged 102, Mr. Robt. Butterfield, who, from 40 years induſtry as a wool-ſtapler, acquired 40,000l.

At Romſey, Hants, Mr. Cotton, of that town, aged 91; it is remarkable that he died on the anniverſary of his birth.

At the houſe of Mrs. D'Almeida, at North-End, Hampſtead (to whoſe family ſhe had been ſervant near fourſcore years), Mrs. Filer Foa, aged 110; ſhe retained all her ſenſes till within three days of her death.

A General Bill of all the Chriſtenings and Burials, from December 10, 1780, to December 11, 1781.

Chriſtened.		Buried.	
Males	8774	Males	10499
Females	8252	Females	10210
In all	17026		20709

Increaſed in the burials this year 192.

Died under two years of age			7083
Between	2	and 5	2399
	5	and 10	882
	10	and 20	725
	20	and 30	1518
	30	and 40	1640
	40	and 50	2021
	50	and 60	1649
	60	and 70	1391
	70	and 80	950
	80	and 90	394
	90	and 100	51
	100		2
	102		1
	103		1
	108		2

Sheriffs appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for the year 1781.

Berkſhire, Ed. Loveden, of Buſcot, Eſq;

Bedfordſhire, John Harvey, of Northill, Eſq;

Bucks, Joſeph Bullock, of Caversfield, Eſq;

Cumberland, Tho. Story, of Mirehouſe, Eſq;

Cheſhire, W. Davenport, of Bramhall, Eſq;

Cambridge and Huntingdonſhire, John Johnſon, of Leverington, Eſq;

Cornwall, Sir J. St. Aubin, of Clowance, Bart.

Devonſhire, John Burridge Cholwich, of Farringdon, Eſq;

Dorſetſhire, Lewis Dymock Groſvenor Tregonnel, of Dorcheſter, Eſq;

Derbyſhire, Samuel Frith, of Bank-hall, Eſq;

Eſſex, Richard Wyatt, of Hornchurch, Eſq;

Glouceſterſhire, John Morris, of Shephouſe, Eſq;

Hertfordſhire, Thomas Clutterbuck, jun. of Watford, Eſq.

Herefordſhire, E. Patteſhall, of Allenſmoor, Eſq;

Kent, John Cator, of Beckenham, Eſq;

Leiceſterſhire, Edmund Cradock Hartopp, of Newbold, Eſq.

Lincolnſhire, Edw. Nelthorpe, of Seawby, Eſq;

Monmouthſhire, Wm. Jones, of Naſh, Eſq;

Northumberland, Cha. Brandling, of Gosforth-houſe, Eſq;

Northamptonſhire, N. Raynſford, of Brixworth, Eſq.

Norfolk, Rt. Lee Doughty, of Hanworth, Eſq;

Notting-

Nottinghamſhire, L. Rolleſton, of Watnall, Eſq.

Oxford, Rd. Paul Jodrell, of Lewknor, Eſq;

Rutlandſhire, Tho. Sanders, of Mercott, Eſq;

Shropſhire, Ed. Charles Windſor, of Harnage Grange, Eſq;

Somerſetſhire, John Ford, of Hadſpen, Eſq;

Staffordſhire, Ph. Keay, of Abbots-Bromley, Eſq;

Suffolk, Charles Kent, of Farnham St. Genoveve, Eſq;

Southampton, Benjamin Smith, of Lys, Eſq;

Surrey, William Northey, of Epſom, Eſq;

Suſſex, Wm. Peachy, of Kidford, Eſq.

Warwickſhire, John Webb, of Sherborne, Eſq;

Worceſterſhire, John Darke, of Bredon, Eſq;

Wiltſhire, W. Hayter, of Newton-Toney, Eſq;

Yorkſhire, Humphrey Oſbaldeſton, of Hunmanby, Eſq;

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, Lewis Williams, of Pentwyn, Eſq;

Carmarthen, Sir W. Maſell, of Iſcoed, Bart.

Cardigan, David Lloyd, of Altyroden, Eſq;

Glamorgan, C. Bowen, of Merthyrmawr, Eſq;

Pembroke, H. Scourfield, of Robeſton-hall, Eſq;

Radnor, Jonathan Bowen, of Knighton, Eſq;

NORTH WALES.

Angleſey, Jonathan Bobyckan Sparrow, of Redhill, Eſq;

Carnarvon, Edw. Carreg, of Carreg, Eſq;

Denbigh, the Hon. Tho. Fitzmaurice, of Leweny, Eſq;

Flint, Henry Thrale, of Bachegrig, Eſq;

Merioneth, Edward Lloyd, of Maeſmore, Eſq;

Montgomeryſh. Hugh Mears, of Finnant, Eſq;

The following is an exact Account of the Woollen Cloth made in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, *from March* 1780, *to March* 1781, *with the Amount of the Increaſe from the twelve Months preceding that Period.*

Broad cloth. 102,018 pieces containing 3,099,127 yards. Increaſed this year 7593 pieces containing 399,496 yards.

Narrow cloth. 98,721 pieces containing 2,671,397 yards. Increaſed this year 11,412 pieces, containing 100,073 yards.

BIRTHS for the Year 1781.

Jan. 14. Lady of Sir J. Thorold, a ſon.

31. Lady of the Rt. Hon. Earl of Traquair, a ſon.

Feb. 8. Her Highneſs the Ducheſs, of Courland, a princeſs, at Mittau.

26. Lady of Lord Carlow of the Kingdom of Ireland, a ſon.

One of the Sultanas of the Grand Signior, a princeſs, at Conſtantinople.

March 6. Lady of Sir Andrew Hammond, a daughter.

15. Lady of the Hon. Francis Talbot, a ſon.

April 9. Lady Abingdon, a ſon and heir.

The Conſort of the Arch-Duke

Duke Ferdinand, of a ſon, at Milan.

13. Lady Hope, a ſon, at Pinky-houſe, Scotland.

May 5. Right Hon. Lady Kinnaird, a daughter, in Park-ſt. Weſtminſter.

Lady of Sir Edward Aſtley, a ſon.

July 12. Lady Cadogan, a daughter.

Aug. 4. Lady of the Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Worſely, Bt. a daughter.

5. Lady of the Earl of Radnor, a ſon, in Grafton-ſtreet.

Lady of Lord Viſcount Stormont, a ſon.

20. Lady Tancred, of a ſecond ſon, at Sir Thomas's ſeat, at Lyndhurſt, New Foreſt, Hampſhire.

Sept. 10. Lady of Rt. Hon. Lord Bagot, a ſon.

22. Lady of Hon. John Byng, a ſon.

Oct. 10. Lady of Lord Viſc. Weymouth, a daughter.

The Rt. Hon. Lady Paget, a daughter.

Lady of Sir Harbord Harbord, Bart. M. P. a ſon.

14. Lady of Sir John Peſhall, Bart. a ſon and heir.

Nov. 14. Lady of George Gipps, Eſq; M. P. a daughter.

26. Counteſs of Harrington, a ſon,

Dec. 8. Counteſs of Shelburne, a daughter.

10. Lady Grantham, a ſon and heir.

21. The Lady of Major Kennedy, a ſon.

25. Counteſs Percy, a daughter.

Her Grace the Ducheſs of Rutland, a ſon.

MARRIAGES, 1781.

Dec. 2, 1780. Sir John Wedderburn, of Ballindean, Bt. to Miſs Dundas, daugh. of the late Col. Dundas, of Dundas.

Jan. 5, 1781. The Earl of Laneſborough, to Miſs Latouche.

In Ireland, Duke Giffard, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir Duke G. Bart. of Caſtle Jordan, co. Meath, to Miſs Maddock.

25. Sir James Hereford, of Saſton-court, co. Heref. to Mrs. Fra. Hopton, of Worceſter.

31. At Lambeth-chapel, Geo. Warde, Eſq; nephew of Gen. Warde, and capt. in Ld. Amherſt's troop of horſe-grenadier guards, to Miſs Madan, daugh. of the Rev. Dr. M. and niece of Earl Cornwallis.

Feb. 5. Nicolls Raynsford, Eſq. of Brixworth, Northamptonſhire, to Miſs Souter, of Beaconsfield.

Rich. Wilſon, Eſq; to Miſs Eliz. Fountayne, daugh. of the Dean of York.

March 6. By ſpecial licence, the Hon. Lord Althorp, ſon of Earl Spencer, to Miſs Bingham, daughter of Lord Lucan.

Sir Tho. Jones, Knt. to Miſs Fitzgerald, daugh. of Lady Fitzgerald.

10. Lord Mahon, to Miſs Grenville, daugh. to the late Right Hon. Geo. Grenville, and ſiſter to the preſent E. Temple.

27. At

27. At Canterbury the Rev. Rich. Sandys, Vicar of Reculver, to the Right Hon. Lady Fran. Alicia Aſlong, relict of Wm. Aſlong, Eſq; and young. ſiſter to the Earl of Tankerville.

April 2. Mr. Andr. Drummond, to Lady Mary Percival, eldeſt daughter of Lady Egmont.

10. Capt. Rodney, of the 3d. reg. of guards, ſon of Sir Geo. Brydges Rodney, Bart. to Miſs Harley, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Tho. Harley.

29. John Henderſon, Eſq; ſon of Sir Robt. Henderſon, Bart: to Miſs Robertſon, daugh. of Gen. Robertſon, Governor of New-York.

May 2. James Falls, Eſq; of Oſtend, to Miſs C. Herries, ſiſter of Sir Robert Herries, of London.

20. John Edward Maddocks, Eſq; to Miſs Frances Perryn, youngeſt daugh. of Mr. Baron Perryn.

21. Right Hon Ld. Audley, to Miſs Delaval.

25. Mr. Croft, ſon of Rich. Croft, Eſq; Pall-Mall, to Miſs Smythſon, dau. of Sir J. Smythſon, Bt.

June 2. Rev. Henry Jenkin, Rector of Uſford, co. Northampton, to the Hon. Miſs Aug. Evelyn.

10. Tho. Bond, Eſq; of Wimbledon, to Miſs Bewicke, daughter of the late Sir Robert.

23. Arthur Knox, Eſq; to Lady Mary Brabazon, eldeſt daugh. of the Earl of Meath.

30. John Vaughan, Eſq; M.P. for co. Caermarthen, to Miſs Maude, daugh. of Sir C. Maude, Bart.

July 3. At Moreton, co. Dorſet, Evelyn Shirley, of Clift, Eſq; ſon of the Hon. George Shirley, of Eatington, Warwickſhire, to Miſs Phyllis Byam Wollaſton, daugh. of the late Charleton Wollaſton, M.D.

17. Robert Auriol Drummond, Eſq; ſon of the late Abp. of York, to Miſs Harley, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Tho. Harley.

19. At Exeter, by ſpecial licence, Sir Geo. Collier, Knt. late Capt. of the Canada, to Miſs Fryer, dau. of W. Fryer, Eſq.

27. The Hon. Horatio Walpole, eldeſt ſon of Lord Walpole, to Miſs Churchill, daughter of C. Churchill, Eſq.

Lately, at Gretna-Green, the Hon. Capt. Shirly, ſon of Ld. Ferrers, to Miſs Ward, niece to Viſc. Dudley.

Edw. Wheeler, Eſq; one of the Supreme Council of Bengal, to Miſs Dunford, daughter of George Dunford, Eſq.

Aug. 14. At Cheſter, Sir Peter Warburton, Bt. to Miſs Alice Parker.

21. At Norwich, Wm. Drake, jun. Eſq; member for Ammerſham, Bucks, to Miſs Rach.l Ives of that city.

27. At Bengrove, Suſſex, the Hon.

Hon. George Napier, to the Right Hon. Lady Sarah Lenox.

Sept. 1. At Staunton Harold; the Hon. Waſhington Shirley, to Miſs Ward, niece to the late Lord Viſc. Dudley and Ward.

8. John Hughes, Eſq; of Betſhanger, Kent, to Miſs Hardy, niece to the late Admiral Sir Charles Hardy.

29. Princeſs Carolina, 4th dau. of the King of Sardinia, to Prince Anthony, brother to the Elector of Saxony.

At Cuddeſden, Oxf. the Rev. Henry Ford, of Chriſt-Church, to Miſs M. L. Yates, niece to the Bp. of Oxford.

Oct. 3. At Iſleworth church, by his uncle, the Hon. and Rev. Wm. Neville, under a ſpecial licence, the Hon. Henry Neville. eldeſt ſon of Geo. Lord Abergavenny, to Miſs Robinſon, only daugh. of John R. Eſq; of Sion-Hill, co. Middleſex.

12. Sir Fred. Reynolds, Knt. of Hatfield, Herts, to Miſs M. Townſhend, of Hatton-ſtreet.

15. Edw. Smythe, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir Edw. S. Bart. to Miſs Holford, only daugh. of Peter H. Eſq;

18. Rev. Cha. Birch, of Chicheſter, Suſſex, to Miſs Anne Seymour, 2d. dau. of Hen. S. Eſq; of Hanford, co. Dorſet, and niece to Earl Cowper.

Sir Jenniſon Gordon, of Hertford-ſtreet, to Miſs Hatton, of Northamptonſhire.

By ſpecial licence, the Hon. Mr. Irby, brother to Lord Boſton, to Miſs Mary Blackman, young. daughter and coheireſs of Rowland Blackman, Eſq; of Barbadoes.

At Moor Monkton church, near York, Sir Tho. T. Slinſby, Bart. to Miſs M. Slingſby.

Lord Viſc. Turnour, ſon of the Earl of Winterton, to Miſs Chapman, dau. of Rich. Chapman, Eſq;

Nov. 8. At Glaſſaugh, Banffſhire, Vice-admiral Duff, of Logie, to Mrs. Morriſon, of Haddo, daugh. of the late Gen. Abercromby.

17. George Drummond, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners of Public Accounts, to Miſs Anne Shotter.

Dec. 3. The Earl of Aylesford to the Hon. Miſs Louiſa Thynne, eldeſt daugh. of Lord Viſcount Weymouth.

Principal PROMOTIONS *for the Year* 1781, *from the London Gazette, &c.*

Dec. 29, 1780. The following noblemen and gentlemen have been appointed of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales's houſehold: Groom of the Stole—Lord Southampton. Gentlemen of the Bed-

Bed-Chamber—E. of Courtown, Lord John Clinton, Lord Viſc. Parker. Treaſurer and Secretary —Lieut. Col. Hotham. Maſter of the Robes and Privy Purſe—Hen. Lyte, Eſq. Grooms of the Bed-chamber—Hon. Mr. Legge, Hon. Stephen Digby, John Johnſon, Eſq. Firſt Equerry and Commiſſioner of the Stables—Lieut.-Col. Lake. Equerries—Lieut.-Colonel Hulſe, Lieutenant-Col. Sir John Dyer, Bart. Lieut.-Col. Stephens.

30. Capt. Andrew Corbet and Capt. Lord Strathaven to be Aid-de-camps in Ordinary to the Earl of Carliſle; and Capt. Sir James Erſkine, Bart. Capt. the Hon. Fra. North, Capt. Arthur Ormſ. by, and Lieut. Rich. O'Brien Boyle, to be his Aid-de-camps in Extraordinary.

Jan. 9, 1781. John Macpherſon, Eſq; to be one of the Counſellors of the Governor-General and Council of the Preſidency of Fort William in Bengal, in the room of Rich. Barwell, Eſq; approved by his Majeſty.

10. Adm. Sir Hyde Parker promoted from being Rear-Adm of the Red, to be Vice-Adm. of the Blue; and Admiral Kempenfelt, Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

20. Dr. Rich. Woodward, Dean of St. Macartin Clogher, to the Biſhoprick of Cloyne.

Rev. W. Cecil Perry, M.A. Dean of Derry, to the united Biſhopricks of Killala and Achonry.

Feb. 17. George Lord Edgcumbe, advanced to the dignity of a Viſcount, to him and his heirs male, by the name, ſtyle, and title, of Viſcount Mount Edgcumbe and Valetort.

John Hallam, D. D. Dean of Briſtol.

March 3. Ralph Heathcote, Eſq; appointed his Majeſty's Miniſter Plenipotentiary at the Court of the Elector of Cologne, in the room of Geo. Creſſener, Eſq; dec.

Wm. Browne, Eſq; appointed to be Governor of the Bermuda or Somer's Iſlands in America, in the room of J. G. Bruere, Eſq; deceaſed.

24. The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain unto the following gentlemen, and their heirs male, viz. Sir Robert Barker, Knt. of Buſbridge, in the county of Surrey; Joſeph Banks, Eſq; of Reveſby-Abbey, in the co. of Lincoln; John Ingilby, Eſq; of Ripley, in the Weſt-Riding of the co. of York; Alex. Craufurd, Eſq. of Kilburney, in N. Britain; Valentine Rich. Quin, Eſq; of Adair, co. of Limerick, in Ireland; Wm. Lewis André, Eſq; (captain in his Majeſty's 26th reg. of foot) of Southampton, co. of Southampton; Fra. Sykes, Eſq; of Baſildon, co. of Berks; John Coghill, Eſq; of Richings, co. of Buckingham; and John Moſley, Eſq; of Ancoats, co. of Lancaſter.

April 3. Edward Emily, A.M. Dean of Derry.—Rev. John Mac Leiſh, the united churches, and pariſhes of Killarow and Kilchoman, in the preſbytery of Kintire, and ſhire of Argyll and Bute.—Rev. John M'Conochie, the church and pariſh of Crauford, in the preſbytery and county of Lanark.

7. Rev. John Lynch, Doctor of Laws, a Canon or Prebendary of Canterbury, on the reſignation of Dr. Rich. Palmer.

14. Tho. Morley, Eſq; Cap.-Gen.

Gen. and Gov. in Chief of the Leeward Carribee Iſlands.

23. John Morris, Eſq; in virtue of the king's reverſionary grant, ſworn into the office of one of the Clerks of the Signet, *vice* Sir Joſ. Copley, deceaſed.

May 4. Robert Clements, Eſq; Governor of the county of Donegal.

8. Earl of Dalhouſe to be his majeſty's High Commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland.

9. Tho. Shirley, Eſq; took the oaths in council as Capt.-Gen. and Gov. in Chief of his majeſty's Leeward Carribbee Iſlands.

12. A congé d'élire ordered by the king to the Dean and Chapter of Wincheſter, for electing a biſhop; and a letter, recommending Brownlow now Biſhop of Worceſter, to be elected.

June 9. A congé d'élire ordered by the king to the Dean and Chapter of Worceſter, for electing a biſhop; and a letter, recommending Richard now Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry, to be elected.

26. The king has appointed the Rev. Dr. Joſ. Mac Cormack to be Principal of the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, in the Univerſity of St. Andrews, vacant by the death of the Rev. Dr. Robt. Watſon.

July 3. Alex. Crawford, appointed to be his majeſty's juſticiary baillie for the Weſt Seas of Scotland.

6. Peter Burrel, Eſq; knighted.

21. A congé d'élire ordered to the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church of Ely, for electing a biſhop of that ſee; with a letter, recommending the Right Rev. Father in God James Biſhop of Glouceſter, to be elected.

Aug. 14. The king approved of the appointment of Sir Peter Burrel, Knt. to exerciſe the office of Lord Great Chamberlain of England, as deputy to the Rt. Hon. Priſcilla Barbara Eliz. Baroneſs Willoughby of Ereſby, and Lady Georgina Charlotte Bertie, ſiſters and coheirs of his grace Robert, late D. of Ancaſter and Keſteven, hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England, deceaſed.

24. Geo. Younge, Eſq. captain in his majeſty's navy, the honour of knighthood.

G. James Cholmondeley and Rich. Tickell, Eſqrs. commiſſioners for his majeſty's ſtamp duties, in the room of John Kenrick, Eſq. reſigned, and Martin Whiſh, Eſq. promoted.

David Stew. Moncrieffe, Eſq. one of the Barons of his majeſty's Court of Exchequer in Scotland.

Sept. 4. Cha. Middleton, Eſq. comptroller of his majeſty's navy, created a Baronet of Great Britain, with remainder to Gerrard Noel Edwards, of Ketten, in the co. of Rutland, Eſq. and his iſſue male by Diana his wife, daughter of the ſaid Cha. Middleton.

Cha. Hanbury, Eſq. appointed his majeſty's agent and conſul in the circle of Lower Saxony, and the free cities of Bremen and Lubeck.

The appointment of John Stables, Eſq. to be one of the counſellors of the Gov.-Gen. and council of the preſidency of Fort William, in Bengal, in the room of Philip Francis, Eſq. confirmed by the king.

Sir

Sir John Dick, Bart. appointed one of the Comptrollers of the Accounts of his majeſty's army.

War-Office, Sept. 25. 23d reg. light dragoons.—Colonel Sir John Burgoyne, of 14th dragoons, is appointed to be colonel; Major John Floyd, of 21ſt dragoons, lieut. col.

Oct. 6. The dignity of a Baronet of Ireland to William Gleadowe Newcowen, of Carrickglaſs, in the county of Longford, Eſq; Barry Denny, of Caſtle Moyle, in the county of Kerry, Eſq; and Hugh Dillon Maſſey, of Donaſs, county of Clare, Eſq.

Nov. 6. Sir Geo. Br. Rodney, Bart. and K. B. appointed Vice-Adm. of Great Britain, and Lieut. of the Admiralty thereof, and alſo lieut. of the navies and ſeas of Great Britain, *vice* Ld. Hawke.

Geo. Darby, Eſq; Rear-Adm. of Great Britain, &c. *vice* Sir Geo. Bridges Rodney.

Earl Waldgrave, Lord Lieut. and Cuſt. Rot. of the co. of Eſſex, *vice* Lord Rochford, dec.

Dec. 22. Richard Cuſt, D.D. Dean of Lincoln, and alſo reſidentiary in that cathedral, both void by the promotion of Bp. Yorke.

Wm. Hayward Roberts, D.D. Provoſt of the College of Eton, void by the death of Dr. Barnard.

Rev. Philip Barlow, Broughton and Stoke Hammond RR. both in co. Bucks.

DEATHS, 1781.

Dec. 2, 1780. Right Hon. Tho. Willoughby, Ld. Middleton, and baronet. His Lordſhip was born Jan. 26, 1728, and ſucceeded his brother Francis, the late lord, Dec. 15, 1774. He married, April 14, 1770, Miſs Chadwick, by whom he has left no iſſue, on which account the title is ſuppoſed to be extinct.

Lately, Elizabeth Counteſs of Aſhburnham, daughter and coheir of Ambroſe Crowley, Eſq; late Alderman of London. She was married to the Earl of Aſhburnham, 1756, by whom ſhe had 2 ſons and four daughters.

Lately, at Hertford, the Hon. Mrs. Orme, wife to Robt. Orme, Eſq; M.P. daughter of the late Lord Viſcount Townſhend.

Lately, at Aſhill, in Ireland, the Hon. Mrs. Coote, wife to Chidley Coote, Eſq; and ſiſter to the Earl of Bellamont.

Jan. 13. In Italy, in a very advanced age, the Counteſs Dowa. of Orford, by whoſe death a jointure of 12,000l. per ann. devolves to the Earl of Orford: her ladyſhip, by her own deſire, was to be buried in Italy.

15. The Queen Dowager of Portugal and Alvarez.

At Bath, Lady Mary Cooley.

Sir Henry Cheere, Bart.

19. At Edinburgh, where he went for the education of his ſon, John Preſton, Eſq; M.P. for the borough of Navan, and nephew to the Earl of Ludlow: by his death, a very great and extenſive property devolves to his eldeſt ſon, now at the univerſity of Scotland.

23. John Williams, Eſq; one of the judges for the counties of Glamorgan, Brecon, and Radnor, in South Wales.

27. The Rt. Hon. Lady Brydges, at Chelſea, aunt to his Grace the Duke of Chandos.

29. Sir

29. Sir John Chapman, Bart. The title and eſtate devolve to an only brother, now Sir William, who has long enjoyed a conſiderable eſtate at Lowdham, in the county of Suffolk, bequeathed to him by Mr. Onebye.

In Harley-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſqu. the Lady of Sir John Dyke, Bart.

Feb. 9. The Hon. Mrs. A. Pitt, Privy-Purſe to the late Princeſs Dowager of Wales,

After a few hours illneſs, Lady Ranelagh: by her death an eſtate of 3500l. per ann. devolves on Lionel Felton Harvey, Eſq; who married her only daughter, Miſs Elvill, by her firſt huſband, Sir John Elvill, Bart.

13. Suddenly, of the gout in his ſtomach, Gen. Sir Rich. Pearſon, K. B.: he went home from the Pantheon in perfect health on the evening before, and expired before eight o'clock the next morning.

15. In Lincoln's-inn-fields, after a few days illneſs, the Lady of the Right Hon. Lord Loughborough, Lord Chief Juſtice of his majeſty's Court of Common-Pleas.

16. Sir John Major, Bart. of Worlingworth, and Thornham-hall, both in Suffolk.

March 1. Prince Eugene of Deſſau, field-marſhal of the Saxon army, in the 76th year of his age, at his palace at Deſſau.

7. At Wreſt-houſe, in Bedfordſhire, aged 30, Ld. Polworth, only ſon of the Earl of Marchmont, and ſon-in-law to the Earl of Hardwicke. Dying without iſſue, the Engliſh Barony of Hume, created in 1776, is extinct.

In Berkeley-ſquare, Sir Francis Reynolds, Knt.

15. At Edinburgh, Lady Mary Douglas, daugh. of William firſt Earl of March.

16. Matth. Wyldbore, Eſq; one of the repreſentatives for the city of Peterborough in the two laſt parliaments.

Lately, Sir Wm. Molyneux, Bart. one of the verdurers of the foreſt of Sherwood, and father of Sir Fra. Molyneux.

26. Near Rocheſter, Sir W. Buchanan, Knt. aged 82, formerly M.P. for Staffordſhire.

April 2. The Rt. Hon. Charles Lord Elphinſtone.

3. Hen. Thrale, Eſq; LL.D. an eminent brewer, and member in the laſt parliament for the borough of Southwark.

At Bath, the Rt. Hon. Henry Earl Conyngham, Viſc. Conyngham, and Baron Mount Charles, of the kingdom of Ireland, and alſo a Privy Counſellor and Lord Lieutenant of the county and city of Londonderry, in that kingdom.

6. At Abercairney, Scotland, the Right Hon. Lady Dowager Rollo.

7. Rev. Robt. Watſon, D.D. Principal of the Univerſity of St. Andrew's, author of the Hiſtory of Philip II.

8. Right Hon. Lady Barbara Gould, daughter to the Earl of Suſſex.

11. At Dublin, in the 66th year of his age, the Right Hon. William Croſbie, E. of Glandore, Viſcount Croſbie, of Ardfert, and Baron of Branden, one of his majeſty's Moſt Hon. Privy Council of Ireland. In Nov. 1745, he married Lady Theodoſia Bligh, ſiſter of the preſent Earl of Darnley, and by her, who died in May 1777, he has left iſſue one ſon and three

three daughters. His lordſhip married ſecondly the relict of —— Ward, Eſq; by whom he had no iſſue.

16. Sir Joſ. Copley, Bart. of Sprotbrough, co. York.

18. At Acomb, near York, Lady Margaret Dalziel, only dau. of the late Earl of Carnwath.

21. At Caſtlecomer, co. Kilkenny, the Rt. Hon. the Counteſs of Wandesford.

23. At Glaſſaugh, Banffſhire, aged 75, James Abercromby, Eſq; of Glaſſaugh, a general of foot, col. of the 44th reg. and Deputy-Governor of Stirling Caſtle.

28. At Bath, the Rt. Hon. Lady Lucy Sherard, ſiſter of the Earl of Harborough.

29. At Bath, the Right Hon. Lord Teynham, Baron Teynham, co. Kent, whoſe title and eſtates devolve to his eldeſt ſon, the Hon. Henry Roper.

May 3. Lady Charlotte Percy, only daughter of Earl Percy.

6. At Kenſington, H. Vaughan, Eſq; aged 101, formerly a repreſentative in parliament for Monmouthſhire.

7. At Orielton, Pembrokeſhire, Sir William Owen, Bart.

9. At Engleſield-Green, near Staines, in the 62d year of his age, the Right Hon. William De Grey, Baron Walſingham, of Walſingham, in Norfolk. His lordſhip was younger brother of Tho. De Grey, Eſq; of Merton in Norfolk, lately repreſentative for that county, and was ſon of Thomas De Grey, formerly repreſentative for Thetford, co. Norfolk. He was made ſolicitor to the queen in the year 1761; ſolicitor-general in 1763; attorney-general in 1766; member for Newport in 1761, 1768; member for Camb. Univerſity in 1770; Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas in 1771; which he reſigned in 1780; and Baron Walſingham in 1780. By his lady, daughter of Wm. Cowper, Eſq; late member for Hertford, he had iſſue Thomas, now Lord Walſingham, married to Georgiana, daughter of Lord Boſton; Charlotte, married to Joſeph Wyndham, Eſq.

13. Lieut. Gen. Wm. Amherſt (brother to Lord Amherſt), adjut. general of his majeſty's forces, colonel of the 32d reg. of foot, and Governor of St. John's, Newfoundland.

16. The Hon. and Rev. John Stanley, D. D. aged 90, Rector of Winwick, co. Lanc. (a living ſaid to be worth 3000l. a year), and brother to the late Earl of Derby.

17. In Groſvenor-ſquare, aged 81, Wm. Aiſlabie, Eſq; of Studley-Park, M. P. for Rippon, Yorkſhire, and one of the auditors of his majeſty's impreſt.

20. Lady Mountague Bertie, relict of Lord Montague Bertie, 2d ſon of Robert, the firſt Duke of Ancaſter and Keſteven, by his ſecond wife Albina, daughter of General Farrington.

At his ſeat of Caſtleward in Ireland, the Right Hon. Bernard Ward, Lord Baron of Bangor. He was created Baron Bangor May 22, 1770; and is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his eldeſt ſon Michael.

22. At Kenſington, Rt. Hon. the Earl of Mornington, of the kingdom of Ireland; a nobleman of great worth and abilities.

31. At Abbeville, near Dublin, the Rt. Hon. Lady Louiſa Howard,

one of the daughters of the lord-lieutenant.

June 2. At Little Milton, co. Oxford, Sir John D'Oyly, Bart. aged 71, whoſe title devolves upon Mr. D'Oyly, of Adderbury Weſt.

3. In Mortimer-ſtreet, Thomas Dummer, Eſq; member for Lymington in Hampſhire.

4. At Rome, aged 51, his Eminency John Octavius Manciforte, Cardinal Prieſt of the Holy Roman See. This makes the 12th vacancy in the Sacred College.

9. At Dublin, the Right Hon. Lord Dunſany; his eſtate and title devolves to his ſon Randal, now Lord Dunſany.

13. At Orton, Huntingd. Sir C. Cope, Bart.

14. The Lady of John Aubrey, Eſq; member for Wallingford, Berks.

15. Rt. Hon. John Lord Baron Liſle, aged 79.

23. At Merton, in Norfolk, Tho. De Grey, Eſq; elder brother of the late Lord Walſingham, and repreſentative in two parliaments for that county.

27. At Hampſtead, Sir John Honeywood, Bart.

At Inverneſs, Lady Amelia Halkett, widow of Sir Peter H. of Pitſirran.

July 1. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mr. Baron Maule.

6. At Ely-Houſe in Dover-ſtreet, of a dropſy in the breaſt, in the 68th year of his age, the Right Rev. Dr. Edmund Keene, Lord Biſhop of Ely. His lordſhip was a native of Lynn in Norfolk, and a younger brother of the late Sir Benjamin Keene, K. B. formerly ambaſſador to Spain, who left him his fortune.

9. At Eton-ſchool, the eldeſt ſon of Sir Brooke Bridges, Bart. His death was occaſioned by a fall as he was running the preceding evening, but did not then perceive he was hurt; he awoke ſeveral times in the night, and was ſick; his brother coming to him to enquire how he was in the morning, he anſwered he was very well, and expired in ten minutes.

18. At Stobhall, Right Hon. James, Earl of Perth.

29. Suddenly, at his ſeat at Doddershall in Bucks, the Right Hon. Richard Fienes, Viſcount and Baron Say and Sele, and LL.D. His father the Rev. Rich. Fienes, married Penelope, daughter of Geo. Chamberlain, of Wardington, in Oxfordſh. Eſq; by whom he had iſſue (beſides the late viſc.) Suſanna, who died unmarried; Vere-Alicia, married to Richard Wykeham, of Swacliff, Oxfordſh. Eſq; Elizabeth to the Rev. Henry Quartley, Rector of Wicken, Northamptonſhire; and Cecilia, to Alex. Gordon, of Greenwich in Kent, Eſq. His lordſhip was the grandſon of the Hon. Rich. Fienes, fourth ſon of William firſt Viſc. Say and Sele, ſo created July 7, 1624, 22 James I.; and in 1742 (being then fellow of New College, Oxford, of which the Fienes's are founder's kin) ſucceeded to the title on the death of his father's firſt couſin, Laurence, and thus became the ſixth viſcount. He married, in 1754, Chriſtabella, daughter of Sir John Tyrell, of Bucks, Bart. and relict firſt of John Knapp, Eſq; and afterwards of John Pigot, of Doddershall, in the ſame county, Eſq; by whom he had no iſſue. The title of viſcount is now ſuppoſed to be extinct.

extinct. Col. Twiſleton has lately been called up by writ to the barony.

31. At his ſeat at Cobham Hall, near Rocheſter, the Right Hon. John Bligh, Earl and Viſc. Darnley, and Baron Clifton, of Rathmore, in Ireland; and Lord Clifton of Lighton Bromſwold, in England, hereditary High Steward of Graveſend and Milton in Kent. His lordſhip was born in 1719. In 1739, being then a commoner, he was returned member of the Iriſh parliament for Athboy; and in 1741, of the parliament of England for Maidſtone in Kent. In 1747, he ſucceeded his brother, the late earl; and in Sept. 1766, he married, in Ireland, the daughter and heireſs of the late John Stoyte, Eſq. He is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his eldeſt ſon, Lord Clifton, a youth of 17, now at Etonſchool. The late earl has ordered, by his will, his remains to be interred, or entombed, in a mauſoleum to be built and conſecrated for that purpoſe in his park. In the mean time they are to be embalmed and ſoldered up.

Lately, at Sidcup, the Hon. Thomas Arundel, Count of the Sacred Roman Empire, brother to Lord Arundel of Wardour.

At Envil, Staffordſh. the Right Hon. Lady Dorothy Grey, aunt to the Earl of Stamford.

At St. Catharine's, Dublin, Sir Richard Woolfley, Bart.

At Pyrmont, Baron De Veltheim, lieut. gen. of the cavalry in his majeſty's Electoral army at Hanover.

At Stettin, in Germany, in the 66th year of his age, his Serene Highneſs Prince Auguſtus Wm. of Brunſwick Bevern, general of infantry in the Pruſſian ſervice, and Governor of Stettin.

Aug. 6. Drowned as he was bathing in the Thames, the ſecond ſon of Sir Charles Cox, Bart. an amiable and moſt promiſing youth of Weſtminſter-ſchool.

30. After a long illneſs, during which he was ſeveral time confidently reported to have been dead, Geo. Hayley, Eſq; Alderman of Cordwainer's Ward, and one of the four repreſentatives in parliament for the city of London. He married the ſiſter of John Wilkes, Eſq; widow of Mr. Stork, an eminent Weſt-India merchant, and by her had two ſons, who died young, and two daughters, one of whom ſurvives.

At Auchiries, the Hon. John Forbes, of Pitſligo, aged 68. He was only ſon to Alexander Lord Forbes, of Pitſligo, by his firſt Lady Rebecca Norton, of London. He married, the 2d of Aug. 1750, Rebecra Ogilvie, eldeſt daughter of the late James Ogilvie, of Auchiries; by whom having had no iſſue, the male line of the ancient and noble houſe of Pitſligo is extinct. The family is now repreſented by Sir Wm. Forbes, Bart. banker in Edinburgh.

At Tobago, a few days before the French took poſſeſſion of it, the Hon. Lieut. Sutton, of the 86th reg. of foot, ſon of the Right Hon. Lord Geo. Sutton.

At Philorth, aged 61, the Right Hon. George Lord Saltoun.

The Right Hon. William Earl of Panmure, of the kingdom of Ireland, Col. of the Scotch Greys, and repreſentative in parliament

for the county of Forfar in Scotland.

Sept. 1. At Dreſden, his Serene Highneſs Prince Charles, brother to the Elector of Saxony, in the 30th year of his age.

10. Sir Thomas Gooch, Bart. of Benacree-Hall, co. Suffolk.

12. At Naples, aged 30, of a dyſentery, Lord Rich. Cavendiſh, next brother to the D. of Devonſhire, and brother to the Ducheſs of Portland. His lordſhip was member in the laſt parliament for Lancaſter, and choſen at the late general election for the co. Derby.

16. At Briſtol, the Right Hon. Dorothy Counteſs of Harborough, Lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of Harborough, of Stapleford, Leiceſterſhire.

21. At Aſh-Hall, co. York, Sir Laurence Dundas, Bart. member for Richmond in the laſt parliament. By the death of Sir L. D. an eſtate of 16,000l. per ann. devolves to his ſon, now Sir Thomas Dundas. He is alſo ſaid to have left behind him, in various legacies to his nephews and other relations, the immenſe fortune of 900,000l. in perſonalities and landed property.

Sir Tho. Mannock, Bart. who is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his brother Geo. Mannock, Eſq; of Bromley-Hall, Eſſex

At Briſtol, the Rev. Sir Robert Pynſent, Bart. a gentleman well known for his conteſt with the E. of Chatham for the Pynſent eſtate.

At Eyre Court, in Ireland, the Right Hon. John Lord Eyre.

At Brough Hall, Yorkſhire, Sir Henry Lawſon, Bart. He is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his eldeſt ſon, now Sir John Lawſon.

28. At his ſeat at St. Oſyth, in Eſſex, aged 64, the Right Hon. William Henry Naſſau De Zuleſtein, Earl of Rochford, Viſcount Tunbridge, Knight of the Garter, one of his majeſty's privy council, one of the elder brethren of the Trinity-Houſe, a Governor of the Charter-Houſe, Vice-admiral of the coaſts of Eſſex, Lord Lieut. and Cuſt. Rot. of the county, and Col. of the weſtern battalion of the Eſſex militia. He married Lucy, daughter of Edw. Young, Eſq; of Durnford, Wilts, and one of the maids of honour to the princeſs of Wales. Dying without iſſue, his titles and eſtate devolve to his nephew, Wm. Henry Naſſau, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of the late Hon. Rich. Savage Naſſau, formerly M. P. for Malden in Eſſex.

Oct. 1. In Taviſtock-ſtreet, Mr. John Charles Newby, brother-in-law to the Rev. Mr. Bate.

The Rt. Hon. Vere Beauclerk, Lord Vere of Hanworth, one of the Vice-preſidents of the Aſylum, and uncle to the Duke of St. Alban's. His lordſhip was the third ſon of Charles the firſt Duke of St. Alban's, by his wife the Lady Diana Vere, ſole heir of the 20th and laſt Earl of Oxford of that illuſtrious family. He married the eldeſt daughter and co-heir of Tho. Chambers, Eſq; of Hanworth, in Middleſex, and ſiſter to the Counteſs Temple, by whom he left a ſon Aubry, now Lord Vere, member in the parliament that met in 1768, for Aldborough in Yorkſhire, who in 1763, married Lady Catharine Ponſonby, daughter of the Earl of Beſborough, by whom he has iſſue; and a daughter, Mary, married in 1762, to Lord Cha. Spencer, next brother to the Duke of Marlborough.

3. At

3. At Witham-Place, in Eſſex, William Lord Stourton, a Roman Catholic peer. He is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his ſon, the Hon. Cha. Philip Stourton.

4. Sir Rich. Murray, Bart. of Blackbarony. He is ſucceeded in title by his brother, now Sir Arch. Murray.

6. Right Hon. Henry Fred. Thynne Howe, Lord Chedworth, aged 66. He is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his nephew, Tho. Howe, Eſq.

7. Lady Honywood, relict of Sir John Honywood, Bart. of Evington, Kent. Her ladyſhip was aunt to Sir John Filmer, Bart.

13. Cha. Millar, Eſq; brother to Sir Tho. Millar, and to the Counteſs of Albemarle, and equerry to his R. H. the Duke of Glouceſter.

14. At Beckenham, in Kent, Sir Piercy Brett, Knt. Admiral of the Blue, an elder brother of the Trinity-Houſe, and one of the directors of Greenwich Hoſpital.

15. At Bruſſels, the Rt. Hon. Alex. Erſkine, Earl of Kelly, in Scotland, Viſcount Fenton, &c. &c. He is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his brother, the Hon. Major Arch. Erſkine, of the 11th reg. of foot.

16. At Sunbury, in Midd. the Right Hon. Edward Lord Hawke, K.B. Vice Adm. of Great Britain, admiral of the fleet, Preſident of the Maritime-School, and an elder brother of the Trinity-Houſe.

19. In Fifeſhire, Sir Robert Henderſon, of Fordell, Bart.

20. At Trelowarren, in Cornwall, Sir Rich. Vyvyan, Bart. who is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his brother, now the Rev. Sir Carew Vyvyan.

22. Suddenly, at Burford, Oxfordſhire, aged 75, Wm. Lenthall, Eſq; one of the juſtices of the peace for that county, and great grandſon to Lenthall, ſpeaker of the long parliament in Cromwell's time.

24. In Charles-ſtr. Groſvenor-ſquare, aged 97 years 4 months, Lady Gray, relict of Sir James Gray, Bart. and mother of the late Sir James and Sir George.

27. At Nackington, near Canterbury, Mrs. Milles, mother to Rich. Milles, Eſq; late M. P. for that city, and to the Lady of Sir Edw. Aſtley, Bart.

Nov. 5. At Stapleford, co. Leic. the Right Hon. Lady Dorothy Sherard, only daughter of the E. of Harborough, by Dorothy, the late counteſs.

10. At his houſe in the Warren, Woolwich, aged 77, Lieut. Gen. Geo. Williams, col. of the 2d battalion of the royal reg. of artillery; he was near 60 years an officer, and was buried on the 16th at Woolwich with military honours.

12. At Hartford, near Huntingdon, Mrs. Wadeſon, relict of Robert Wadeſon, Eſq; formerly of the Iſland of Barbadoes.

Lately, at Liſbon, where he went for the recovery of his health, the Right Hon. Lord John Pelham Clinton, 2d ſon of the Duke of Newcaſtle, member for Eaſt Retford, co. Nottingham, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales.

Hon. Edm. Butler, brother to the late Lord Dunboyne.

Dec. 2. Of an apoplexy, the Rev. Edw. Barnard, D. D. Provoſt of Eton College, Canon of Windſor, Rector of Paul's Cray, Kent, and one of his majeſty's chaplains

in ordinary. He was formerly fellow of St John's College, Camb. and maſter in Eton ſchool. He has left one ſon, now at St. John's.

4. At Norwich, Sir Thomas Churchman, Knt. Alderman of Mancroft Ward. He ſerved the office of ſheriff in the year 1757, was elected an alderman in 1759, and chief magiſtrate in 1761.

11. At his ſeat at Weſt Wycombe, Bucks, after a tedious illneſs, the Right Hon. Fra. Daſhwood, Lord Le Deſpencer, Premier Baron of England, a Privy Counſellor, Lord Lieut. and Cuſt. Rot. of Buckinghamſhire, joint Poſtmaſter-General, one of the Vice-Preſidents of the Foundling Hoſpital and of the Medical Aſylum, F R and A.SS. and LL.D. His lordſhip, in May 1763, was appointed Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, and Lord Lieut. of the co. of Bucks; and one of the joint Poſtmaſters-Gen. Dec. 19, 1770. He married Miſs Gould, of Iver, Bucks, daugh. of the late Henry Gould. Eſq. Her ladyſhip died without iſſue, Feb. 2, 1760. The ancient Barony of Le Deſpencer now deſcends to Sir Tho. Stapleton, Bart. of Grey's Court, near Henley, Oxfordſhire, grandſon of Vere, Earl of Weſtmoreland, and Lord Le Deſpencer.

22. In Upper Brook-ſtr. Groſvenor-ſquare, the Right Hon. Lady Frances Conningſby. She was ſtruck with the palſy in her heart as ſhe was going out in her carriage, and expired immediately. By her death, Lord Malden comes into poſſeſſion of 7000l. a year, and a large ſum of money.

25. The eldeſt ſon of the late Sir John Cope. The above young gentlemen was not above 12 years old, and but a few days on an excurſion from Eton College. The title deſcends to his uncle, a private gentleman.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

The Trial of George Gordon, Esq; *commonly called Lord* George Gordon, *for High Treason, at the Bar of the Court of King's-Bench, on Monday, Feb.* 5, 1781*.

Copy of the Indictment preferred against Lord George Gordon *by the Grand Jury.*

" Middlesex,

"THE jurors for our lord the king upon their oath present, That George Gordon, late of the parish of St. Mary-Le-Bone, otherwise Marybone, in the county of Middlesex, Esq; commonly called Lord George Gordon, being a subject of our said sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. not having the fear of God before his eyes, nor weighing the duty of his allegiance, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, and entirely withdrawing the love, and true and due obedience which every subject of our said sovereign lord the king should and of right ought to bear towards our said present sovereign lord the king, and wickedly devising and intending to disturb the peace and public tranquillity of this kingdom, on the 2d day of June, in the twentieth year of the reign of our said sovereign lord the now king, at the parish of St. Margaret, within the liberty of Westminster, in the said county of Middlesex, unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously did compass, imagine, and intend to raise and levy war, insurrection, and rebellion against our said lord the king within this kingdom of Great Britain; and to fulfil and bring to effect the said traitorous compassings, imaginations, and intentions of him the said George Gor-

* The COURT consisted of—William Earl of Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice; Edward Willes, Esq; Sir W. H. Ashurst, Knt. Francis Buller, Esq; Justices.

The JURY—Thomas Collins, Esq; Berner-street; Henry Hastings, Esq; Queen Anne-street; Edward Hulse, Esq; Harley-street; Edward Pomfret, Esq; New North-street; Gedeliah Gatfield, Esq; Hackney; Joseph Pickles, Esq; Homerton; Edward Gordon, Esq; Bromley; Marmaduke Peacock, Esq; Hackney; Francis Degon, Esq; Hammersmith; Simon Le Sage, Esq; ditto; Robert Armitage, Esq, Kensington; John Rix, Esq; Whitechapel.

COUNCIL *for the Crown*—Mr. Attorney-General, Mr. Solicitor-General, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Lee, Mr. Howarth, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Norton.

COUNCIL *for the Prisoner*—Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Erskine.

don,

don, he the ſaid George Gordon afterwards (that is to ſay) on the 2d day of June, in the twentieth year aforeſaid, with force of arms, &c. at the ſaid pariſh of St. Margaret, within the liberty of Weſtminſter, in the ſaid county of Middleſex, with a great multitude of perſons whoſe names are at preſent unknown to the jurors aforeſaid, to a great number, to wit, to the number of five hundred perſons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner (that is to ſay), with colours flying, and with ſwords, clubs, bludgeons, ſtaves, and other weapons, as well offenſive as defenſive, being then and there unlawfully, maliciouſly, and traitorouſly aſſembled and gathered together againſt our ſaid preſent ſovereign lord the king, moſt wickedly, maliciouſly, and traitorouſly did ordain, prepare, and levy public war againſt our ſaid lord the king, his ſupreme and undoubted lord, contrary to the duty of his allegiance, againſt the peace of our ſaid lord the king, his crown, and dignity, and alſo againſt the form of the ſtatute in ſuch caſe made and provided. And the jurors aforeſaid, upon their oath aforeſaid, further preſent, that the ſaid George Gordon, being a ſubject of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and ſeduced by the inſtigation of the devil, and entirely withdrawing the love, and true and due obedience which every ſubject of our ſaid ſovereign lord the king ſhould, and of right ought to bear towards our ſaid preſent ſovereign lord the king, and wickedly deviſing and intending to diſturb the peace and public tranquillity of this kingdom, afterwards, to wit, on the ſaid ſecond day of June, in the twentieth year of the reign of our ſaid ſovereign lord the now king, and on divers other days and times between that day and the tenth day of the ſaid month of June, at the ſaid pariſh of St. Margaret, within the liberty of Weſtminſter, in the ſaid county of Middleſex, unlawfully, maliciouſly, and traitorouſly, did compaſs, imagine, and intend to raiſe and levy war, inſurrection, and rebellion againſt our ſaid lord the king, within this kingdom of Great Britain; and to fulfil and bring to effect the ſaid laſt mentioned traitorous compaſſings, imaginations, and intentions of him the ſaid George Gordon, he the ſaid George Gordon, on the ſaid ſecond day of June, in the twentieth year aforeſaid, and on divers other days and times between that day and the tenth day of the ſame month of June, with force and arms, &c. at the ſaid pariſh of St. Margaret, within the liberty of Weſtminſter, in the ſaid county of Middleſex, with a great multitude of perſons whoſe names are at preſent unknown to the jurors aforeſaid, to a great number, to wit, to the number of five hundred perſons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner (that is to ſay), with colours flying, and with ſwords, clubs, bludgeons, ſtaves, and other weapons, as well offenſive as defenſive, being then and there unlawfully, maliciouſly, and traitorouſly aſſembled and gathered together againſt our ſaid preſent ſovereign lord the king, moſt wickedly, maliciouſly, and traitorouſly

ly did ordain, prepare, and levy public war againſt our ſaid lord the king, his ſupreme and undoubted lord, contrary to the duty of his allegiance, againſt the peace of our ſaid lord the king, his crown, and dignity, and alſo againſt the form of the ſtatute in ſuch caſe made and provided."

Mr. NORTON *opened the indictment.*

Mr. Attorney-general then ſtated, that the particular ſpecies of treaſon, with which the priſoner was charged, was 'levying war againſt the king within his realm:' that 'this offence, within the ſtatute 25 Edw. III. is of two ſorts, the one directly and immediately againſt the perſon of the king;' that 'the other, conſtructive levying of war, is againſt the majeſty of the king, as a great and numerous inſurrection of the people to effect by force an alteration of the eſtabliſhed law of the country, or the reformation of grievances, real or imaginary, in which the inſurgents have no particular or ſpecial intereſt;' and that it was of the latter kind of levying war with which the priſoner ſtood charged.

He then entered into a diſcuſſion of the act againſt the Roman Catholics of the 11th and 12th of King William, ſhewing that the clauſes it contained were equally cruel and ſevere, and could only be juſtified by the neceſſity of the caſe, for the ſalvation of the ſtate and our religion: that the hiſtory of the times afforded no proof of ſuch neceſſity, nor any apology for the hardſhips of ſuch proviſions; that the bill, on the contrary, according to Biſhop Burnet's account, originated in party faction, and was brought into the Houſe of Commons, that the court party, by rejecting it, might incur the odium of favouring the Catholics; that thoſe who brought it in did not mean it ſhould paſs, but were diſappointed in their views, the court party making no oppoſition to it; that wiſhing then to drop it, they could not; upon which they added many ſevere and unreaſonable clauſes to the bill, and ſent it up to the lords in hopes that they would reject it, who, however, ſuffered it to paſs. 'It was too much,' added the attorney-general, 'for any party or faction to ſtake upon their game the liberties and fortunes of others.'

He next juſtified the Act paſſed in 1778, to relieve the Roman Catholics from the oppreſſive clauſes of the ſaid Act of the 11th 12th of King William. 'This Bill,' ſaid he, 'was brought in by a member of the Houſe of Commons, diſtinguiſhed for his love of the civil rights of mankind, and for his firm and zealous attachment to the Proteſtant religion, and who beſides poſſeſſes every public and private virtue that can adorn the citizen and the man —I mean Sir George Saville. It paſſed through the commons almoſt unanimouſly, the oppoſition made to it by ſome not being to the principle of the Bill, but that it did not go far enough in the redreſs: for, at the time of paſſing this Act of King William, the Roman Catholics were excluded from any ſhare in government, from any office of truſt civil or military, and the perſons of that religion performing any part of their functions, as prieſts, or keeping of ſchools, or educating youth, were

were liable to many pecuniary penalties, and in ſome inſtances to temporary impriſonment.'

After mentioning that the repeal of the Act in queſtion was conditional only, and reſtrained to thoſe who ſhould take an oath of the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of loyalty to the government, and an abjuration in the moſt explicit terms of every pretender to the crown and government, with a poſitive renunciation of any authority of the ſee of Rome, in civil or temporal caſes, within this kingdom; he took notice of the great diſturbances at Edinburgh in February 1779, upon the ſuppoſition of a ſimilar bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics in Scotland. This he noticed, as what would be found to be a very material circumſtance when he came to ſtate the conduct of the priſoner.

Paſſing then to the Proteſtant Aſſociation, he mentioned the pains that were taken to create a belief that the repeal of the ſtatute of King William would be attended with imminent danger to the ſtate, and to the Proteſtant religion. 'Upon this ground,' ſaid he, 'a petition was determined upon, and, if they apprehended danger, they did right to petition; it is the inherent right of the ſubject to petition parliament; and, whenever they imagine a caſe proper for the conſideration of parliament, they do right to bring it before them; and I believe this petition was at one time intended to have been preſented in a legal, conſtitutional, and orderly manner.'

Adverting to the circumſtance of aſſembling, by public advertiſement, in St. George's Fields, a vaſt multitude of people, which he called a large army, he ſaid, that, 'though it is the innate right of the ſubject to preſent a petition to parliament, yet the petitioners are not to dictate to parliament, or take from parliament their deliberation upon the ſubject; that would tend directly to the diſſolution of the conſtitution, and the ſubverſion of government.'

Deſcribing then the march of the Proteſtant Aſſociators to the Houſe of Commons, which he ſaid was as regular as an army trained to it, and dwelling upon the dreadful outrages and conflagrations that enſued, he obſerved, that 'all perſons who contributed to the perpetration of them were as criminal as the very perſons who committed the act, and more ſo, eſpecially if they are to be aſcribed to their incitement and encouragement.' He then added, 'Gentlemen, you have now before you, as will appear upon the evidence, the author of all theſe violent and diſgraceful proceedings, to whom the whole is to be imputed. An offender of ſuch a deſcription has not often appeared in a court of juſtice.' In further ſtating the conduct of the priſoner, he dwelt much upon the moſt minute circumſtances that could tend to criminate him, particularly on his alluſion to the firmneſs of the Scotch, and then concluded by calling for the

Evidence for the Crown.

William Hay, a printer in Fleet-ſtreet, ſwore, that he had ſeen the priſoner five or ſix times at different places where the Proteſtant Aſſociation met; particularly at St. Margaret's-hill, at Greenwood's rooms, at the Old Crown

Crown and Rolls in Chancery-lane, at the London-Tavern, and at Coachmakers-hall; that, at the meeting at Coachmakers-hall, on the 29th of May, previous to their going up to the Houſe of Commons, he heard the priſoner announce to a numerous aſſembly, 'that the Aſſociated Proteſtants amounted to upwards of 40,000; that, on Friday the 2d of June, it was reſolved they ſhould meet in St. George's Fields, in four ſeparate diviſions or columns, arrayed or dreſt in their beſt clothes, with blue cockades in their hats, as he himſelf ſhould wear one, to diſtinguiſh them from Papiſts or friends to Roman Catholics;' that ſome evenings before, at the Crown and Rolls, the priſoner read over the preambles or certain parts of the penal laws of Charles II. William and Mary, and George II.; that, after reading them, he obſerved, 'That, by his majeſty's giving his aſſent to the Quebec law, and the late Act tolerating the Roman Catholics in England, his counſellors had brought him to that paſs or ſituation in which James II. was after his abdication;' that he then read his majeſty's coronation-oath, and ſaid, 'It was his opinion, that his majeſty had broken that oath,' and that 'the people of this country did not mince the matter, they ſpoke their minds freely, and avowed it to be true;' that, on Friday the 2d of June, he ſaw a vaſt multitude collected in St. George's Fields, with cockades and banners, and the words *Proteſtant Aſſociation, no Popery!* on them; and that he ſaw Lord George haranguing the mob; that afterwards he ſaw them march through Fleet-ſtreet, in their way to the Houſe of Commons; that the ſame day he was in the lobby of the houſe, which was much crowded; that he heard Lord George exhort the mob 'to continue ſtedfaſt in ſo good and glorious a cauſe. He would perſevere in it himſelf; and he hoped, although there was very little expectation from the Houſe of Commons, that they would meet with redreſs from their mild or gracious ſovereign.'

On his croſs-examination he ſaid, that the firſt time of his attending the meetings of the Proteſtant Aſſociation was on the 10th of December. Being deſired to recollect whether he certainly ſaw the priſoner at Greenwood's rooms, he deſired to refer to his notes, and then ſaid he was miſtaken. Being aſked how he came to take notes of what paſſed at theſe meetings, he anſwered, that he had an idea then of what would be their conſequences; that he firſt foreſaw theſe conſequences on the 20th of February. Being reminded that he had taken notes ſo early as the 21ſt of January (the day on which he had ſworn that he ſaw Lord George in Greenwood's rooms), he anſwered, that, without thoſe notes, he could not come to that concluſion in his own mind about the conſequences, and that he had taken notes on the 10th of December; that this was his conſtant courſe in all occurrences of life. Being queſtioned what other meetings he had attended beſides thoſe of the Proteſtant Aſſociation, where he had committed what paſſed to writing, he appeared much embarraſſed. He ſaid, however, that the firſt notes he made in his life were in the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland. Having

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ing ſaid that the perſon he had ſeen with a flag in Fleet-ſtreet, he ſaw afterwards at the Fleet-priſon and in Weſtminſter, he was deſired to deſcribe him. He anſwered, that he appeared to him like a brewer's ſervant in his beſt clothes; upon which being deſired to explain by what mark he could diſtinguiſh a brewer's ſervant in his beſt clothes from other men, he was extremely confuſed, and, at length, declared himſelf unable to anſwer the queſtion.

William Metcalf ſwore that he was at Coachmakers-hall on the day when the meeting in St. George's Fields was fixed upon; that he went out of curioſity, on hearing Lord G. Gordon was to be there; that he heard him deſire them to meet him in St. George's Fields; he reminded them 'that the Scotch had ſucceeded by unanimity, and he deſired that they would likewiſe be unanimous; he hoped no one, who had ſigned the petition, would be aſhamed or afraid to ſhew himſelf in the cauſe; he would not preſent the petition, unleſs he was met in St. George's Fields by twenty thouſand people, and he recommended them to come with blue cockades in their hats, as a mark of diſtinction; he himſelf would be there to met them, and would be anſwerable for any of them that ſhould be moleſted for meeting there; he wiſhed ſo well to the cauſe, that he would go to the gallows *in* it or *for* it; (words to that effect, but that the word *gallows* was certainly mentioned); and that he would not preſent the petition of a lukewarm people.

John Anſtruther, Eſq; confirmed the evidence of the preceding witneſs. He was not certain, however, whether the word 'gallows' might not be 'death;' he rather believed the former was the word: he ſaid, that after the priſoner had declared, that, if there was one leſs than 20,000 people, he would not meet them in St. George's Fields; he added, 'becauſe without that number he did not think their petition would be of conſequence enough;' and that he alſo recommended temperance and firmneſs in their conduct. This witneſs then ſaid, that on the Friday after he was in the lobby in the Houſe of Commons; he ſaw Lord George leaning over a gallery that looks down into the lobby; he heard him addreſs the people from that place; he came out, as he underſtood, for the purpoſe of telling them what paſſed in the houſe; he told them, 'they had been called a mob within the houſe; that the peace-officers had been called in to diſperſe them;' I think he ſaid, 'them peaceable petitioners;' that 'they had not given their reaſons to the houſe why they had not diſperſed them; he believed the peace-officers had ſigned the petition; ſome people had mentioned in the houſe ſomething relating to calling in the military; he hoped no-body would think of taking a ſtep of that ſort, as it would infallibly tend to create diviſions among his majeſty's ſubjects.' He again mentioned 'how the Scotch by their ſteadineſs had carried their point; he had no doubt his majeſty would ſend to his miniſters to deſire them to repeal the Act, when he heard that his ſubjects were flocking from miles round, and wiſhing its repeal.' This witneſs further ſaid, ſeveral people called to Lord G. Gordon, 'Do you deſire us to go away?'

away?' he anſwered, 'You are the beſt judges of what you ought to do, but I will tell you how the matter ſtands: the houſe are going to divide upon the queſtion, whether your petition ſhall be taken into conſideration now, or upon Tueſday. There are, for taking it into conſideration now, myſelf, and ſix or ſeven others. If it be not taken into conſideration now, your petition may be loſt. To-morrow the houſe does not meet; Monday is the king's birth-day. On Tueſday the parliament may be 'diſſolved,' — or 'prorogued.' [The witneſs was not certain which expreſſion; and with regard to the whole of his evidence he ſpoke with great caution, declaring that he could not be very accurate as to the words.]

The Rev. Thomas Bowen, officiated as chaplain to the Houſe of Commons on the 2d of June; after prayers were over, he went and ſat under the gallery, near the door. The tumult in the lobby was very great, and, while the houſe were deliberating how to quell it, he ſaw Lord George frequently go to the door, and heard him repeat to the people in the lobby what different members had ſaid in the debates. 'The ſpeaker of the houſe has juſt ſaid that you are all come here under the pretence of religion.' He thought his lordſhip then added, 'You are a good people; yours is a good cauſe.' After this, he ſaid, 'Mr. Burke, member for Briſtol, has ſaid'—but the door was then ſhut, and he could not hear what. Afterwards, he called out, 'Mr. Rous has juſt moved that the civil power be ſent for, but don't you mind; keep yourſelves cool; be ſteady.' At another time he ſaid, 'Lord North calls you a mob.' Once, while Lord George was at the door, he ſaw a gentleman go up to him, who ſeemed to be perſuading him to return to his ſeat. As ſoon as Lord George turned round, and ſaw who it was, he called out to the people, 'This is Sir Michael le Fleming; he has juſt been ſpeaking for you.' He ſeemed to be remarkably pleaſed with Sir Michael, patted, or ſtroaked, his ſhoulder, and expreſſed a kind of joy, which the witneſs knew not how to deſcribe. It ſeemed to him extravagant, and, if he might be allowed the expreſſion, childiſh. The witneſs further ſaid, that when the diviſion was called for he withdrew. Being afterwards ſtanding near the little gallery over the lobby, he ſaw ſome gentlemen endeavouring to perſuade the people to retire; one of the gentlemen aſked him to ſpeak to them, he accordingly told them they ſtopped their own buſineſs, and begged them to retire. He then heard a perſon call out diſtinctly, 'If his lordſhip would come and ſay it was neceſſary for them to go, they would go.' Some time after he went up into the eating-room. While he was at table, Lord George came there, and ſoon after there was ſcarce any perſon in the room but his lordſhip and himſelf. Lord George had thrown himſelf into a chair, and ſeemed overcome with heat and fatigue. The witneſs told him what he had juſt heard a perſon ſay from the lobby; and he added, that it depended wholly upon his lordſhip to diſperſe them. To this he made no anſwer, but ſoon after left the room. Some time after, he went down ſtairs, and ſaw his lordſhip in the little gallery.

gallery. He heard him begin to adviſe the people 'to be quiet, and peaceable, and ſteady; his majeſty is a gracious monarch, and, when he hears that the people ten miles round are collecting, there is no doubt but that he will ſend his miniſters private orders to repeal the bill.' He then mentioned the attempt that was made to introduce a bill into Scotland; 'the Scotch,' ſaid he, 'had no redreſs till they pulled down the maſs-houſes; Lord Weymouth then ſent them official aſſurances, that the Act ſhould not be extended to them, and why ſhould they be better off than you?' [Here the witneſs ſaid he was in doubt whether the expreſſion was 'the Scotch had no redreſs till they pulled down the maſs-houſes,' or 'When the Scotch pulled down the maſs-houſes, they had redreſs.'] His lordſhip then adviſed them 'to be quiet, and to beware of evil-minded perſons, who would mix among them, and entice them to miſchief, the blame of which would be imputed to them.' It was then (the witneſs thought) that a perſon in the lobby aſked his lordſhip 'if it was not neceſſary for them to retire?'—'I will tell you, ſaid his lordſhip, how it is; I moved the queſtion, that your petition be taken into conſideration this night. Now it was clearly againſt you, but I inſiſted upon dividing the houſe: no diviſion can take place while you are there, but to go or not I leave to yourſelves.' He then aſked the witneſs, if he would ſpeak to the people, who anſwered 'by no means, for that his lordſhip was the only perſon who could ſpeak to them with any good effect.' Lord George then took hold of the witneſs's gown, and called out to the people 'this is the clergyman of the Houſe of Commons. I deſire you will aſk him what his opinion of the Popiſh bill is,' and immediately he urged the witneſs to give it, who anſwered with great warmth, that the only opinion he ſhould give was, that all the conſequences which might ariſe from that night would be entirely owing to him. Several gentlemen about them repeated theſe words. His lordſhip made no reply, but went into the houſe. On his croſs-examination, he ſaid, that he was under no agitation of mind, or particular apprehenſions, till Lord George deſired his opinion, which put him into a conſiderable flurry of ſpirits; that, the next day, he committed what had paſſed to writing, and ſent it to the ſpeaker.

John Cater, Eſq; depoſed, that being then a member of the houſe, as he was going through the paſſage at the top of the ſtair-caſe, the houſe being under a queſtion they could not decide, as the officers were not able to clear the lobby, he heard and ſaw a perſon in the lobby who called aloud two or three times, 'Lord George Gordon!' and then added, 'My lord, we are ordered to clear the lobby: if your lordſhip wiſhes we ſhould clear it, we will do it directly, and without any trouble.' The noble priſoner anſwered, 'I will tell you how the caſe ſtands. I have moved to have your petition taken now into conſideration. Alderman Bull and two or three more are for it: the reſt are againſt it: therefore, if you wiſh your petition ſhould be now taken into conſideration, you may ſtay, or do as you pleaſe.' All in the lobby were ſilent and attentive; but, as

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ſoon as the priſoner had ſaid this, they pulled off their hats, and cried, 'Now, now, now.' A kind of pauſe enſued. Lord George then leaned again over the rail, and ſaid, 'Would you not wiſh to be in the ſame ſtate they are in Scotland?' They anſwered, 'Yes, yes;' and he ſaid, 'Well, well.'

Joſeph Pearſon, door-keeper to the Houſe of Commons, depoſed, with the preceding witneſſes, to the great crowd in the lobby, moſt, if not all, of whom, had blue cockades; and that the general cry was, 'A repeal, a repeal. No Popery, no Popery!' He ſaid, that Lord George came to the door two or three times, and ſaid, 'he ſhould come out, and let them know what was going on in the houſe; they had a good cauſe, and they had nothing to fear.' He came once, and ſaid, 'Sir Michael le Fleming had ſpoken in their behalf like an angel.' They crowded much upon the witneſs, who ſaid, 'For God's ſake, gentlemen keep from the door.' Lord George waved his hand, and ſaid, 'Pray, gentlemen, make what room you can; your cauſe is good, and you have nothing to fear.'

Thomas Baker, the lower door-keeper, depoſed to the great crowd in the paſſage to the lobby, and to the cry of 'Repeal! No Popery, no Popery!' On the Tueſday after, he ſaid, the crowd was entirely kept out, and, as he thought, by the conſtables.

Sampſon Wright, Eſq. juſtice of the peace, depoſed to his receiving directions from the lords to clear the avenues of the houſe on Friday the 2d of June, and to the meaſures he took in purſuance of their commands.

Sampſon Rainsforth, high conſtable; Charles Jealous and Patrick Macmanus, officers of the police; David Mills, a conſtable; Thomas Gates, the city-marſhal; William Hyde, Eſq. juſtice of the peace; John Lucy, one of the Proteſtant Aſſociation; and Barnard Turner, commander of the London Military Aſſociation; reſpectively gave evidence of the outrages in various parts of the metropolis, from Friday the 2d of June till the Thurſday following.

Lord Porcheſter depoſed that he ſaw the priſoner in the Houſe of Commons on Tueſday the 6th, with a blue cockade in his hat.

Richard Pond ſwore that he applied to the priſoner for a protection for his houſe; that he, the witneſs, produced the following paper, ready written, which his lordſhip ſigned in a coach, on his aſſuring him that it would be of ſervice to him.

The paper read—it was literally as followeth:

'All true friends to Proteſtants will be particular, and do no injury to the property of any true Proteſtant, as I am well aſſured the proprietor of this houſe is a ſtaunch and worthy friend to the cauſe.

G. GORDON.'

The witneſs's under-tenant being a Roman Catholic, he ſhewed this protection to the mob; he could not ſay that it was any ſecurity to his houſe, but it was not pulled down. Mr. Sheriff Pugh was with his lordſhip when he ſigned the paper: he was not certain whether his lordſhip read it, or not. Being aſked, how this

paper came out of his hands, he ſaid it was upon the application of Mr. White and Mr. Alderman Wilkes.

John Dingwall was called to prove the hand-writing of the priſoner, but he declared that, though he was well acquainted with his writing, and had known him from his birth, he had never ſeen him write. On his croſs examination, being queſtioned with regard to what paſſed between him and Lord George the night he was with his lordſhip before the meeting in May, the attorney-general oppoſed this queſtion, obſerving, that what Lord George ſaid might be evidence againſt himſelf, but could not be evidence for him. Mr. Kenyon ſaid, 'that the meeting which was held in St. George's Fields on the 2d of June, was or was not legally aſſembled; the motives for which they aſſembled, if Lord George was the aſſembler of it, would go a great way to ſhew whether they were legally aſſembled, or not. If aſſembled for purpoſes hoſtile to the laws, it was illegal; but if Lord George conceived it conſtitutional to go up with it, with a conſiderable number of perſons, and if he had aſſigned the reaſon why he was ſo to go up, that it was to remove the imputation, that he was carrying up a petition with forged names, he ſubmitted to the court, that, whatever the motives were, it conſtituted either criminality, or abſolved him from the guilt with which he was charged; he conceived, therefore, that if he could demonſtrate what the motives were which induced him to take the people there, it would go a great way, not only in extenuation of his offence, but would totally extirpate the crime.' The court however, were of opinion, that the private declaration of the priſoner could be no evidence of his motives, and the witneſs proceeded no further.

General Skene, Hugh Scott, Eſq. Robert Grierſon, and Wm. M'Kenzie, being ſucceſſively called to prove the riots in Scotland in 1779, in order to eſtabliſh a fact, ſaid by ſeveral witneſſes to be alluded to in the priſoner's declaration to the mob, the attorney-general here cloſed the evidence for the crown.

The Priſoner's Defence.

Mr. Kenyon began with obſerving, how much it was to the diſadvantage of the priſoner, that he ſhould make his defence at that period, when, as the attorney-general had obſerved, the attention of the court and the jury muſt, in ſome meaſure, be exhauſted; lamenting alſo, that, being very little verſed in the criminal courts, he felt himſelf under great agitation of mind.

When perſons were accuſed of actions of great enormity, it was natural, he ſaid, to enquire into the motives of their conduct; and, when the noble family of the priſoner and his exalted ſituation as a member of the legiſlature were conſidered, it was not reaſonable to think that his conduct could be influenced by ſuch motives as had been imputed to him.

The crime imputed to the priſoner, he ſaid, was under an Act [25 Edw. III.] enacted for the wiſeſt purpoſes, that ſuch enormous crimes ſhould not depend upon

upon looſe conſtruction, but that men might ſee, in the plain words of the ſtatute, what they were and what they were not to do. He lamented that there was ſuch a phraſe in the law as 'conſtructive,' treaſon; and he believed that when this law was enacted, the legiſlature had no idea, that ſuch a phraſe would find its way into the court at Weſtminſter.

He next cenſured the attorney-general, for addreſſing himſelf to the paſſions of the jury by improper and exaggerated deſcription; talking of a multitude collected together in a way deſcriptive of military arrangement.

Reviewing now the evidence in ſupport of the proſecution, he came to that of William Hay, which he treated as very ſuſpicious. He had contradicted himſelf in ſtating that he had ſeen Lord Gordon at Greenwood's rooms; and though his motives for being at all the meetings, and at the principal ſcenes of riot, were unaccountable, his evidence had aſcertained one important fact, that in all theſe places there were perſons who had nothing to do with Lord George Gordon, and who increaſed, if they did not make the crowd.

He ſeemed to inſinuate, that this witneſs had been tutored in his evidence; for he made uſe of the military terms 'arrayed' and 'columns;' although, in his croſs-examination, he had admitted, when aſked whether Lord George had deſired them to march in columns or diviſions, that he had uſed only the latter expreſſion. That part of his evidence, viz. that at the Crown and Rolls tavern, he had heard Lord George ſay, 'that, by the king's paſſing the Quebec bill, he had brought himſelf to that paſs in which James II. was after his abdication,' he ſhewed to be not only unſupported by any other witneſs, but to be highly improbable, and that therefore it was ſufficient to do away the whole of his evidence. As the fact was ſtated to have paſſed in the preſence of a multitude of witneſſes, there was no doubt, but that, from the great induſtry of thoſe concerned for this proſecution, they would never have neglected to procure more witneſſes to the fact, if, in reality, it had any exiſtence.

Dwelling upon ſeveral inconſiſtencies in the evidence of this witneſs, and particularly upon his heſitating and ſtammering in ſome parts of it, he ſtated the duty of a jury in ſuch a caſe. 'If juries,' ſaid Mr. Kenyon, 'are to believe witneſſes, merely becauſe they will ſwear to facts, juries are become of little uſe indeed. Thoſe, who are acquainted with the profeſſion, ſee and lament that there is no fact whatever that witneſſes may not be brought to prove. It is for juries, therefore, to judge between the probable and the improbable, and to ſee whether the witneſs be ſupported by other witneſſes.'

The ſecond witneſs, Mr. Metcalf, had proved nothing material againſt the priſoner. The only important part of his evidence was that Lord George had ſaid, 'that he would go to the gallows for the cauſe.' But this witneſs had not heard on what occaſion this expreſſion was uſed. It ſeems there had been a contrariety of opinion at this meeting, whether

an Act of Charles II. which prohibited perſons above the number of twenty, carrying petitions to the legiſlature, was ſtill in force or not. A gentleman of the law then preſent had aſſerted that this Act was ſtill ſubſiſting, and in courſe that all perſons who went up with the petition would be involved in the penalties of that law. The priſoner's language aroſe from a difference of opinion on this ſubject. Here Mr. Kenyon ſaid, that in his opinion this Act was no longer ſubſiſting; that one of the articles of the Bill of Rights was expreſſly levelled againſt it; as we learn from the Bill of Rights, that it is the birth-right of Engliſhmen to petition the legiſlature; and, if they do it in a peaceable manner, whether ſigned by twenty or two hundred, it makes no difference. But, whether that Act were ſubſiſting or not, Lord George's words could amount to nothing more than a ſtrong mode of expreſſion how much he thought his opinion right.

The third witneſs, Mr. Anſtruther, received ſome compliments from Mr. Kenyon for the candour with which he gave evidence. There was no doubt that ſuch an attentive evidence, a man of ſenſe, and of a conſiderable ſtation in life, had ſtated all that really did paſs that was material. Hence he deduced the improbability of that part of Mr. Bowen's evidence, that Lord George had ſaid 'that the Scotch had no redreſs till they pulled down the maſs-houſes.' In this Mr Bowen was unſupported by Mr Anſtruther, Mr. Cater, or any one witneſs, to what paſſed while Lord George was ſpeaking from the gallery to the people in the lobby. Here again, ſays Mr. Kenyon, you are left to decide upon a very important part of the caſe upon the credit of a ſingle witneſs. This was not becauſe a ſecond witneſs might not be called, if the matter were true, but it was becauſe no induſtry whatever could induce other witneſſes to come and ſwear to the ſame language. He did not, however, impeach the integrity of Mr. Bowen. 'I do not wonder,' added Mr. Kenyon, 'that parties are not extremely accurate in their recollection of what paſſed on that day. It was a day of tumult and of much agitation of mind; and that this gentleman at that time was frightened; that his mind was agitated; that he conceived things which perhaps never paſſed; and that conception being once got into his mind, he has not been able to eraſe the ideas from his mind ſince. I can only ſay, that this is poſſible: and, if you put him into a ſituation in which his mind was agitated, you put him in a ſituation where you cannot decide on the impreſſions he received, when he is giving evidence againſt a man ſtanding in the ſituation of the priſoner, who has ſo much at ſtake.'

It had appeared in evidence, that there were other perſons in the lobby beſides thoſe that belonged to the Proteſtant Aſſociation; and hence it might be inferred that there were many of them. Mr. Rainsforth, one of the witneſſes, called to prove the riots in different parts of London, had ſtated, that the perſon who was in the lobby, urgent for a repeal, was a Col. Miles, a man of a dif-

a different deſcription from thoſe that accompanied Lord George. Could *he* be ſuſpected of belonging to the Proteſtant Aſſociation? Yet *he* was the perſon who harangued, as Mr. Rainsforth ſtyled it, the mob in the lobby, who called out 'repeal, repeal!' and ſeemed the very ſoul of the meeting ſo got together. But what did this prove? Not that the perſons under Lord George Gordon's controul, but that men of a very different deſcription, under the controul of perſons of a very different deſcription, held that converſation in the lobby which had been imputed to Lord George Gordon as criminal. But was the priſoner, by inference and conjecture only, to be made anſwerable for that guilt, which was ſpecifically, by witneſſes, attributed to others?

Great pains had been taken to ſhew that the members of both houſes had been interrupted and inſulted in going to attend the national buſineſs. But the evidence was chiefly hearſay, and in the principal facts, unſupported but by ſingle witneſſes. One material point had indeed been ſworn to by Mr. Hyde. viz. that, when Lord Sandwich was attacked, there were parties there with blue cockades, and perſons there not with the badges of thoſe in St. Geoege's Fields, but men of totally another deſcription, who had different banners, red and black flags, and therefore, it was probable, were a very different ſet of people.

In ſupport of this probability, Mr. Kenyon next ſtated, that, after the many proſecutions that had been commenced, anxious and active as the crown officers had been, not one individual connected with Lord George or the aſſociation had been found obnoxious to the laws; not one of them had been indicted. He admitted, that the moſt flagrant enormities had been perpetrated. But, if a multitude, not a mob of people, were got together, for good, not for illegal purpoſes, at leaſt (which was enough for him) not for *traitorous* purpoſes, if the jury could ſuppoſe that other people of bad principles, and with bad deſigns, availing themſelves of the meeting of the aſſociation, got together from all corners of the town, and formed the banditti that had committed all the outrages, how was this to be imputed to Lord George Gordon? The attorney-general had ſaid, that, if a man turn out a wild beaſt, he was guilty of murder, if a man were killed by it. 'This,' ſaid Mr. Kenyon, 'is not the law of the land, nor of humanity. If a man turn a wild beaſt into a room where death muſt neceſſarily enſue, no doubt he is as guilty as if a man ſhot into a crowd. But where a beaſt is turned out, and the probable conſequences will not be that death will enſue, then is the crime to be imputed to him? Was Lord George Gordon's aſſociation the wild beaſt? If he had a tame beaſt in his hand, and another taking occaſion from the tame beaſt being brought there, let out a wild beaſt, was he that leads the tame beaſt in his hand to be anſwerable, becauſe another perſon opens a place, and lets out a tyger or a hyena?'

'Lord George Gordon,' continued Mr. Kenyon, 'was the Preſident of a Proteſtant Aſſociation. An Act had paſſed, which,

right or wrong, had given offence. Perhaps, in his opinion, it had given cauſeleſs ground of offence. But, becauſe he differed from other men, was he therefore to treat them as traitors to their country? Our laws were not like thoſe of the Medes and Perſians, but were ſubject to reviſion; and it was the duty of Engliſhmen, if they thought there were laws which improperly tolerated men, whoſe principles were hoſtile to the conſtitution, to petition parliament to reviſe, or even to repeal ſuch laws. He did not ſay that this was the caſe with the law that gave riſe to the aſſociation; but, if *they* thought ſo, their right to petition was unqueſtionable.'

Mr. Kenyon now ſtated the motives of Lord George Gordon, for aſſembling ſuch a multitude in St. George's Fields. He had been told in the Houſe of Commons, that his petition could have no weight, for that the names were forgeries; and it was to wipe away this foul aſperſion, that he wiſhed the petitioners to attend him to the houſe. But they formed no army; they came with no weapons, no hoſtile intentions. They met at ten in the morning, becauſe that was an hour of ſobriety. Yet the words *array*, *columns*, and other military terms, had been thundered into the ears of the jury. Such words could not be uſed by witneſſes for no purpoſe. The purpoſe muſt be a bad one, becauſe it diſtorted the facts beyond their ordinary force; and, in ſuch a caſe, the whole of the evidence was to be ſuſpected.

Mr. Kenyon now adverted to the protection that had been granted by Lord George Gordon. The jury, he ſaid, would be ſtruck with horror when they were informed how that happened. Lord George, terrified at the riots, finding the blame imputed to him, and wiſhing to get rid of ſuch an unjuſt imputation, deſired, as would afterwards be proved, to have acceſs to his ſovereign. He wiſhed to throw himſelf at his majeſty's feet, to profeſs his own innocence, and ſorrow for the conſequences that were ſuppoſed to reſult from acts of his. The acceſs to the king was denied, but he was told, that he ought, as a teſt of his loyalty, to go into the city, and ſee if he could do any thing to put an end to the riots. With this view then he went into the city; but not at the head of the mob, but with one of the conſervators of the peace, Mr. Sheriff Pugh. 'And here,' Mr. Kenyon added, 'a perſon came and told him, if a note, which he brought to him, was ſigned by him, it would have a good effect. Suppoſe he had refuſed to ſign it. I am ſure it would have borne hard upon him; his refuſal would have been imputed to wiſhes for outrage on the houſe of a Roman Catholic; and, had that argument been urged againſt him, I ſhould have found ſome difficulty in turning the edge of it.' But he ſigned this paper with the moſt humane views, and yet this paper was produced to prove that he adopted all the enormities that had been committed by miſcreants, with whom he had not the leaſt connection.

Mr. Kenyon concluded with ſtating the duty of juries, and con-

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fiding in the goo ſenſe, diſcernment, and impartiality of that which he addreſſed.

M. Erſkine then roſe, and ſaid, that he ſhould reſerve his addreſs to the jury till after the witneſſes for the priſoner had been called. To this the court aſſented; and the attorney-general ſaid, that he was ſure no objection would be made to it on the part of the counſel for the proſecution.

Evidence for the Priſoner.

The Rev. Eraſmus Middleton, Lecturer of St. Bennet's, was one of the committee of the Proteſtant Aſſociation. He gave an account of its conſtitution, previous to the 12th of Nov. 1779, when Lord George Gordon became their preſident. Throughout the whole buſineſs of the aſſociation his lordſhip had demeaned himſelf in the moſt loyal manner. The witneſs had watched his conduct with a degree of jealouſly, the committee being reſolved not to allow any converſation reflecting upon any people whatever, and particularly adminiſtration. His lordſhip always appeared the moſt diſpaſſionate of any of them, and to have no other view than ſimply the Proteſtant intereſt, and by all legal means to petition the Houſe of Commons to repeal or to explain that Act. In all private converſations his lordſhip had expreſſed himſelf in terms of warm attachment to the king, the conſtitution, and the Proteſtant intereſt. They were happy in having him for their preſident, both on account of his rank, his good moral character, and his abilities. The witneſs being queſtioned whether in any of his public ſpeeches at the aſſociation the priſoner had made uſe of any diſloyal expreſſions, or that he meant to repeal the Bill by force of arms, or by intimidation, he anſwered ſtrongly in the negative. Not one expreſſion was made uſe of at their meetings that was hoſtile to government. The witneſs then gave an account of much contrariety of opinion at meetings previous to that of the 29th of May, reſpecting the time and mode of preſenting the petition. At this laſt meeting Lord George ſaid, 'he had been informed, that the aſſociation were againſt going up with their petition. Upon this from all parts it was immediately cried, 'No, my lord!' He then made the motion, which was carried unanimouſly. He then propoſed that they ſhould adjourn to St. George's Fields, as no place could contain the number that ſhould aſſemble; that they ſhould be arranged in different diviſions, that he might go from one to the other, and learn the ſenſe of the whole, with reſpect to the mode of taking up the petition; that it had been hinted, that it was a very eaſy matter for a perſon to write 500 names to a petition, and that therefore it was neceſſary they ſhould appear to their ſubſcriptions, to convince the world they were not fictitious. He begged they would dreſs themſelves decently, and to diſtinguiſh them from other people, ſo that no riots might enſue, that they would have a cockade in their hats; that on ſuch an occaſion at leaſt 20,000 might attend, and that they ſhould

meet at ten in the morning. Some one objecting, that by meeting ſo early they might get to drinking, his lordſhip anſwered, that the Proteſtant Aſſociation were not drunken people. Another obſerving, that the military might be called out, he ſaid, 'he did not apprehend that; they would be all peaceable, no doubt; that they ſhould not ſo much as take ſticks in their hands; if there were any riotous perſon, he begged that the reſt would give him up; that if he ſhould even ſtrike any of them, not to return it, but to take ſuch perſon out, that he might be given up to a conſtable, and taken away.' His lordſhip further ſaid, 'that if he himſelf were at all riotous, he begged he might be given up, for he thought it was a proper ſpirit for Proteſtants; and, to the beſt of this witneſs's recollection, he ſaid, 'if they ſmite you on one cheek, turn the other alſo.' On his croſs-examination, the witneſs ſaid, that he, and ſome others of the committee, diſapproved of the petition being carried up by the general body. Being aſked, whether it did not occur to him, that a petition preſented ſo late in the ſeſſion could not, in the ordinary courſe of proceeding, produce a Bill that ſeſſion; he anſwered, that it might have been eaſily done, if it had been as haſtily gone through as Sir George Savile's.

Lord Stormont depoſed to Lord George Gordon's deſiring to have acceſs to his majeſty, on the morning of Wedneſday the 7th of June, as ſtated in Mr. Kenyon's ſpeech; his meſſage was, that 'he deſired to ſee the king, becauſe he could be of eſſential ſervice in ſuppreſſing the riots.' Lord Stormont delivered this meſſage to the king, and returned with this anſwer: 'it is impoſſible for the king to ſee Lord George Gordon, until he has given proofs of his allegiance and loyalty, by employing thoſe means which he ſays he has in his power to quell the diſturbances, and reſtore peace to this capital.' Lord George ſaid, that, 'if he might preſume to reply, his reply was, that his beſt endeavours ſhould be uſed.'

Thomas Evans depoſed, that he was a member of the P. A.; that being in a coach in Bridge-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, on the ſecond of June, between ten and eleven in the forenoon, he received ſome information from Mr. Smith, keeper of the Guildhall in Weſtminſter, that the latter ſaid was of great conſequence to be communicated to Lord George Gordon, viz. that he had been credibly informed, that a number of weavers from Spital Fields——[Here the court ſaid this was no evidence.] The witneſs then depoſed, that on this information he proceeded to St. George's Fields, in order to endeavour to find Lord George Gordon; that he ſaw the Scotch diviſion formed, in the center of which was Lord George; that he and one of his friends got out of the coach, and with difficulty got to the ring; he then told his lordſhip, that he had been informed by Mr. Smith, that there would be a riot in Weſtminſter, if more than thirty or forty attempted to go to the houſe with the petition; and he aſked him if he meant that the whole body was to attend him? He anſwered, 'by no means, by no means;' that 'he intended

intended to go to the houſe alone, and, ſome time after he had been there, the petition was to follow him to the lobby of the houſe, and there to wait till he came out to receive it.' The witneſs then expreſſed his pleaſure in hearing this, as it would prevent the enemy from hurting the cauſe; and he aſked his lordſhip to give him leave to tell the people ſo, who replied, 'with all his heart.' He then told the people, that they were to remain in the fields, my Lord George Gordon intending to go alone. He afterwards drove his coach up to the obeliſk, being informed that they were forming diviſions at the other end of the field. When he came there, he found the people were in a marching line, ſix in a row, with their faces towards the Borough; he then got out of his coach, and aſked them what they were going to do? they anſwered, 'to march through the city;' he then mentioned what Lord George Gordon had deſired him to tell them, and that he was ſure there would be a riot, if more than thirty or forty people went to the houſe. They anſwered, that 'he need not be afraid of that, for they were determined to make none.'

John Spinnage confirmed the evidence of the preceding witneſs, with reſpect to the priſoner's ſaying 'that he meant to go up to the houſe alone.' The people he ſaw in the fields, he ſaid, had no weapons or ſticks, and were far from being of the rabble.

Mrs. Elizabeth Whittingham ſaid ſhe was in a coach in St. George's Fields on the ſecond of June. Lord George Gordon came to the coach, and aſked leave to come into it, which ſhe gave; he was near fainting away; he got into the coach. About thirty or forty gentlemen ſurrounded the coach, ſo that they could not drive off. Theſe gentlemen deſired they might attend Lord George, who begged they would not, 'he would have no aſſiſtance at all, he was very well.' They ſaid, 'pray let us attend you to the houſe;' he anſwered, 'no. by no means, I ſhall be greatly obliged to you, gentlemen, if you will all go back;' for he did not chuſe to be attended by them.

Alexander Johnſton ſaid, that he was the laſt in the proceſſion of the London diviſion He was in Palace-yard between twelve and one. There were no riots. He then went with ſome friends to dine in the Strand. About ſix or ſeven, word was brought to them, that there was a diſturbance in Palace-yard. The company ſaid to him, that they had better go and try to quell the mob. He oppoſed this, ſaying, that they (the mob) were no friends to the cauſe, and that it would be better to ſtay where they were. However, at their perſuaſions he went into Parliament-ſtreet. He ſaw about twenty boys, and five or ſix men; they were a ſet of boys and pickpockets, not in the leaſt like the Proteſtant Aſſociation; they were ſtopping a coach: he ſeized one of the men, but was perſuaded to let him go.

Alexander Frazer, one of the P. A. ſaw ſeveral bodies of people, ſometimes a dozen, or ſo, collected on Weſtminſter-bridge, about twelve o'clock on the ſecond of June. They had all blue cockades. He did not think they belonged

longed to the petitioners; for many of them were in liquor. He went close to them, and asked them if they belonged to the Protestant Association? One of them with a great stick, who seemed to be in liquor, held up his stick, and said, 'No d——n it, this is all our association.' What became of them, he knew not. At one o'clock he saw the disturbances at the end of Downing-street. They had all blue cockades.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerk said, that he was riding in St. George's Fields, on the 2d of June, about one o'clock. Vast numbers were in the fields, but the great body of them had marched away to the city. Those he saw in the fields appeared to be the better sort of tradesmen, all well dressed decent people. He asked a great number of them what was the occasion of their assembling. They all said that their desire was to have a stop put to public preaching and public teaching. They were all quiet and civil; but had no particular reason to be so to him, for he had never put a blue cockade in his hat. Sir Philip then spoke to what he observed afterwards in the lobby of the House of Commons. The people he first saw in the lobby were not the same, he thought, who were there very late in the evening; for the latter were a lower kind of people, more a mob of blackguards. He only heard part of the conversation which Lord George Gordon held to the people in the lobby. What he could recollect was, that Lord George said, 'the member for Bristol is now speaking, he is no friend to your petition; but take notice, I give you no advice, unless it is that you should be temperate and firm.' On his cross-examination he gave a circumstantial account of his being dragged on on Tuesday evening the 6th, in a chariot, with Lord George Gordon, to the house of Alderman Bull in Leadenhall-street. When the mob took the horses out of the carriage, Lord George said, 'for God's sake, go peaceably home, and go about your business;' and whenever he could speak, he said, 'whilst you assemble in this tumultuous way, your petition will never be complied with, the house will never consent to it.' It was impossible to take more pains to persuade the people to disperse than Lord George did.

Mr. John Turner deposed, that being in St. George's Fields on the 2d of June, he heard Lord George Gordon tell the people, that 'if any thing had weight with their petition, it would be their quiet and peaceable behaviour, and, that nothing else would do; he was informed since he came into the fields, that a number of persons had come abroad that day, on purpose to raise a tumult;' and he bid them 'not to be led away by any such persons.'

Mr. John Humphreys deposed to a gentleman's coming from Lord George Gordon, and desiring the people in St. George's Fields not to go up to the house on any consideration, but to disperse, for that there was an Act that specified that only so many people should go up with a petition.

Mr. Sampson Hotchkinson said, he was in St. George's Fields on the 2d of June. Some advice being brought to the ring by some mechanical persons, Lord George Gordon

Gordon adviſed 'a certain number to go up with the petition; he would wiſh to avoid all offence, and it might be attended with contention and diſorder; therefore he wiſhed for a ſmall number to go.' Many in the ring ſaid, 'they were men capable of conducting themſelves with peace and order, and they choſe to go in perſon.'

Mr. John Robinſon ſaw the aſſociation in St. George's Fields, and went in proceſſion; they were very peaceable: in the afternoon, he ſaw the riots in Palace-yard; they had blue cockades; but he did not think they belonged to the aſſociation.

Sir James Lowther ſaid, that Lord George Gordon requeſted to accompany him home in his carriage, from the Houſe of Commons, on the evening of Friday the 2d. When they were got into the carriage, ſome of the remaining mob came about, and aſked, 'Is the Bill to be repealed?' Lord George ſaid, 'I do not know, I hope it will, but go home, be quiet, make no riot nor noiſe.'

Mrs. Youd, ſervant to Lord George Gordon, was called to prove that his Lordſhip was at home at a quarter before 11 o'clock on the evening of the 2d of June, and that he was at home Saturday, Sunday, and Monday following. Being aſked whether he did not go out any part of theſe days, Mr. Erſkine ſaid he was ready, if the court thought it material, to ſhew where his lordſhip was every hour and every minute of thoſe days.

Mr. Alderman Pugh ſaid, that he was in a coach with Ld. George Gordon, about three o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th of June. A young man came with half a ſheet of paper that was written upon; he ſeemed to be in great agony; he deſired the priſoner to ſet his name to it; he ſaid, 'his houſe was in danger of being deſtroyed, and he wiſhed his lordſhip would ſign the paper.' The witneſs was not clear whether Lord George aſked his opinion or not, nor whether he looked at it, but his lordſhip did ſign it; and the man ſeemed to go away happy.

The evidence for the crown being cloſed, Mr. Erſkine addreſſed the jury in a very long ſpeech, which he opened with a very clear and diſtinct hiſtory of treaſon. He ſtated the wiſdom of our anceſtors in guarding againſt the conſequences of looſe and arbitrary conſtruction, by the moſt accurate and explicit definitions, and deducing hence a ſeries of inconteſtable principles, he ſtrongly exhorted the jury to apply them to the whole evidence before them. Then commenting on the various parts of the evidence in the moſt maſterly manner, he concluded with theſe animated words: 'I may now relieve you from the pain of hearing me any longer, and be myſelf relieved from the pain of ſpeaking on a ſubject which agitates and diſtreſſes me. Since Lord George Gordon ſtands clear of every hoſtile act or purpoſe againſt the legiſlature of his country, or the properties of his fellow ſubjects—ſince the whole tenor of his conduct repels the belief of the traitorous purpoſe charged by the indictment—my taſk is finiſhed. I ſhall make no addreſs to your paſſions; I will not remind you of the long and rigorous impriſonment he has ſuffered;

ed; I will not ſpeak to you of his great youth, of his illuſtrious birth, and of his uniform, animated, and generous zeal in parliament for the conſtitution of his country. Such topics might be uſeful in the balance of a doubtful caſe; yet even then I ſhould have truſted to the honeſt hearts of Engliſhmen to have felt them without excitation. At preſent, the plain and rigid rules of juſtice are ſufficient to entitle me to your verdict; and may God Almighty, who is the ſacred author of both, fill your minds with the deepeſt impreſſions of them, and with virtue to follow thoſe impreſſions! You will then reſtore my innocent client to liberty, and me to that peace of mind, which, ſince the protection of that innocence in any part depended upon me, I have never known.'

The ſolicitor-general replied.

After which, Lord Mansfield gave the following charge.

Gentlemen of the Jury,

The priſoner at the bar is indicted for that ſpecies of high-treaſon which is called levying war againſt the king, aud therefore it is neceſſary you ſhould firſt be informed what is in law a levying war againſt the king, ſo as to conſtitute the crime of high-treaſon, within the Statute of Edward III. and perhaps according to the legal ſignification of the term before that Statute. There are two kinds of levying war:—one againſt the perſon of the king; to impriſon, to dethrone, or to kill him; or to make him change meaſures, or remove counſellors:—the other, which is ſaid to be levied againſt the majeſty of the king, or, in other words, againſt him in his regal capacity; as when a multitude aſſemble to attain by force any object of a general public nature; that is levying war againſt the majeſty of the king; and moſt reaſonably ſo held, becauſe it tends to diſſolve all the bands of ſociety, to deſtroy property, and to overturn government; and, by force of arms, to reſtrain the king from reigning according to law.

Inſurrections, by force and violence, to raiſe the price of wages, to open all priſons, to deſtroy meeting-houſes, nay, to deſtroy all brothels, to reſiſt the execution of militia laws, to throw down all incloſures, to alter the eſtabliſhed law, or change religion, to redreſs grievances real or pretended, have all been held levying war. Many other inſtances might be put. Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, in Sir John Friend's caſe, ſays, 'if perſons do aſſemble themſelves and act with force in oppoſition to ſome law which they think inconvenient, and hope thereby to get it repealed, this is a levying war and treaſon. In the preſent caſe, it don't reſt upon an implication that they hoped by oppoſition to a law to get it repealed, but the proſecution proceeds upon the direct ground, that the object was, by force and violence, to compel the legiſlature to repeal a law; and therefore, without any doubt, I tell you the joint opinion of us all, that, if this multitude aſſembled with intent, by acts of force and violence, to compel the legiſlature to repeal a law, it is high-treaſon.

Though the form of an indictment for this ſpecies of treaſon mentions drums, trumpets, arms, ſwords,

ſwords, fifes, and guns, yet none of theſe circumſtances are eſſential. The queſtion always is, whether the intent is, by force and violence, to attain an object of a general and public nature, by any inſtruments, or by dint of their numbers. Whoever incites, adviſes, encourages, or is in any way aiding to ſuch a multitude ſo aſſembled with ſuch intent, though he does not perſonally appear among them, or with his own hands commit any violence whatſoever, yet he is equally a principal with thoſe who act, and guilty of high-treaſon.

Having premiſed theſe propoſitions as the ground-work of your deliberation upon the points which will be left to you, it will not be amiſs to lay a matter which you have heard a great deal upon at the bar totally out of the caſe. Whether the Bill, called Sir George Savile's, was wiſe or expedient—whether the repeal of it would have been right or wrong—has nothing to do with this trial. Whether grievances be real or pretended—whether a law be good or bad—it is equally high treaſon, by the ſtrong hand of a multitude, to force the repeal or redreſs.

Thus much let me ſay, it is moſt injurious to ſay this Bill, called Sir George Savile's, is a toleration of Popery. I cannot deny, that, where the ſafety of the ſtate is not concerned, my own opinion is, that men ſhould not be puniſhed for mere matter of conſcience, and barely worſhipping God in their own way: but where what is alleged as matter of conſcience is dangerous or prejudicial to the ſtate, which is the caſe of Popery, the ſafety of the ſtate is the ſupreme law, and an erroneous religion, ſo far as upon principles of ſound policy that ſafety requires, ought to be reſtrained and prohibited: no good man has ever defended the many penal laws againſt Papiſts upon any other ground: but this Bill is not a toleration, it only takes away the penalties of one Act out of many.

They are ſtill ſubject to all the penalties created in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and yet you know Queen Elizabeth ſucceeded to the crown ſoon after a cruel tyrant of the Popiſh religion. The Reformation was eſtabliſhed in her reign. She was excommunicated by the pope, and her dominions given away. Her next heir was a bigotted Papiſt*. She was expoſed to many plots of aſſaſſination: therefore ſound policy, and even the preſervation of her life, during her reign, called for many penal laws againſt Papiſts.

This Act repeals no penalty enacted in the reign of King James the Firſt; yet in that reign the provocations given by Papiſts were great. It began with the Gunpowder Plot; and no wonder ſevere laws were made againſt them.

This Act repeals no law made in the reign of King Charles the Second; and yet you know the dread of a Popiſh ſucceſſor, and the jealouſy of the court at that time, occaſioned many penal laws to be made againſt Papiſts.

In the reign of William the Third, the ſecurity of the new go-

* Mary, Queen of Scots.

vernment

vernment made penal laws againſt Papiſts neceſſary; yet this Bill repeals none made during the firſt ten years of his reign: it only repeals ſome additional penalties introduced by an Act that paſſed at the end of his reign, which is notoriouſly known to have been countenanced or promoted by him. Therefore be the merits of the Bill, called Sir George Savile's, as it may, it is totally a miſrepreſentation to infer from thence that Papiſts are tolerated. It is a cry to raiſe the blind ſpirit of fanaticiſm, or enthuſiaſm, in the minds of a deluded multitude, which, in the hiſtory of the world, has been the cauſe of much ruin and national deſtruction. But I have already told you the merits of this law are totally immaterial upon this trial; and nothing can be ſo diſhonourable to government, as to be forced to make, or to repeal, by an armed multitude, any law: from that moment there is an end of all legiſlative authority.

There is another matter I muſt mention to you, before I come to ſtate the queſtions upon which you are to form a judgment, and ſum up the evidence, from which that judgment is to be a concluſion.

A doubt has faintly been thrown out at the bar, whether it is lawful to attend a petition to the Houſe of Commons with more than ten perſons? Upon dear-bought experience of the conſequence of tumultuous aſſemblies, under pretence of carrying and ſupporting petitions, an Act of parliament paſſed in the reign of King Charles the Second, forbidding, under a penalty, more than ten perſons to attend a petition to the king, or either houſe of parliament: but it is ſaid, that the law is repealed by the Bill of Rights. I ſpeak the joint opinion of us all, that the Act of Charles the Second is in full force; there is not the colour for a doubt: the Bill of Rights does not mean to meddle with it at all: it aſſerts the right of the ſubject to petition to the king, and that there ought to be no commitments for ſuch petitioning; which alluded to the caſe of the biſhops in King James's reign, who petitioned the king, and were committed for it.—But neither the Bill of Rights, nor any other ſtatute, repeals this Act of Charles the Second: and Mr. Juſtice Blackſtone, in his Commentaries, treats of this Act as in full force; and, as I have told you, we are all of that opinion; and conſequently the attending a petition to the Houſe of Commons by more than ten perſons is criminal and illegal.—Having premiſed theſe ſeveral propoſitions and principles, the ſubject-matter for your conſideration naturally reſolves itſelf into two points.

Firſt, Whether this multitude did aſſemble and commit acts of violence with intent to terrify and compel the legiſlature to repeal the Act called Sir George Savile's.—If upon this point your opinion ſhould be in the negative, that makes an end of the whole, and the priſoner ought to be acquitted: but if your opinion ſhould be, that the intent of this multitude, and the violence they committed, was to force a repeal, there ariſes a ſecond point—

Whether the priſoner at the bar incited, encouraged, promoted, or aſſiſted in raiſing this inſurrection, and

and the terror they carried with them, with the intent of forcing a repeal of this law.

Upon theſe two points, which you will call your attention to, depends the fate of this trial; for if either the multitude had no ſuch intent, or ſuppoſing they had, if the priſoner was no cauſe, did not excite, and took no part in conducting, counſelling, or fomenting the inſurrection, the priſoner ought to be acquitted; and there is no pretence that he perſonally concurred in any act of violence.

[His lordſhip now ſummed up the evidence *verbatim* to the jury; in the courſe of which he told them, that he obſerved that moſt of them had taken very full notes—that he purpoſely avoided making any obſervations upon the evidence, chuſing to leave it to themſelves; then concluded as follows:]

This, gentlemen, is the whole of the evidence on either ſide: you will weigh this evidence, and all the obſervations made at the bar, or which occur to yourſelves, upon it—I avoid making any. The points for you to determine are—Whether this multitude were aſſembled and acted with an intent to force a repeal of this called Sir George Savile's Act; and if you think ſuch was their intent, whether the ſhare the priſoner had in getting together ſuch a number of people to go down to the Houſe of Commons—in meeting them in St. George's Fields—in talking to them in the lobby—in wearing the cockade on Friday and Saturday—or in any other part of his conduct—had the ſame intent, by the terror of an outrageous multitude, and the violences they committed and threatened, to force a repeal of this Act. If there was no ſuch intention, either in the mob or in the priſoner, he ought to be acquitted: but if you think there was ſuch an intent in the multitude, encouraged, incited, or promoted by the priſoner, then you ought to find him guilty.

If the ſcale ſhould hang doubtful, and you are not fully ſatisfied that he is guilty, you ought to lean to the favourable ſide, and acquit him.

The court ſat at eight o'clock on the Monday morning; and at three quarters after four on the Tueſday morning the jury withdrew. They returned into court at a quarter after five o'clock with a verdict finding the priſoner

NOT GUILTY.

Particulars of the Trial of M. De la Motte, *on a Charge of High Treaſon.*

ON Saturday morning the 14th of July, at nine o'clock, M. De la Motte was brought from New-Priſon, Clerkenwell, to the Old-Bailey, and having challenged ſeveral of the jurymen, twelve were choſen, after which his trial came on. The counſel who attended on behalf of the crown were, the attorney and ſolicitor general, Mr. Howarth, and Mr. Norton. For the priſoner, Mr. Dunning and Mr. Peckham. The indictment

indictment conſiſted of numerous counts, the firſt of which charged M. De la Motte with compaſſing the death of the king, and the others laid divers overt acts of a teaſonable connection with the French court to deſtroy the naval power of this country.

The firſt witneſs examined was Stephen Radcliffe, who had a veſſel conſtantly going to Boulogn, and was frequently the carrier of packets from the priſoner to the French commiſſary. His pay was 20.l for every trip to the continent.

The next witneſs, Mr. Rougier, proved the engagement of himſelf and Radcliffe in the ſervice of the priſoner; that he received eight guineas a month for his trouble in forwarding packets, and alſo all his charges from Dover to London, when he waited on the priſoner in town: that a Mr. Waltern was concerned in the buſineſs with the priſoner, and letters frequently came from France directed to himſelf, which he never opened, but delivered to the priſoner or Mr. Waltern, knowing they were for thoſe gentlemen.

Mr Stewart depoſed to having received from Radcliffe ſeveral packets intended for an Engliſh merchant at Boulogn, who appeared to be an agent for the French miniſtry; but which, inſtead of forwarding, he ſtopped and communicated to Lord Hillſborough, who took copies of all, and then retu ned them to Mr. Stewart, who, by his lordſhip's order, ſent them to Boulogn, and by this contrivance the ſchemes of the priſoner were fruſtrated, by government having a previous knowledge of the contents of the various packets.

Sir Stanyer Porten, of Lord Hillſborough's office, depoſed that he received a packet from Mr. Stewart, in July; that he copied one of the letters himſelf, and had others copied for him, and then put the originals again into the cover and delivered them to the poſt; another of the ſecond of Auguſt, and ſome others after that time, received in like manner, were copied, and put into the Poſt-Office, to be conveyed to Mr. Stewart, with orders to be forwarded to their deſtination.

On croſs-examination Sir Stanyer ſaid, he delivered the papers to a Mr. Maddiſon, and two other gentlemen, clerks in the Poſt-Office, but he could not recollect to which perſon of the three.

Here an argument aroſe, whether or not theſe copies of letters ought to be admitted as evidence; the counſel for the proſecution contending, that the copies being authenticated, were as admiſſible as the originals; and the counſel for the priſoner concluding they were not, and Mr. Peckham even going ſo far as to contend, that if the originals themſelves were produced they would not be admiſſible, as not being proved to have been delivered from M. De la Motte to Radcliffe, and not appearing the author of them from any handwriting or ſignature; to which laſt obſervation it was anſwered, that Radcliffe received the packets from Rougier, which Rougier received from De la Motte, and thus the chaſm was filled up; but here a doubt aroſe, whether the letters which were copied by Sir Stanyer Porten

Porten were the identical letters ſo traceable to De la Motte through Radcliffe, and through Rougier, in order to complete the chain neceſſary to make the copies admiſſible.

The conſtable who apprehended the priſoner, proved, that he threw ſeveral papers out of his waiſtcoat pocket, which being read, appeared to be an account, comprehending all the particulars of Governor Johnſtone's ſquadron, and intelligence of our marine in the different ports, their deſtination and condition, both with regard to victualling and ſtrength.

Mr. Slater, the king's meſſenger, depoſed, that he took Mr. Lutterloh into cuſtody at his houſe at Wickham, in the neighbourhood of Portſmouth; that Mr. Lutterloh made a free confeſſion of his guilt, and by his direction he found a bundle of papers in the garden, ſeveral of which were the hand-writing of the priſoner, directed to the Commandant of Breſt, and others to the Commandant of Cadiz, together with inſtructions to Mr. Lutterloh, from the priſoner, preſcribing a mode of conduct during their connection in the treaſonable conſpiracy againſt this kingdom.

Mr. Lutterloh was next called, and his teſtimony was of ſo ſerious a nature, that the court ſeemed in a ſtate of aſtoniſhment during the whole of his long examination. He ſaid, that he embarked in a plot with the priſoner in the year 1778 to furniſh the French court with ſecret intelligence of the navy; for which at firſt he received only eight guineas a month; the importance of his information appeared, however, ſo clear to the priſoner, that he ſhortly after allowed him fifty guineas a month, beſides many valuable gifts; that upon any emergency he came poſt to town to M. de la Motte, but common occurrences relative to their treaty he ſent by the poſt. He identified the papers found in his garden, and the ſeals, he ſaid, were M. De la Motte's, and well known in France. He had been to Paris by direction of the priſoner, and was cloſetted with Monſieur Sartine, the French miniſter. He had formed a plan for capturing Governor Johnſtone's ſquadron, for which he demanded 8000 guineas, and a third ſhare of the ſhips to be divided amongſt the priſoner, himſelf, and his friend in a certain office, but the French court would not agree to yielding more than an eighth ſhare of the ſquadron. After agreeing to enable the French to take the commodore, he went to Sir Hugh Palliſer, and offered a plan to take the French, and to defeat his original project with which he had furniſhed the French court. Mr. Dunning was wearied out in croſs-examining this witneſs, and declared, he was ſo ſhocked that he muſt retire; and, after ſtaying up ſtairs ſome time, he went home extremely ill. Mr. Peckham then for a long time queſtioned the witneſs.

On being ſeverely queſtioned by Mr. Dunning, Lutterloh gave a ſhort abſtract of his life, of which the following are the moſt remarkable circumſtances:—About fifteen years ſince he came to England upon a viſit to an uncle, who was ambaſſador from the Duke of Brunſwick; and going to a Mr. Taylor's to learn Engliſh, he became

came enamoured of that gentleman's daughter, and married her, whereby he incurred the diſpleaſure of his relations. Being reduced to diſtreſs, he engaged as a livery ſervant to Capt. Phillips, upon quitting whoſe ſervice he lived in the ſame capacity with Mr. Wildman of Lincoln's Inn. Being diſmiſſed from Mr. Wildman he took a chandler's ſhop in Great Wild-ſtreet, and having accepted the drafts of a relation to a conſiderable amount, he was much haraſſed by the preſſing importunities of his creditors, to avoid whoſe importunities he retired to Germany, ſome time after which he returned to England, and availed himſelf of an inſolvent act.

Being at Portſmouth during the late naval review, he gained employment as book-keeper at the George Inn. In this ſituation he projected a ſcheme for purchaſing arms in the petty German ſtates for the uſe of America, and viſited that quarter of the globe, in order to promote this plan, which however was not attended with ſucceſs, and after this commenced his connection with the priſoner.

He acknowledged, that he ſupplied the priſoner with accounts of the ſtate of the Weſt-India fleet, the number of ſick and wounded at Haſlar, in a letter directed to Mr. John Tweed, of Philpot-lane, London, and that other information was conveyed, under cover of franks, to Mr. Wall, of Little Carrington-ſtreet, May fair, who deals in pamphlets, newſpapers, &c.

He further confeſſed, that in violation of a ſolemn engagement with the priſoner, wherein it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould on no conſideration betray each other, after being raiſed from a ſtate of the moſt extreme indigence to independency with reſpect to pecuniary circumſtances, by his generoſity, he had, with a view to make ſome reſtitution to the country he had been ſo induſtrious to injure, but more with a deſign to enrich himſelf, communicated the whole particulars of the iniquitous ſchemes in which he had been engaged.

He was aſked by Mr. Dunning, whether, immediately after leaving the grand jury, when the indictment was preferred, he did not ſay to Rouſſeau, that there was not evidence for finding a Bill without the facts to which he was to ſwear, but that his depoſitions would cauſe De la Motte to be convicted, in which caſe he ſhould derive great profit. This he denied; but owned he had offered to lay a wager that De la Motte would be hanged A great number of letters which he, the witneſs, had ſworn to be the handwriting of De la Motte, relative to the ſtate of our fleet, rates, guns, weight of metal, outfit, commanders, deſtination, complement of men, &c. &c. were read, and appeared to contain the moſt preciſe, and we preſume, accurate accounts, which fully confirmed the obſervation made by the attorney-general, on his opening the proſecution, and which he ſaid ought to be much regretted, "that the great ſums the priſoner had to diſpoſe of enabled him to carry corruption to very *great* and *dangerous* lengths."

Mr. Rouſſeau depoſed, that on the day when the indictment was preferred before the grand jury,

Lutter-

Lutterloh expreſſed ſorrow for the melancholy ſituation of De la Motte, ſaying at the ſame time he would be hanged, for the miniſtry would be glad of the opportunity that was afforded them of gratifying their vengeance; and adding, that he *wiſhed he might be hanged, for he could do his buſineſs better without him.*

Mr. Lepel depoſed, that he knew Lutterloh when he kept a chandler's-ſhop in Wild-ſtreet, at which time he propoſed to this deponent a plan for purchaſing 25,000 ſtand of arms for the uſe of the Americans, whereby, being aſſiſted by Dr. Franklin and ſome German officers, a large fortune might be raiſed.

Mr. Wildman ſwore, that in 1770, or 1771, Lutterloh lived with him as a ſervant, during which time an accident happened (alluding to his bureau being broke open and rifled of about 80 or 90l.), but he did not pretend to aſſert, that Lutterloh had been the robber; but his ſuſpicions, and the motives which gave birth to them, were ſuch as to fully juſtify him in his own conſcience to refuſe Lutterloh a character when he diſmiſſed him from his ſervice.

After the examination of other witneſſes to collateral circumſtances, Mr. Peckham aroſe and combated the whole of the charge; and contended, that both in point of law and fact, the indictment muſt fall to the ground, for that the overt acts were not proved, and as to the papers deſcribing the ſtate of our fleet, and the ſick and wounded ſeamen, they were no more than what might be every day read in a news-paper. He entered into the hiſtory of M. De la Motte, ſaid he was a French nobleman, and he would not call him priſoner, but an unfortunate gentleman, brought to the bar for his life through the contrivance of a witneſs, with whom M. De la Motte had been acquainted, and who, to ſcreen himſelf from puniſhment, had charged the offence of a treaſonable correſpondence upon M. De la Motte. He took many other liberties with Mr. Lutterloh in the courſe of his obſervations, and having uſed many arguments to ſhow that M. De la Motte had acted only as a trader from England to France, and that the crime charged was more imputable to Mr. Lutterloh, he called two witneſſes to impeach his character, but they failed in ſuch kind of proof.

The ſolicitor-general was a conſiderable time in reply, and defended the evidence of Mr. Lutterloh; and Mr. Juſtice Buller, at nine o'clock began to charge the jury; in the courſe of which, he ſaid, that collecting intelligence for the purpoſe of furniſhing our enemies, was high-treaſon.

The jury, after a ſhort deliberation, pronounced the priſoner Guilty, &c. as has been already related, in our Chronicle for July, p. 184.

M. De la Motte was about five feet ten inches in height, 50 years of age, and of a comely countenance; his deportment was exceedingly genteel, and his eye was expreſſive of ſtrong penetration. He wore a white cloth coat and a linen waiſtcoat, worked in tambour. After ſentence Mr. Akerman's ſervants prepared to reconduct him to priſon, but being ignorant of their deſign, he ſat in

the chair in which he had ſat during almoſt the whole of the trial. But upon the matter being explained to him, he roſe, paid a polite obedience to the court and retired.

Copy of Lord George Gordon's *Correſpondence with Lord* North *and Lord* Southampton, *September* 3, 1781.

To the Right Hon. Lord North, *Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, &c. &c. &c.*

" My Lord,

" THE committee of correſpondence for the Proteſtant intereſt at Edinburgh, have done me the honour to intruſt to my care a very valuable book to be delivered to the king. It is entitled *Scotland's Oppoſition to the Popiſh Bill*, and contains a collection of all the *declarations and reſolutions* publiſhed by the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland, and the different provincial ſynods, preſbyteries, aſſociate preſbyteries, kirk ſeſſions, counties, cities, royal boroughs, boroughs, towns, pariſhes, incorporations, and ſocieties throughout Scotland againſt the propoſed repeal of the Statutes enacted, and for ever ratified, by the Revolution and Union parliament, for preventing the growth of Popery; with an introduction, giving a ſhort hiſtory of the riſe, progreſs, and effects of that national alarm; and an Appendix, containing a ſhort view of the Statutes at preſent in force in Scotland againſt Popery, the nature of the Bill propoſed to be brought into parliament for repealing thoſe Statutes, and ſome remarks, ſhewing the propriety and neceſſity of oppoſing ſuch repeal; with a few hints on the conſtitutional and prudent mode of oppoſition. Printed by David Paterſon, at Edinburgh.

" I think it right to ſend this information to your lordſhip, that you may acquaint the king, I have a book of ſuch conſequence to deliver into his majeſty's own hands; and, that I humbly wait his majeſty's pleaſure to know, whether I ſhall have the honour of preſenting it to his majeſty at his public levee, or at his private houſe, or when his majeſty is ſitting upon the throne? My wiſh is (at the ſame time that I do my duty towards the people of Scotland) to comply with all the forms and ceremonies of the Court of London, in approaching the king on a public ſubject of the deepeſt political conſideration.

" I have the honour to be,
my lord,
Your lordſhip's moſt obedient
and humble ſervant,
G. GORDON.

Welbeck-ſtreet,
Sept. 3, 1781.

" N. B. Your lordſhip, on this occaſion, will have an opportunity of adviſing with his majeſty on a gracious anſwer, according to the principles laid down at the Reformation and Revolution, and the ſtrict and ſolemn engagement to abide by thoſe principles, which was the covenanted bargain that raiſed the Prince of Orange from Holland, and his preſent majeſty's predeceſſors from Hanover, to the throne of theſe kingdoms. A gracious anſwer in time, to be read at the public meeting of the Proteſtant

teſtant Aſſociation on Wedneſday evening, might have the good effect of tending in ſome degree to quiet the minds and apprehenſions of the aſſociation in general; and, I am confident that ſuch an anſwer would be looked upon, and eſteemed as a due attention to the *declarations and reſolutions of their country*, by the Scotch diviſion of Proteſtants in London; who, permit me to tell your lordſhip, are very reſpectable indeed, and numerous too, about twenty thouſand men, including the train of artillery at Woolwich, and the beſt part of all the regiments of horſe and foot-guards. If your lordſhip was to adviſe his majeſty to compliment them on their diſcernment and loyalty in oppoſing the Popery Bill, I think it would be judicious, and in ſeaſon."

The following anſwer was ſent by the Right Hon. Lord North to the Right Hon. Lord George Gordon:

"LORD North's compliments to Lord George Gordon: if his lordſhip has any book to preſent to the king, he muſt preſent it at the levee."

Wrexton, Sept. 8, 1781.

The following letter was ſent on the ſame day to the Right Hon. Lord Southampton, Groom of the Stole to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales:

"My Lord,

"THE committee of correſpondence for the Proteſtant intereſt at Edinburgh, have done me the honour to entruſt to my care a very valuable book, to be delivered to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.

[Here follows the title of the book, as in the letter to Lord North.]

"I think it right to ſend this information to your lordſhip, that you may acquaint the Prince of Wales that I have a book of ſuch conſequence to deliver into his royal highneſs's hands; and that I humbly wait his royal highneſs's pleaſure, to know when and where I ſhall have the honour of preſenting it to him. My wiſh is, at the ſame time that I do my duty towards the people of Scotland, to comply with all the forms and ceremonies of his royal highneſs's eſtabliſhment in approaching the heir apparent of the Houſe of Hanover, on a public ſubject of the deepeſt political conſideration.

"I have the honour to be,
my lord,
Your lordſhip's moſt obedient
and humble ſervant,
G. GORDON.

Welbeck-ſtreet,
Sept. 3, 1781.

"P. S. I have had the honour to receive great civilities from your lordſhip both in London and at Paris, and I have not forgot them. I have always looked up to your lordſhip as a man of good underſtanding and integrity, as well as of the moſt agreeable and refined manners. I believe the public alſo, in general, think your lordſhip very well qualified for the high and important office of firſt lord in the eſtabliſhment of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales; and I have no doubt, but your lordſhip will uſe the utmoſt

of your abilities in guarding the heir apparent of the Houſe of Hanover, againſt thoſe principles and practices which *we* in Scotland could not put up with, even under our own ancient, hereditary, and royal family, of the Houſe of Stuart, from whoſe loins your lordſhip is deſcended.

" Permit me to aſſure your lordſhip, I do not mention your royal deſcent as any blemiſh; on the contrary I think it very noble. But I wiſh, indeed, to remind your lordſhip, in a ſerious manner, that *we noblemen*, whoſe ancient families have been ſo cloſely related, allied, and attached to the royal Houſe of Stuart in former times of dangerous politics, have the diſcerning eyes of the true Proteſtant people throughout Europe and America, moſt ſteadily fixed upon *us* at this preſent moment; therefore, *our* advice and conduct (as faithful friends to the Houſe of Hanover, being Proteſtants) ought to be exemplarily decided in ſupport of Reformation and Revolution principles."

Lord Southampton's *Anſwer to Lord* George Gordon:

" My Lord,

" HIS royal highneſs is out of town at preſent; when I have an opportunity, I will lay your letter before him.

" I beg leave to appriſe your lordſhip, that the Prince of Wales (not having a court) gives no audience.

" I have the honour to be,
my lord,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
SOUTHAMPTON."

Sept. 6, 1781.

On Friday the 14th inſtant, Lord George Gordon came to the outward room at St. James's with a book. The lord in waiting informed him, that nobody could be permitted to deliver a book to the king without his majeſty's permiſſion being firſt aſked and obtained. Lord George appeared at the levee without the book; and after the levee was over, the lord in waiting took the king's pleaſure, and ſignified to Lord George, that his majeſty having conſidered Lord George Gordon's letter to Lord North, announcing his intention to deliver a book, did not think proper to admit Lord Geo. Gordon into his preſence, to preſent *any book* announced by *ſuch* a letter.

Remarkable Actions at Sea.

Admiralty-Office, March 13, 1781.

Extract of a letter from Lieut. Ingles, *commanding his Majeſty's Sloop* Zephyr, *to Mr.* Stephens, *dated* Spithead, *March* 11, 1781.

PLEASE to acquaint their lordſhips of his majeſty's ſloop Zephyr, under my command, being arrived at Spithead from the coaſt of Africa, after a paſſage of 57 days.

I likewiſe have the honour of acquainting their lordſhips, that on 31ſt of October laſt, being juſt returned to Goree from a cruize, I received intelligence from Governor Wall of a French frigate of 24 guns being in Gambia River, which had taken two tranſports and two ſloops there, wooding and watering for the garriſon of Goree. I immediately ſailed, with the

the Polly Letter of Marque, mounting ſixteen ſhort four-pounders, with thirty men, under my command, agreeable to the advice of Governor Wall.

On the 2d of November, at eleven A. M. being at the entrance of the river, ſaw four ſail at anchor off Barra Point; found them to be one of the tranſports, two ſloops, and a French frigate; the tranſport mounted ſixteen guns, and was, as I heard, manned with Frenchmen and Negroes, belonging to Albedra, on the banks of Gambia, and intereſted with the French. At twelve, the tranſport and two ſloops were ſet on fire, the other tranſport being burnt the preceding day. At one P. M. the enemy's ſhips being under weigh, and the Zephyr within piſtol-ſhot of her, a warm action enſued, and laſted till four P. M. when, through chaſing, the Zephyr and enemy grounded, at very near low water, as cloſe to each other as before, which occaſioned the action to be renewed with redoubled violence, hence more reſembling two batteries on ſhore, than a ſea fight. During the greateſt part of the action, the letter of marque was anchored three quarters of a mile a-ſtern; but, notwithſtanding, a continual fire was kept up by the Zephyr and enemy till ſix, when the enemy ſtruck, with the loſs of twelve killed, and twenty-eight wounded; the Zephyr two killed, and four wounded, her bowſprit, main-top-maſt, and main yards ſhot away, her hull, maſts, yards, ſails, and rigging very much ſhattered, inſomuch, that with the greateſt difficulty on the twelfth we arrived at Goree. During the whole of the action, the Zephyr was in the utmoſt danger from fire-rafts, both under her bows and ſtern; but luckily the deſtructive intentions of the enemy proved abortive.

After boarding the enemy, found her to be the Senegal (Lieutenant Commandant Allery) the French king's ſhip, mounting eighteen ſix-pounders, and 126 men, but fought the Zephyr with twenty-two, owing to tranſporting guns. She was formerly the Racehorſe, commanded by Lord Mulgrave, and lately the Senegal, in his majeſty's ſervice. As ſhe was of great detriment to his majeſty's trading ſubjects on the coaſt of Africa, the taking of her gives me the utmoſt pleaſure and ſatisfaction.

On our arrival on the 12th at Goree from Gambia, Governor Wall gave me information of two veſſels being off Senegal Bar, taking in gum. Ready to act conſonant with his information, tho' in ſo ſhattered a condition, and the Senegal not condemned, from which the property of the captors was at ſtake, we chearfully conſented to proceed in purſuit of the apparent ſucceſs; but the wind being at N. E. directly contrary, and the Zephyr in an infirm ſituation, after beating five days out at ſea, the ſhips were obliged to return to Goree, in order to refit, on purpoſe that we might a ſecond time be able to attempt the expedition.

On our return the condemnation of the ſhip Senegal was entered upon, and the Judge Advocate demanding an inventory, proper officers and men were ſent from the Zephyr for that purpoſe, and that of refitting her for the afore-

ſaid expedition; but alas! through ſome unknown cauſe, on the 22d of November, ſhe was unhappily blown up, with the loſs of Lieut. George Crofts, and 22 others, officers and ſeamen, ſpecified by the incloſed liſt.

I flatter myſelf their lordſhips will ſhew all neceſſary indulgence to the officers and ſeamen's friends, who nobly and gallantly ſupported me in the late action, and unluckily ſuffered by the above accident.

A Liſt of the Officers and Seamen belonging to his Majeſty's Sloop Zephyr, who were blown up in the French King's Frigate, La Senegal, Lieutenant Allery, Commandant, on the 22d of November, 1780.

Geo. Crofts, lieutenant; Francis Fyffe, mate; Lauder Rutherford, able; Tho. Harris, boatſwain; Wm. Tramplett, gunner; Thomas Neſbit, clerk; John Croker, captain's mate; John Parminter, ſail-maker; P. M'Kewen, quarter-gunner; Henry Clark, able; Mark Short, ditto; George Williams, ditto; John Oakes, ditto; Cabel Cornwall, ditto; Andrew Buchanan, ditto; Wm. Forſyth, captain's ſervant; John Lawlers, able; Thomas Smith, ditto; Wm. Baker, ditto; Tho. Croſs, ditto; Jo. Hall, ditto; Thomas O'Hara, ditto.

Tranſactions on board the Nonſuch, *in an Engagement between the 14th and 15th of May 1781, received in Vice-Admiral* Darby's *Letter of the 19th of May.*

ON the 14th, being the look-out ſhip from the van ſquadron, at eight A. M. ſaw three ſail in the N. E. made the ſignal, chaſed; ſoon after we ſaw a ſail in the E. S. E. which we took to be a French line of battle ſhip; chaſed, gained upon her.——At about half paſt ten at night came along-ſide of her; ſhe gave us her broadſide, we returned it; ſhe dropt aſtern, we wore and raked her; we continued the action for near an hour, during ſome part of which we were on board one another; ſhe carried away our ſprit-ſail yard, and our anchor hooking her quarter carried away the flukes of it. All this time ſhe had ſo much the worſt of the action, that ſhe took the opportunity of our heads being different ways to make all the ſail ſhe could to get away; we wore and chaſed her again; our mizen-maſt being entirely diſabled prevented our getting up with her before five A. M. It being day-light, we could diſtinguiſh one another plainly; ſhe appeared to be a French 80 gun ſhip, in good order for battle.

Some people on board us, who pretend to know, ſay ſhe is the Languedoc. At five we began the action again, and continued till half paſt ſix, when finding our ſhip much diſabled, the fore-yard coming down, all the maſts, yards, ſails and rigging much hurt, guns diſmounted; the wreck of theſe, and dead and wounded men filling the deck; I thought it proper to haul our wind, in order to clear it. The enemy kept on her courſe for Breſt.

Our loſs in men is 26 killed, and 64 wounded*.

(Signed) JA. WALLACE.

* Among the former are no officers; but among the latter are, viz. Mr. Spry, 1ſt, Mr. Falconer 3d, Mr. Marker 4th lieutenants, Mr. Williams, acting lieutenant; Mr. Stone, maſter; Mr. Hotham, boatſwain.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Wm. Peere Williams, *of his Majeſty's Ship Flora, to Mr.* Stephens, *Secretary to the Admiralty, dated* Spithead, *June* 27, 1781.

ON May 29th, diſcovering two Dutch frigates, we (the Flora and Creſcent) prepared for immediate action; but the wind increaſing to a ſtorm, obliged us to wait a more favourable opportunity. At ſeven in the evening the gale abated, and the next morning the ſea was conſiderably fallen. Having kept the enemy in ſight all night, at day break we edged towards them, and at five commenced the action, ſhip againſt ſhip, within a cable's length of each other, which was continued without intermiſſion for two hours and a quarter, when our adverſary ſtruck her colours. She proved to be the Caſtor frigate, of Rotterdam, commanded by Captain Pieter Melvill, mounting 26 twelve and 10 ſix-pounders; her complement conſiſting of 230 men.

The action between the Creſcent and Brill, a frigate of the ſame rate as the Caſtor, mounting 26 twelve, 2 ſix, and 8 four pounderers, continued ſome minutes longer; when an unlucky ſhot carrying away the main and mizen maſts of the Creſcent, and the wreck falling within board, whereby her guns were rendered uſeleſs and the ſhip ungovernable, Capt. Pakenham was reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of ſtriking the king's colours. Seeing her ſituation, we, with great difficulty, got our ſhip's head towards her, and by that means prevented the enemy taking poſſeſſion of her, who made off in the beſt manner they could. Had our diſabled ſtate been ſuch as to have permitted us to have purſued, the bad condition of the Creſcent and Caſtor (both of which ſhips made between four and five feet water an hour) would have rendered ſuch a ſtep unjuſtifiable.

The ſteady and reſolute behaviour of my officers and crew on this occaſion, merits my warmeſt praiſe and admiration; and I hope will recommend them to their lordſhips favour.

It would be doing injuſtice to the merit of Captain Pakenham, his officers, and ſhip's company, if I concluded my letter without acknowledging they did as much as men could do to ſupport the dignity of the Britiſh flag, till that unfortunate accident, which deprived them of every means of reſiſtance, and the ſucceſs that would otherwiſe have attended. The Brill muſt have received conſiderable damage from the Creſcent; her main-maſt was ſeen to go by the board early in the afternoon.

I beg you will acquaint their lordſhips, that I took upon me to recommiſſion his majeſty's ſhip the Creſcent, and appoined my firſt lieutenant, Mr. John Bligh, to the command of her; reinſtating the reſt of the officers; and that Lieutenant Ellery, ſecond lieut. of the ſaid ſhip, having ſince died of the wounds he received in action, I have appointed Mr. Peter Creed, Maſter of the Flora, whom I ſtrongly recommended to their lordſhips for promotion, after the action with the Nymph, to ſucceed him; which ſteps I hope their lordſhips will approve. In my

my own ſhip I have appointed Mr. John Evans to act as third lieutenant, a young man who has ſerved his time in the navy, and who is very deſerving of promotion.

The following is an account of the killed and wounded on board his majeſty's frigates Flora and Creſcent, and the Dutch frigate Caſtor.

Flora	9	killed,
	32	wounded.
Creſcent	26	killed,
	67	wounded.
Caſtor	22	killed,
	41	wounded.

I am ſorry to add to this letter a circumſtance which gives me infinite concern.

As ſoon as the damages of the three ſhips were repaired in the beſt manner we were able, which employed us five days, we proceeded on our paſſage without interruption, till the 19th inſt. when early in the morning, in lat. 47. N. long. 6. 30. W. being in chace of a privateer brig, which had dogged us all night, and part of the preceding day, I diſcovered, upon the clearing away of a ſquall, two ſhips to windward, edging towards me; upon which I veered ſhip, and returned to the Creſcent and Caſtor, flattering myſelf the appearance of our force united would check the ardour of their purſuit: but in this I was miſtaken; they ſtill continued the chaſe, encouraged, I have no doubt, by the diſabled appearance of my conſorts, and gained upon us very faſt. Conſcious of our actual want of ſtrength, I did not think it adviſeable to hazard an action, and my officers were unanimouſly of the ſame opinion. Each ſhip therefore ſhaped a different courſe, and about one o'clock P. M. I had the mortification to ſee the Caſtor retaken by one of the frigates, which fired a gun, and hoiſted French colours, though till that moment they had chaſed under Engliſh. The other frigate, not being able to come up with the Flora, bore away about three o'clock, after the Creſcent, and, as the night was clear, I am apprehenſive ſhe fared the ſame fate as the Caſtor.

When their lordſhips reflect how reduced the complement of his majeſty's ſhips were by the loſs of the killed and wounded, and from the number of men ſent on board the prize, viz. 38 from the Flora, and nearly the ſame number from the Creſcent (which men were conſtantly employed at the pumps to keep the ſhip free), I flatter myſelf they will acquit me of having acted improperly on this occaſion.

N. B. The Flora had 36 guns, and 270 men; the Creſcent 28 guns, and 200 men.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 18, 1781. *Extract of a Letter from Captain* Curtis *to Mr.* Stephens, *dated* Brilliant, Gibraltar, *Auguſt* 7, 1781.

I BEG you will be pleaſed to acquaint my lords commiſſioners, that his majeſty's ſloop Helena arrived here this morning.

Her approach was diſcovered by the enemy and us at the ſame time, about five o'clock. She was in the Gut, to the ſouthward of Cabarita Point, and nearly a third of the way over from it towards Europa. It was perfectly calm, and the Helena

Helena was rowing for the Rock. I immediately took the Repulſe and Vanguard gun-boats, with all the boats of the ſhips, and went for her as expeditiouſly as poſſible. Fourteen gun-boats of the enemy, carrying each one 26-pounder in the bow, moved alſo from Algeziras, accompanied by ſeveral launches. Theſe boats got on faſter than I could proceed with the Repulſe and Vanguard, and before eight o'clock thoſe of them the moſt advanced commenced their fire upon the Helena, being then within half gun-ſhot. She returned it with great deliberation and effect, but ſtill continuing to uſe her oars. The greater part of the gun-boats were ſoon cloſe to her, and the clouds of grape and other ſhot, that ſeemed almoſt to bury her, were really aſtoniſhing. However, ſhe did not, without ſome aid, bear long this very unequal combat. The Repulſe and Vanguard began a well-directed fire upon the enemy, being ſo placed as was deemed the moſt efficacious to cover the Helena, and to annoy them. The commencement of the ſea-breeze having got to the Helena, ſhe ſoon reached us, the enemy ſtill perſevering in their attempt upon her; ſome of them firing at her broadſide, and others keeping aſtern, raking her. However, the ſteadineſs and bravery exhibited on board the Helena, and the well-applied grape from the Repulſe and Vanguard, very ſoon made ſeveral of them retire; and they all fled by ten o'clock, allowing us to tow the Helena into the Mole without farther moleſtation. A xebec, mounting between twenty and thirty guns, which was lying near to Cabarita Point, got under way when the breeze came, and advanced to join the gun-boats; but, upon ſeeing them retire, ſhe retired alſo.

The maſts, ſails, rigging, and furniture of the Helena are cut all to pieces, and the hull a good deal damaged; but it is wonderful, as it is fortunate, the boatſwain was the only man who was killed on board her.

The bravery, the coolneſs, and the judicious conduct of Captain Roberts*, do him infinite honour: his officers and men deſerve the higheſt commendation.

An Account of the Action betwixt the Savage *Sloop of War of* 16 *Guns, Capt.* Stirling, *and the* Congreſs, *an* American *Frigate of* 20 *Guns Capt.* Geddis; *from a Letter of Capt.* Stirling's *to Real-Admiral* Graves,

Lancaſter, Sept. 23, 1781.

SIR,

IT is with the moſt poignant grief I acquaint your excellency of the capture of his majeſty's ſloop Savage, late under my command, the particulars of which I have the honour to tranſmit.—Early in the morning of the 6th inſt. 10 leagues eaſt of Charles Town, we eſpied a ſhip bearing down on us, who when about four miles diſtant, hauled her wind to the eaſtward, ſhewing, by her appearance ſhe was an American cruizer; her force could

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not be ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed: I therefore gave way to the pleaſing idea that ſhe was a privateer, carrying 20 nine-pounders, whom I had intelligence was cruizing off here, and inſtantly reſolved either to bring her to action, or oblige her to quit the coaſt; for which purpoſe we gave chaſe, but were prevented continuing it long, by her edging down, ſeemingly determined to engage us. Conſcious of her ſuperiority in ſailing and force, this manœuvre coincided with my wiſhes. I cauſed the Savage to lay by, till we perceived, on her nearer approach, ſhe was far ſuperior to what we imagined, and that it was neceſſary to attempt making our eſcape, without ſome fortunate ſhot, in the courſe of a running fight (which we ſaw inevitable), admitted our taking advantages, and bringing on a more equal conflict. At half paſt ten ſhe began firing her bow chaſers, and at eleven, being cloſe on our quarter, the action commenced with muſquetry, which after a good deal of execution, was followed by a heavy cannonade on both ſides. In an hour's time I had the mortification to ſee our braces and bowlings ſhot away, and not a rope left to trim the ſail with, notwithſtanding every precaution had been taken: however, our fire was ſo conſtant and well-directed, that the enemy did not ſee our ſituation, but kept along ſide of us, till accident obliged him to drop aſtern. The Savage was now almoſt a wreck; her ſails, rigging, and yards, ſo much cut, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty we could alter our poſition time enough to avoid being raked, the enemy lying directly athwart our ſtern for ſome minutes. This was the only intermiſſion of great guns, but muſquetry and piſtols ſtill did execution, and continued till they opened again, which was not till both ſhips were almoſt on board each other, when the battle became more furious than before. Our quarter-deck and forecaſtle were ſoon now nearly cleared, ſcarce a man belonging to either not being killed or wounded, with three guns on our main deck rendered uſeleſs. In this ſituation, we fought near an hour, with only five ſix-pounders, the fire from each ſhip's guns ſcorching the men who oppoſed them, ſhot and other implements of war thrown by hand doing execution; when our mizen-maſt being ſhot away by the board; our main-maſt tottering, with only three ſhrouds ſtanding; the ſhip on fire dangerouſly; only 40 men on duty to oppoſe the foe, who was attempting to board us in three places; no ſuccour in ſight, or poſſibility of making further reſiſtance; I was neceſſitated, at a quarter before three, P. M. to ſurrender to the Congreſs, a private ſhip of war, belonging to Philadelphia, who carried 215 men, and mounted 20 twelve-pounders on her main-deck, and four ſixes above, fourteen of which were fought on one ſide. She loſt during the action eleven men, and had near thirty wounded, ſeveral of them mortally; her maſts, her ſails, and rigging, were ſo much damaged, that ſhe was obliged to return to port, which partly anſwered my wiſhes prior to the action, as great part of the Carolina Trade was daily expected

on

on the coaſt, and this privateer we ſaw ſailed remarkably faſt. Three days were employed putting her in a condition to make ſail, and five for the Savage, who was exceedingly ſhattered. Indeed it is aſtoniſhing more damage was not done, as the weather was fine, the water remarkably ſmooth, and the ſhips never thirty yards aſunder.

The courage, intrepidity, and good behaviour of the officers and ſhip's company I had the honour to command, deſerve the higheſt commendations, and my warmeſt thanks.

Lieutenant Shiels diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gallantry, activity, and attention; as did Mr. Gyam the gunner. Mr. Wightman, the maſter, fell early in the action, by which I loſt the aſſiſtance of a good officer. The inferior officers behaved well in their reſpective ſtations; and the men fought with a cool, determined valour, that will ever redound to their credit. I cannot conclude without obſerving, that Captain Geddis and the officers of the Congreſs, after fighting us bravely, treated us when priſoners with great humanity. Incloſed is a return of the killed and wounded. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

CHARLES STIRLING.

His Excellency Rear-Adm. Graves.

A liſt of the officers and men killed and wounded on board his majeſty's ſloop Savage, Sept. 6, 1781.

Killed, maſter and 7 ſeamen: wounded, captain, lieutenant, 3 midſhipmen, 21 ſeamen: total 34.

CHARLES STIRLING.

Extract of a Letter form Vice Admiral Arbuthnot, to Mr. Stephens, *dated* Bedford, *off* Sandy Hook, *July* 4, 1781.

I HAD the honour to mention, in my letter of this date, my intention of reporting ſome particular circumſtances reſpecting the capture of the Atalanta; they are communicated in the incloſed paper.

The Atalanta, with a gallantry that does her captain the higheſt honour, maintained the action ſome time after the Trepaſſey ſtruck, until ſhe was a wreck, in which ſtate ſhe was carried to Halifax.

The behaviour of Lieutenant Samuel Arden, of the Atalanta was brilliant beyond expreſſion: he loſt his right arm in the fight, and, the inſtant it was dreſt, reſumed his ſtation on deck, where he remained until ſhe ſtruck, notwithſtanding his weakneſs and loſs of blood.

I doubt not, theſe matters will be thought entitled to their lord ſhips conſideration.

Report of Mr. Philip Windſor, *late Maſter of his majeſty's Sloop the* Trepaſſey, *in* Halifax *Harbour, June* 11, 1781, *viz.*

ON Sunday the 27th of May, 1781, being on a cruize with the Atalanta ſloop, by order from the commanding officer at St. John's, Newfoundland, in lat. 41. long. 61. W. ſaw a ſail at three P. M. S. E. diſtant 4 leagues; we bore up, and came within one league; finding her a large ſhip, ſuppoſed her a two-decker, and night coming

ing on we hauled our wind, and ſailed in ſight of her all night. About twelve at noon the next day, it being almoſt calm, and the ſtrange ſhip about half a mile to leeward, ſhe hoiſted Rebel colours, and gave the Atalanta and us a broadſide, we being then very nigh to each other; we then bore up cloſe alongſide of her, the Atalanta on the ſtarboard, and the Trepaſſey on the larboard quarter, and began to engage. About an hour after the action began, Capt. Smith, of the Trepaſſey, was killed; upon which I ſent to Lieutenant King to acquaint him thereof in order to his reſuming the command, and engaged the enemy in the ſame poſition for two hours and an half longer, and at laſt ſtruck the colours, in obedience to the orders he ſent me by Mr. Samuel Pitts, a midſhipman of the ſhip: we loſt five ſeamen killed, and ten wounded in the action, which ended at half paſt three P. M. The Atalanta continued to engage ſome time, and then ſtruck alſo.

The rebel frigate proved to be the Alliance.

Captain Edwards of the Atalanta, and his lieutenant, and alſo Lieutenant King of the Trepaſſey, are carried away as priſoners, and myſelf was left in charge of the two ſhips companies put on board of the Trepaſſey by Mr. Berry, Captain of the Alliance, who for that purpoſe diſſabled and turned the Trepaſſey into a cartel brig; and have brought her in here, with directions to ſend the cartel to Boſton, as Rebel property.

Being thus left in charge of theſe people, I think it my duty to acquaint you thereof, as commanding officer, requeſting to be diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as you ſhall direct; and being ready to anſwer to any court-martial for my ſhare and proportion in the defence and loſs of his majeſty's ſaid ſloop.

(Signed)
PHILIP WINDSOR, Maſter of the Trepaſſey.

N. B. The Atalanta ſloop had 16 guns and 125 men; the Trepaſſey ſloop 14 guns and 80 men.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Geo. Germain, *to the Commiſſioners appointed to reſtore Peace to* America, *dated* Whitehall, *March* 7, 1781*.

"I HAVE received your diſpatches of the 2d of Jan. together with the letter from Sir Henry Clinton of the 21ſt of the ſame month, and have had the honour to lay them before his majeſty. The proclamation of 29th December, which came incloſed with your diſpatches, will, I hope, produce thoſe good effects which you expect from it, and which, by its being ſo well-timed, gives every reaſon to hope for. It will be a great ſatisfaction to me to preſent the king with an addreſs from any one of the revolted provinces, begging your interceſſion

* This letter and the one following, were taken by the French in the packet for North America, and were afterwards publiſhed in the Amſterdam Gazette.

for

for pardon, and its being reſtored to the privilege of Britiſh ſubjects. The narrow limits within which you have circumſcribed your exceptions, and the generality of aſſurances given by you of re-eſtabliſhing the former conſtitutions, were, I doubt not, very judicious, neceſſary, and convenient: but as there are many things in the conſtitution of ſome of thoſe colonies, and indeed in all of them, in which the people wiſhed to ſee ſome alterations; and there being others, which it is the common intereſt of both countries to change, you muſt be very careful leſt either your actions or proclamations ſhould preclude a thorough inveſtigation of thoſe objects, or prevent the poſſibility of introducing, in their conſtitution, ſuch alterations as the people may chuſe to grant or ſolicit."

Extract of a Letter from William Knox, *Eſq; Secretary to Lord* Geo. Germain, *to* James Simpſon, *Eſq; dated* Whitehall, *March* 7, 1781.

"HOPE you will be as good as your word, and write to me as ſoon as you can reach New-York. When I conſider, from the deplorable condition of the rebellious forces, and our great ſuperiority, that the inhabitants of the revolted provinces will probably ſolicit for a negociation, and perhaps ſuch a requeſt may come from Congreſs itſelf, I wiſh you to be preſent; for knowing your perfect acquaintance with the diſpoſitions of the inhabitants to republican principles, and their utter averſion to monarchy, it may be in your power to prevent the commiſſioners making any conceſſion that may tend to keep up thoſe principles amongſt the inhabitants, and to ſee that no alteration be made in their conſtitutions, as it is intended to eſtabliſh amongſt them diſtinctions of rank, and new model their government, by that of Great Britain. This method would certainly be more advantageous to the people, as it would bind them more firmly to this country, and be the means of preventing calamities ſimilar to thoſe they now experience."

Copy of a Letter written by Mr. Meyrick *to General* Arnold.

THE following copy of a letter written by Mr. Meyrick, one of the army agents in London, to General Arnold, was found in the packet, which was intercepted in its paſſage to New-York:—

Parliament-ſtreet, 30th Jan. 1781.

"SIR,

"I have received the honour of your different letters, incloſing bills of exchange upon Harley and Drummond (bankers to the court) to the amount of 5,000l. ſterling, of the receipt of which I regularly gave you notice. On the day they were paid, I placed the ſum in the funds in compliance with your intimation; and as the time was extremely favourable, I flatter myſelf with the pleaſure of meeting your approbation, and that you will be pleaſed with the manner in which I have diſpoſed of it.

As

As it is probable that ſome orders may arrive from you, directing the diſpoſal of your money in ſome different way from that in which I have employed it, I thought it beſt not to ſhut up entirely, as a long time might elapſe before I received from you the neceſſary powers for transferring the capital, in caſe I had purchaſed the ſtock in your name; mean while the dividends could not have been received for your uſe.—The method I have adopted is commonly practiſed in ſimilar caſes, and I can immediately alter it in whatever manner you think proper, as ſoon as you will do me the honour to give me notice of your ſentiments by a letter. The account is as follows:

Bought by Meſſrs. Samuel and William Scholey, Stock-Brokers, for Major-General Arnold, 7,000l. ſterling in the new annuities, at 72¼ per cent. in the manner following:

	£.	s.	d.
Under the name of Major-Gen. Benedict Arnold, 100l. ſterling ſtock, at 72¼ per cent. in the new conſolidated annuities, at 4 per cent. and 6,900l. ſterling in the ſame fund, under the name of James Meyrick, Eſq;	4,987	10	0
Commiſſion to the Brokers	8	15	0
Letter of attorney for receiving the dividends	0	1	6
£.	4,996	6	6

There then remains of the 5,000l. three pounds thirteen ſhillings and ſix-pence.

Thus by this method, if I receive any inſtructions from you for employing your money in a different manner, I can ſell out the 6,900l. and diſpoſe of your money agreeable to your directions before this letter reaches you; and if it is your wiſh that it ſhould remain in the funds, it can be placed under your name, by my transferring the 6,900l. and joining it to your 100l. The reaſon of my purchaſing the latter ſum in your name, was, that you might have an account open. The letter of attorney, here encloſed, enables me alſo to receive the dividends for the whole 7,000l. after I have transferred, if it is your wiſh that I ſhould do it. I hope that I have now explained every thing ſufficiently, and I can aſſure you, I have acted with greater care in this tranſaction than if it had been for myſelf.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your moſt obedient
and moſt humble ſervant,
JAMES MEYRICK."

THE following letter from his Excellency Gen. Waſhington was intercepted with many others, and publiſhed in the New-York Gazette for April 4th, 1781.

General Waſhington, *on Public Service;*

To the Honourable Benjamin Harriſon, *Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Delegates,* Richmond, Virginia.

Head Quarters, New Windſor, March 27, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

On my return from Newport, I found your favour of the 16th of February, with its incloſures, at Head Quarters. I exceedingly regret that I could not have the pleaſure of ſeeing you, not only from perſonal motives, but becauſe I could have entered upon the ſubject of your miſſion, in a much more free and full manner than is proper to be committed to paper.

I very early ſaw the difficulties and dangers to which the ſouthern ſtates would be expoſed for reſources of cloathing, arms, and ammunition, and recommended magazines to be eſtabliſhed, as ample as their circumſtances would admit. It is true, they are not ſo full of men as the northern ſtates; but they ought for that reaſon to have been more aſſiduous in raiſing a permanent force, to have been always ready, becauſe they cannot draw a head of men together, as ſuddenly as their exigencies may require. That policy has unhappily not been purſued either here or there, and we are now ſuffering from the remnant of a Britiſh army what they could not, in the beginning, accompliſh with their forces at the higheſt. As your requiſitions go to men, arms, ammunition, and cloathing, I ſhall give you a ſhort detail of our ſituation and proſpects, as to the firſt, and of our ſupplies and expectations as to the three laſt.

Men. By the expiration of the times of ſervice of the old troops, by the diſcharge of the levies engaged for the campaign only—and by the unfortunate diſſolution of the Pennſylvanian line, I was left, previous to the march of the detachment under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, with a garriſon barely ſufficient for the ſecurity of Weſt Point—and two regiments in Jerſey, to ſupport the communication between the Delaware and North River. The York troops I had been obliged to ſend up for the ſecurity of the frontiers of that ſtate. Weak however as we were, I determined to attempt the diſlodgment of Arnold in conjunction with the French fleet and army, and made the detachment to which I have alluded.

In my late tour to the eaſtward, I found the accounts I had received of the progreſs of recruiting in thoſe ſtates, had been much exaggerated—and I fear we ſhall, in the end, be obliged again to take a great proportion of their quotas in levies for the campaign, inſtead of ſoldiers for three years, or for the war. The regiments of New-York having been reduced to two, they have but few men to raiſe. Jerſey depends upon voluntary enliſtments upon a contracted bounty, and I cannot therefore promiſe myſelf much ſucceſs from the mode. The Pennſylvania line you know is ordered to compoſe part of the ſouthern army. General Wayne is ſo ſanguine as to ſuppoſe he will ſoon be able to move on with 1000 or 1200 men, but I fancy he rather over-rates the matter.

You will readily perceive, from the foregoing ſtate, that there is little probability of adding to the force already ordered to the ſouthward. For ſhould the battalions from New-Hampſhire to New-

Jerſey incluſive be compleated (a thing not to be expected), we ſhall, after the neceſſary detachments for the frontiers and other purpoſes are made, have an army barely ſufficient to keep the enemy in check in New-York. Except this is done, they will have nothing to hinder them from throwing further reinforcements to the ſouthward; and to be obliged to follow by land every detachment of their army, which they always make by ſea, will only end in a fruitleſs diſſipation of what may now be called the northern army. You may be aſſured that the moſt powerful diverſion that can be made in favour of the ſouthern ſtates, will be a reſpectable force in the neighbourhood of New-York. I have hitherto been ſpeaking of our own reſources. Should a reinforcement arrive to the French fleet and army, the face of matters may be entirely changed.

Arms. I do not find that we can, at any rate, have more than 2000 ſtand of arms to ſpare, perhaps not ſo many; for ſhould the battalions which are to compoſe this army be compleat, or nearly ſo, they will take all that are in repair or repairable. The 2000 ſtand came in the alliance from France, and I kept them apart for an exigency.

Ammunition. Our ſtock of ammunition, though competent to the defenſive, is, by a late eſtimate of the commanding officer of artillery, vaſtly ſhort of an offenſive operation of any conſequence. Should circumſtances put it in our power to attempt ſuch an one, we muſt depend upon the private magazines of the ſtates, and upon our allies.——On the contrary, ſhould the defenſive plan be determined upon, what ammunition can be ſpared will be undoubtedly ſent to the ſouthward.

Cloathing. Of cloathing we are in a manner exhauſted. We have not enough for the few recruits which may be expected, and except that which has been ſo long looked for and talked of from France ſhould arrive, the troops muſt next winter go naked, unleſs their ſtates can ſupply them.

From the foregoing repreſentation, you will perceive that the proportion of the continental army, already allotted to ſouthern ſervice, is as much as, from preſent appearances, can be ſpared for that purpoſe, and that a ſupply of arms, ammunition, or cloathing of any conſequence muſt depend, in a great meaſure, upon future purchaſes or importation.

Nothing which is within the compaſs of my power ſhall be wanting to give ſupport to the ſouthern ſtates; but you may readily conceive how irkſome a thing it muſt be to me to be called upon for aſſiſtance, when I have not the means of affording it.

I am with the greateſt regard,
Dear Sir,
Your moſt obedient
and humble ſervant,
G. WASHINGTON.

Hon. Benj. Harriſon, Eſq.

THE following letter from Mr. Adams, ambaſſador from the American Congreſs at Amſterdam, to Thomas Cuſhing, Lieutenant Governor of Maſſachuſets, was found on board the prize Brigantine

Brigantine Cabot, and carried into St. Chriſtopher's.

Amſterdam, Dec. 15, 1780.

DEAR CUSHING,

I writ to you on the 2d inſtant by way of France, under cover, to Congreſs; but our friend Heartwell, who delivered me your diſpatches, going out by way of St. Euſtatia, may get this letter to you ſooner than the other. You will have heard of the unfortunate capture of poor Laurens, with his papers, and the Britiſh ambaſſador's memorial to the States General in conſequence thereof. What it may produce is yet doubtful, though the general opinion here is, that it will be nothing alarming. Sir Joſeph Yorke has preſented a ſecond memorial, but you may depend upon it the ſtates will not be bullied into any thing. It is thought that England will not at this conjuncture widen the breach with the Republic; but, even if they ſhould, it will do us no harm for them to have more enemies to contend with. A raſh ſtep taken by them at this time, when all the powers of Europe are jealous of them, and favourably inclined to American independence, may prove their entire ruin. Our independence is conſidered here as eſtabliſhed. The Empreſs of Ruſſia has already, in effect, taken a decided part in our favour, and other European nations are well inclined to ſupport our cauſe.

In this city we have many powerful friends, who, as well as all Europe, diſdain the pride of the Britiſh miniſtry, which is not leſs conſpicuous in the memorials preſented to their High Mightineſſes, than it was in the anſwer returned to the petition of Congreſs. Pride, indeed, ſeems to be endemial to that nation; but I think it won't be long before we ſee its downfall.

I proteſt I ſee no ground for your gloomy apprehenſions. You talk of the difficulty of recruiting the army, the depreciation of Congreſs notes, the complaints of public creditors, and the flood of counterfeit money among you, &c. Theſe doubts and fears are really provoking, and the ſource of them only in your own irreſolute breaſt. Can you expect to gain your point, or accompliſh any thing great, without the common incidents of war? Compare yourſelves with other countries, and ſee their exertions for things of much leſs moment. England, for example, at the beginning of this war, was a hundred and thirty millions in debt, and yet the Britiſh miniſtry, merely to gratify their pride, involved their country in an expence of twenty millions per ann. more.

This cauſes a depreciation of their money, and complaints among their creditors, who have quite as much reaſon as yours, moſt of them having already ſunk forty per cent. of their capital. Shall we then, who have our all at ſtake, talk of burthens, and the perplexities of a paper medium?

Different nations have different modes of raiſing money for the public expenditure, which is uſually done according to the genius of the people, and the form of their government. Moſt of thoſe in Europe have occaſionally been driven to the uſe of paper-money,

or making public ſecurities ſerve the purpoſes of a medium in trade; and the Engliſh have gone more extenſively into this expedient than other nations: but I believe none have ever made uſe of it with leſs inconvenience, or given their creditors leſs cauſe of complaint, than the ſtates of America have done heretofore. But when almoſt every public department among you is filled, as I am informed, with men of rapacious principles, who ſacrifice the common weal to their private emolument, who encourage gambling, voluptuouſneſs, and every vice, what good can be expected from the wiſeſt inſtitutions? I wiſh theſe good gentlemen, whom you mention, would exert themſelves in their ſeveral profeſſions to ſtop thoſe growing enormities which are the ſource of all the calamities of the country, and which ſooner or later, if not ſtopt, muſt end in its deſtruction.

Our money matters are in a good way, which I writ to you fully upon in my laſt. You muſt have patience till they can be accompliſhed, and in the mean time do the beſt you can. Many here who know the country laugh at your complaints, and ſay that a few duties and exciſes, judiciouſly laid throughout the continent, would pay the whole army expences without being felt. I adviſe to reſtraining the conſumption of foreign ſuperfluities, and introducing ſumptuary laws; though it may be policy, for the encouragement of ſoldiers, to indulge them in a livery as ſplendid as may be convenient.

I am ſorry to ſee you ſo anxious for an accommodation, and wiſh you had ſhewn how it could be done. Are you aware of the revolutions that will unavoidably take place? New arrangements made, and the ſtates new modelled, the better to ſerve the purpoſes of deſpotiſm; the captors of Britiſh property obliged to diſgorge; a debt of four millions ſterling to be paid to the Britiſh merchants to ſettle old ſcores; your fiſhery reſtrained and put under new regulations; forfeited eſtates returned to their former owners; a door opened for innumerable law ſuits for illegal payments; the property of the whole continent ſet afloat; and, after all, are you ſure our *great ally* would conſent to it? In truth, I can ſee nothing ſhort of independence that can ſettle it, without the remedy being more fatal than the diſeaſe.

It is true, I believe, what you ſuggeſt, that Lord North ſhewed a diſpoſition to give up the conteſt, *but was diverted from it, not unlikely, by the repreſentation of the Americans in London, who, in conjunction with their coadjutors in America, have been thorns to us indeed on both ſides the water; but I think their career might have been ſtopt on your ſide, if the executive officers had not been too timid in a point which I ſo ſtrenuouſly recommended at firſt, namely, to fine, impriſon, and hang all inimical to the cauſe, without favour or affection. I foreſaw the evil that would ariſe from that quarter, and wiſhed to have timely ſtopt it. I would have hanged my own brother if he had took a part with our enemy in this conteſt.*

I believe there never was an inſtance of ſuch deluſion as thoſe people are under to ſacrifice their country,

country, their intereſt, and their beſt connections, to ſide with a people who neither reward or thank them; and I have good authority to ſay, that a great proportion of them have nothing to live upon but their loyalty. One would think that this alone, if it was known and believed, would be enough to prevent others from falling into the ſame ſnare. *Heartwell, who has been ſome time incognito in London, will give you much uſeful information*; he will tell you the talk we have had about a ſtipend for ——, which would be money well laid out. Thoſe who exert themſelves ſo much in our cauſe ought to be rewarded, as we are moſt eſſentially ſerved by it; but profound ſecrecy muſt be obſerved.

I ſhall write to the governor, wherein I ſhall be more explicit upon ſome matters which I have writ to Congreſs upon, and which he probably will communicate, which makes it unneceſſary to add any more to you at preſent.

I am your affectionate friend, &c.

(Copy) JOHN ADAMS.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended the* 5th *of* January, 1782.

EXPORTED.

1781.	Britiſh Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat	2,294	1,726	
Wheat Meal and Flour	86,045	3,536	
Rye	2,550	150	
Barley	21,711	Nil	
Malt	107,928	Nil	26,617 3 10½ Bo.
Oats	7,992	18,215	
Oatmeal	8,563	116	46 9 2 Dr.
Beans	15,248	430	
Peaſe	2,826	290	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	82		
Wheat Flour	9,336		
Barley and Bear	15,588		
Barley Meal	199		
Barley hulled	82		
Malt	5,040	- - - -	5,653 10 9¼ Bo.
Oats	1,171		
Oatmeal	5,660		
Peaſe and Beans	550		
	cwt. qr. lb.		
Biſcuit	6,383:1:—		

IMPORTED.

1781.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat	143,772	
Wheat Flour	1 ,924	
Rye	10,743	
Barley	56	
Oats	55,502	4,275 4 9
Oatmeal	367	
Beans	3,244	
Peaſe	14,508	
SCOTLAND.		
Wheat Flour	99	
Oats	53,576	
	cwt. qr. lb.	447 6 3¾
Biſcuit	43 — 27	

The

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter buſhel, for the year 1781.

Wheat		Rye		Barley		Oats		Beans	
s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
5	7	3	$4\frac{1}{4}$	2	$1\frac{3}{4}$	1	$8\frac{1}{2}$	2	$10\frac{1}{2}$

N. B. The prices of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Beans
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

Navy Office, Jan. 23, 1781.

An Account of all the Men raiſed for his Majeſty's Navy, Marines included, from the 29th of September, 1774, to the 29th of September, 1780, diſtinguiſhing each Year.

	Years.		*No. raiſed.*
From 29th September	1774	——	345
	1775	——	4734
	1776	——	21564
	1777	——	37458
	1778	——	41847
	1779	——	41832
To September —	1780	——	28210
			175990

Navy Office, Jan. 23, 1781.

An Account of all the Number of the Men who have died in actual Service in his Majeſty's Navy ſince the firſt Day of January, 1776, diſtinguiſhing (as far as may be) thoſe who have been killed by the enemy; and alſo of the Number of ſuch Men as have deſerted the ſaid Service in the ſame Period, as far as the ſeveral Accounts can be made up, diſtinguiſhing each Year.

Years.		*Died.*	*Killed by the enemy.*	*Total killed & died.*	*Number deſerted.*
1776	—	1679	105	1784	5321
1777	—	3247	40	3287	7085
1778	—	4801	254	5055	9919
1779	—	4726	551	5277	11341
1780	—	4092	293	4385	7603
Total	-	18545	1243	19788	42069

War-Office, 23d January, 1781.

State of his majesty's British regular land forces, officers included, in North America and the West-Indies, as they were at the end of the year 1779.

		Officers present.					
		Commission'd	Staff	Non Commission'd	Rank and file	Total. Officers included	Privates wanting to complete.
N. Amer.	Under Sir Henry Clinton, by monthly return of Dec. 1. 1779 —	591	83	1402	17077	19153	3648
	Under Gen Haldimand, by monthly return of Dec. 1 1779 —	114	32	230	3009	3385	831
	Under the Convention, by monthly return of August 1, 1779	134	26	258	1228	1646	2532
W. Indies.	By monthly return of Dec. 1, 1779	276	66	712	6076	7130	4238

War Office, January 23d, 1781.

Account of the men lost and disabled in his majesty's British land forces, including two battalions of marines serving on shore, by death, captivity, desertion, wounds or sickness, in North America and the West-Indies, from Nov. 1st, 1774, to the date of the last return.

		Dead	Total prisoners.*	Deserted	Discharged &c.
1774	North America, under Generals Gage and Haldimand,	30	000	47	16
	West-Indies	39	000	4	20
1775	N. America, under Gens. Haldimand, Gage, and Howe,	781	000	115	249
	West-Indies	121	000	48	148
1776	N. America, under Sir William Howe	869	744	192	619
	N. America, under Sir Guy Carleton	200	48	68	36
	West-Indies	86	000	80	38
1777	N. America, under Sir William Howe	1202	1274	282	490
	N. America, under Sir Guy Carleton	81	162	20	29
	N. America, under General Burgoyne	‡ 220	‡ 484	487	5
	West Indies	303	000	105	40
1778	N. America, under Sir William Howe	1311	641	628	1281
	N. America, under Sir Guy Carleton	117	146	32	87
	N. America, under the Convention of Saratoga ‡,	61	‡ 381	546	83
	West-Indies	236	000	104	71
1779	N. America, under Sir Henry Clinton	1154	1020	263	444
	N. America, under General Haldimand	42	165	27	87
	N. America, under the Convention	8	259	176	000
	West-Indies	1054	000	122	34
1780	N. America, under Sir Henry Clinton	No return.			
	N. America, under General Haldimand	58	166	38	30
	N. America, under the Convention	3	256	172	000
	West Indies	2036	000	145	178

Embark-

* The War Office have not the means of ascertaining the number of men lost by captivity, having no account of what the whole number of prisoners taken in any one year may

War Office, January 23d, 1781.

Embarkation returns of all the British corps and recruits, which have been sent from Great Britain or Ireland, to any part of North America or the West-Indies, in 1778, 1779, 1780.

Regiments	*Commiss. Officers.* Colonels	Lieut. Colonels	Majors	Captains	1st Lieutenants	2d L's or Ens.	*Staff Officers.* Chaplains	Adjutants	Quark. masters	Surgeons	Mates	*Non commiss. Officers, dr. & fifes.* Serjeants	Corporals	Drums & fifes	Private men	Total strength, Officers included.	Total, Officers included, embarked each year.
70th	0	1	1	6	10	6	0	1	1	1	1	29	27	22	485	591	
74th	0	1	0	4	18	8	1	0	0	1	1	50	49	22	884	1040	
82d 6 co.	1	0	1	4	14	2	0	1	1	1	1	29	30	14	568	667	3774
Recruits	0	0	0	0	00	0	0	0	0	0	0	00	00	00	1476	1476	
76th	0	1	1	8	29	8	0	1	1	1	2	49	50	22	898	1062	
79th	0	0	1	6	21	7	0	1	1	1	2	48	50	22	957	1117	
80th	0	0	2	6	19	7	0	1	1	1	2	50	50	22	863	1024	
82d 4 co.	0	0	1	1	7	5	0	0	0	0	1	20	22	8	350	414	6877
88th	1	1	1	7	9	6	0	1	1	1	1	30	40	21	710	831	
89th	1	0	1	4	8	6	0	1	1	1	1	29	33	22	650	758	
Recruits	0	0	0	0	00	0	0	0	0	0	0	00	00	00	1665	1665	
1st, 1st bat.	0	1	1	8	11	7	0	1	1	1	1	30	40	22	666	790	
13th	0	1	1	6	11	8	0	1	1	1	1	30	40	22	668	791	
69th	0	1	1	7	11	6	0	1	1	1	1	29	39	21	644	763	
85th	0	1	2	7	10	5	0	1	1	1	1	25	35	18	586	693	
86th	1	1	1	6	9	8	0	1	1	1	1	30	37	22	592	711	
87th	0	1	2	6	11	6	0	1	1	1	1	26	36	22	612	726	
90th	1	0	2	7	8	7	0	1	1	1	1	27	35	22	599	712	10237
91st	1	1	1	5	6	7	0	1	1	0	1	26	39	22	568	679	
92d	0	1	2	7	8	8	0	1	1	1	1	29	40	22	642	763	
93d	1	1	1	8	7	5	0	1	1	1	1	26	34	21	480	588	
94th	1	0	1	6	9	7	0	1	1	1	1	26	26	22	563	665	
99th 9 co	0	0	1	6	6	8	0	1	1	1	1	27	36	20	603	711	
Recruits	0	0	0	0	00	0	0	0	0	0	0	00	00	00	1645	1645	
Total	8	13	25	125	231	139	1	19	19	19	19	665	787	432	18374	20882	20882

may be, or of the prisoners that may have been exchanged in the course of it. They only know what the number of prisoners are at the time that the return is made.

§ The monthly returns not assigning the reasons for which soldiers are discharged, the War Office cannot, agreeable to the directions of the order of the House of Commons, distinguish those men who are lost or disabled by wounds or sickness; the whole number discharged are therefore stated, in which those dismissed for misbehaviour, claimed as apprentices, claimed by other corps, draughted from one regiment to another, or discharged for a variety of causes, besides that of inability to serve longer, are included.

‡ ‡ ‡ The prisoners of the army under these heads, are such as were taken by the enemy previous to the Convention of Saratoga. The men comprehended in the Convention have never been allowed to be prisoners of war; their casualties by death and desertion, and the numbers discharged, are regularly given. The effectives detained in America, contrary to the Convention, are as follow:

	British privates.
By return of November 17, 1777	2883
Ditto 1, 1778	1838
August 1, 1779	1228
Ditto 1, 1780	796

Account

War Office, January 23d, 1781.

Account of all the men raiſed in Great Britain and Ireland, for his majeſty's land forces on the Britiſh eſtabliſhment, militia and fencible men in North Britain not included, from 29th Sept. 1774, to 29th Sept. 1780.

To 29th September	1775	—	3575
	1776	—	11063
	1777	—	6882
	1778	—	23978
	1779	—	16154
To 29th September	1780	—	15233
Total — — — — —			76885

Adjourned to Monday 29th.

PRICES

PRICES of STOCK, for the Year 1781.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the course of any Month, is put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Consol.	3 pr Ct. B. 1726	3½ pr Ct B. 1751	4 pr Ct. 1777	Long Ann.	Ann. 1778	S. Sea old An.	S. Sea new An.	3 pr Ct. 1751	India Stock	India Ann.	India Bonds	Navy Bills.	Onm. Prem.
Jan.	108¼	57¾	60¼	55	57	71⅜	15 11/10	11⅝	56⅜	55	54¼	148¼	55½	14s pr	13½	—
	105½	56⅝	57¾	—	56½	69⅞	15½	11 7/8	54¾	54½	53¾	145¾	54½	3	11½	—
Feb.	108½	57⅝	59	55½	57½	72¼	16⅛	11 3/16	56	55¾	54¾	148	54¾	14	14	—
	105⅛	56¾	57¾	55	56½	70¼	15⅝	11 7/16	54¾	54¾	54 1/8	146½	54⅜	1	13 1/8	8
Mar.	112¾	57⅞	63¼	—	59	76½	17 3/16	12 1/16	60⅜	57½	56½	155¾	57½	5	13 7/8	—
	106¾	57⅝	58⅛	—	57½	71½	15 5/16	11½	56½	55¾	55¼	147	54⅝	par	12¼	9
Apr.	112¼	58	58¾	—	58½	75¼	17½	12 1/16	57⅛	58	57¼	148	54¾	11	13	1¼
	108¼	57½	58½	—	58⅛	72⅝	16 1/16	12 7/16	—	57⅛	56¾	144½	54½	3	11¾	3/4
May	113½	58	58¾	56⅞	58⅞	74	17½	12 1/16	57¾	58¾	—	147¼	57⅞	5	12¼	1/8
	110¾	57½	59½	—	58⅝	73½	17¼	12 1/16	57¼	58¼	—	144	54⅝	9	11 3/16	3/4
June	113⅝	58¼	59¼	57¼	59½	74⅛	17 9/16	12⅞	58½	59⅛	58 1/16	145½	55½	16	11 7/16	—
	112¼	57¾	58⅝	—	—	73¾	17 7/16	12¾	57½	58⅝	57¾	143¼	55¼	9	10⅝	—
July	114¼	58⅜	57½	—	57⅞	74	17⅛	12 1/16	58	56¾	56⅜	145	55¾	16	12	—
	113⅛	57⅞	57⅛	—	57¼	73⅜	17	12⅜	57¾	56½	—	133	55¼	8	10 7/8	—
Aug.	114⅛	58¼	57¼	56	57½	74	17	12½	57⅞	57¼	56 1/16	140	55⅝	10	11⅜	—
	113⅛	57¾	56⅞	55¾	57¾	73⅝	16⅜	12 5/16	57⅝	56¾	55 15/16	134	55	4	11	—
Sept.	119	57⅞	57	—	57⅛	73¾	16¾	12⅜	57¾	57⅛	55⅞	141¾	55⅛	6	12	—
	113	57¾	56⅛	—	56⅝	73⅛	16 5/16	12⅛	57	56½	—	138	—	1 dif.	11 1/16	—
Oct.	115½	55⅞	56¾	56⅝	58	73⅝	16¾	12⅜	55⅛	56¾	56⅛	140¾	53	5 p.	12¾	—
	108½	55¼	55⅞	54¾	56¼	70½	16⅜	12¼	54¾	55¾	—	138½	52½	2	11⅞	—
Nov.	113	58	58⅞	56	57½	73	16 1/16	12¼	56	56⅞	55¾	141¾	53⅞	5	12	—
	107¾	54⅞	55⅛	55¼	55¾	70⅛	16 3/16	12 1/16	54½	55⅜	55 1/16	138¾	52⅝	4 dif.	10¾	—
Dec.	111⅛	57⅜	57⅞	56¼	57⅞	72⅛	16 5/16	12 1/16	56⅝	57⅜	56⅞	142	55¼	8 p.	12	—
	110	56½	57⅜	56⅛	57¾	71⅛	16 3/16	12 9/16	55⅝	56½	55½	138½	53¼	3	11⅛	—

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1781.

NAVY.	Voted. £.	s.	d.	Paid. £.	s.	d.	Remains to be paid. £	s.	d.
DECEMBER 5, 1780.									
90,000 men, including 20,317 marines	4,446,000	0	0						
Ordinary of the navy	386,261	5	8						
Buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of ships	670,016	0	0						
JUNE 19, 1781.									
For the debt of the navy	3,200,000	0	0						
	8,702,277	5	8	8,603,884	18	1¼	98,392	7	6¾
ORDNANCE.									
NOVEMBER 30, 1780.									
Ordnance for sea service	234,000	0	0						
Ditto - land service	582,924	11	9						
FEBRUARY 19, 1781.									
For compensation to proprietors of lands near Chatham	20,671	12	6						
Ditto - of lands near Sheerness and Gravesend	13,452	17	0						
Ditto - of lands at and near Tilbury Fort	148	18	0	1,550,484	7	1			
MAY 22, 1781.									
Charge of ordnance services performed, and to be performed, in the year 1781, exclusive of ordnance land service	252,104	3	4						
Ordnance extraordinary expence in 1780	447,182	4	6						
FORCES.									
NOVEMBER 28, 1780.									
39,666 men, including 4,213 invalids, guards, and garrisons	1,049,774	8	11						
Plantations, Minorca, and Gibraltar	1,488,927	0	0						

	Voted. £.	s.	d.	Paid. £.	s.	d.	Remains to be paid. £.	s.	d.
Pay of general and ſtaff officers	42,927	16	0						
Pay and ſubſidy for 13,472 Heſſians	367,203	9	10						
To make good deficiency in ſums voted for Heſſians, between 29 March 1779, and 24 Dec. 1780	6,463	8	5						
Pay and ſubſidy for 4,300 men of the troops of Brunſwick	93,947	15	8						
Ditto - for two regiments of Hanau	39,597	1	11¼						
Charge of five Hanoverian battalions	56,074	19	4½						
For the troops of the Prince of Waldeck	17,498	3	2¾						
For defraying charge of proviſions for foreign troops in N. America	49,373	17	1						
For defraying charge of artillery for ditto	27,683	14	0						
For charge of 1447 men of Anſpach, including artillery, with ſubſidy	39,644	14	3						
For defraying charge of embodied militia, with four regiments of fencibles, for 1781	672,457	15	0						
Cloathing for embodied militia, in 1781	99,679	13	4						
For charge of a corps of infantry of Anhalt Zerbſt, including artillery	16,630	11	9¼	7,723,912	4	11			
FEBRUARY 8, 1781.									
Reduced officers of land forces and marines	79,059	0	0						
Horſe Guards reduced	596	4	2						
Out Penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital	91,604	7	1						
MAY 1, 1781.									
Charge of eighty independent companies of foot	117,608	6	8						
Ditto of additional companies and additionals to the militia	6,010	3	9						

Deficiency

			Voted.			Paid.			Remains to be paid.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Deficiency on pay of additional companies, and additionals to the militia, in 1780 - - -			8,452	4	8						
Ditto - on the vote for pay of two battalions of Lord John Murray's regiment, in 1780 - -			1,107	16	4						
	MAY 9.	£. s. d.									
Extraordinary expences of the forces		3,443,217 19 8½									
Deduct: Savings in sums voted for payment of several corps - -	£. s. d. 14,379 8 10										
Ditto of augmentations of several regiments of foot -	25,501 0 0										
Ditto of augmentations of the forces	51,747 17 6	91,628 6 4									
			3,351,589	13	4½						

LOANS DISCHARGED.

NOVEMBER 30, 1780.

To pay off exchequer bills on next aids with intereſt			1,941,849	3	5¾	1,941,755	14	1¼	93	9	4½
Ditto - on next aids - -			1,559,678	1	7	1,559,678	1	7			
Ditto - on vote of credit - -			1,033,261	2	9	1,033,261	2	9			

DEFICIENCES.

FEBRUARY 20, 1781.

To make good deficiency of land-tax - -			252,978	11	0	252,978	11	0			
Ditto - - of malt duty - -			43,717	2	11½	43,717	2	11½			
Ditto - - of coinage duty - -			8,052	4	1	8,052	4	1			
Ditto - - of annuity fund, 1758 -			30,999	11	2	30,999	11	2			
Ditto - - of annuity fund, 1778 -			191,664	7	2	191,664	7	2			

	Voted. £.	s.	d.	Paid. £.	s.	d.	Remains to be paid. £.	s.	d.
To make good deficiency of annuity fund, 1779 -	193,663	0	1¾	193,663	0	1¾			
Ditto - - of annuity fund, 1780 -	222,745	4	6	222,745	4	6			
Ditto - - of ways and means, 1780 -	8,551	8	8¾	8,551	8	8¾			
MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.									
JANUARY 25, 1781.									
For the relief and ſupport of the ſufferers in the iſland of Barbadoes - - - - -	80,000	0	0	80,000	0	0			
Ditto - - of the ſufferers in the iſland of Jamaica - - - - -	40,000	0	0	40,000	0	0			
FEBRUARY 8.									
Civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia - - -	5,099	10	5	5,099	10	5			
Ditto - of Eaſt Florida - - -	3,950	0	0	3,950	0	0			
Ditto - of Weſt Florida - - -	3,900	0	0	3,900	0	0			
Ditto - of Georgia - - -	2,986	0	0	2,986	0	0			
Ditto - of the Iſland of St. John in America	3,150	0	0	3,150	0	0			
General ſurveys in America - - -	207	0	0	207	0	0			
Levant Company - - - -	8,000	0	0	8,000	0	0			
FEBRUARY 20.									
Money paid on addreſſes - - -	22,222	0	0	22,222	0	0			
To replace to civil liſt the like ſum paid to American ſufferers - - - -	57,910	12	0	57,910	12	0			
Ditto - - paid to Duncan Campbell, for expence of convicts - -	15,487	17	0	15,487	17	0			
MAY 9.									
For roads and bridges in Scotland - - -	4,994	17	6	4,994	17	6			
African forts and ſettlements - - -	13,000	0	0	13,000	0	0			

Towards

	Voted. £. s. d.	Paid. £. s. d.	Remains to be paid. £. s. d.
MAY 22.			
Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerſet Houſe	36,207 4 3	15,000 0 0	21,237 4 3
To Dr. Smith, for his attendance for upwards of four years upon the ſick perſons confined in ſeveral priſons within and near this metropolis - - -	1,200 0 0	1,200 0 0	
MAY 30.			
Towards rebuilding Newgate - - - -	10,000 0 0	10,000 0 0	
Towards repairing the King's-Bench and Fleet priſons	25,000 0 0	25,000 0 0	
JUNE 7.			
To Mr. H. Philips, for his diſcovery of a certain powder for the deſtruction of inſects - - -	3,600 0 0	3,600 0 0	
JUNE 19.			
To be paid to ſuch perſons whoſe loſſes by the riots in June, 1780, amounted to 100*l.* or under - -	5,200 0 0	- - -	5,200 0 0
To the bank for diſcounts, and rewards for receiving and paying contributions - - - -	92,375 14 4	92,375 14 4	
To pay the prizes in the lottery - - -	480,000 0 0	480,000 0 0	
	24,380,324 10 $8\frac{3}{4}$	24,252,431 0 0	124,893 1 $2\frac{1}{4}$
For military ſervices on the vote of credit - -	1,000,000 0 0	1,000,000 0 0	
	25,380,324 10 $8\frac{3}{4}$	25,252,431 0 0	124,893 1 $2\frac{1}{4}$

WAYS

WAYS AND MEANS *for the above Supplies granted to his Majeſty, for the Service of the year* 1781.

NOVEMBER 16, 1780.

1. RESOLVED, That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſum of four ſhillings in the pound, and no more, be raiſed within the ſpace of one year, from the 25th day of March, 1781, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, penſions, offices, and perſonal eſtates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed; and that a proportionable ceſs, according to the ninth article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland. ——— ——— £. 2,000,000 0 0

2. Reſolved, That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, which, by an Act of parliament of the twentieth year of his preſent majeſty's reign, have continuance to the 24th day of June, 1781, be farther continued, and charged upon all malt which ſhall be made, and all mum which ſhall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry which ſhall be made for ſale, within the kingdom of Great Britain, from the 23d day of June 1781, to the 24th day of June 1782 ——— ——— ——— 750,000 0 0

FEBRUARY 6, 1781.

Reſolved, That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of two hundred and eighty-eight thouſand three hundred and forty-ſix pounds, nineteen ſhillings, and eight pence, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the fifth day of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one, for the diſpoſition of parliament, of the monies which had then ariſen of the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, overplus monies, and other revenues, compoſing the fund, commonly called the Sinking Fund. ——— 288,346 19 8

MARCH 8.

Reſolved, That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſum of twelve millions be raiſed by annuities, and the further ſum of four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds by a lottery, in manner following; that is to ſay,

That every contributor to the ſaid twelve millions ſhall, for one hundred pounds contributed

and paid, be entitled to the principal ſum of one hundred pounds in annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum; and to an additional principal ſum of fifty pounds in like annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum, and alſo to a farther principal ſum of twenty-five pounds in annuities, after the rate of four pounds per centum; the ſaid ſeveral annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum, and four pounds per centum, reſpectively, to commence from the fifth day of January one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one.

That the ſum of twelve millions, to be contributed as aforeſaid, together with the additional capital of fifty pounds to every one hundred pounds advanced and paid, amounting to ſix millions, making together in the whole eighteen millions in annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum, be, from the time of their commencement, added to, and made one joint ſtock with, the three pounds per cent. annuities conſolidated by the Acts of the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, thirty-ſecond, and thirty-third, of George the Second, and by ſeveral ſubſequent Acts, and charged upon the ſinking fund, and ſhall be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England at the ſame time, and in the ſame manner, and ſubject to the like redemption by parliament, as the ſaid three pounds per cent. conſolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there, and redeemable by parliament.

That the annuity, in reſpect of the ſaid additional ſum or capital of twenty-five pounds, to which every contributor of one hundred pounds contributed as aforeſaid ſhall be entitled, making together in the whole three millions, to carry an intereſt and annuity, after the rate of four per cent. ſhall be paid at the Bank of England for one quarter of a year, from the 5th day of January one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty one, to the fifth day of April following, and from that time ſhall be added and made one joint ſtock with certain annuities, after the rate of four pounds per cent. which were conſolidated by an Act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and ſhall alſo be charged upon the ſinking fund, and ſhall be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England at the ſame time, and in the ſame manner, and ſubject to the like redemption by parliament, as the ſaid conſolidated four pounds per

cent.

cent. annuities are payable and transferrable there, and redeemable by parliament.

That every contributor towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of twelve millions ſhall, for every one thouſand pounds contributed, be entitled to four tickets in a lottery to conſiſt of forty-eight thouſand tickets, amounting to four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, upon payment of the further ſum of ten pounds for each ticket, the ſaid four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds to be diſtributed into prizes for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the ſaid lottery, which ſhall be paid in money, at the Bank of England, to ſuch proprietors upon demand, as ſoon after the firſt day of March one thouſand ſeven-hundred and eighty-two as certificates can be prepared, without any deduction whatſoever.

That every contributor ſhall, on or before the fifteenth day of this inſtant March, make a depoſit of fifteen pounds per cent. on ſuch ſum as he or ſhe ſhall chuſe to ſubſcribe, towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of twelve millions, with the chief caſhier or caſhiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England, and alſo a depoſit of fifteen pounds per cent. with the ſaid caſhier or caſhiers, in part of the monies to be contributed towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds by lottery, as a ſecurity for making the future payments reſpectively, on or before the days or times hereinafter limited; that is to ſay,

On £. 12,000,000 to be raiſed by annuities.

£. 10 per cent. on or before the 27th day of April next
£. 10 per cent. on or before the 18th day of May next
£. 10 per cent. on or before the 14th day of June next
£. 10 per cent. on or before the 24th day of July next
£. 15 per cent. on or before the 21ſt day of Auguſt next
£. 10 per cent. on or before the 18th day of Sept. next
£. 10 per cent. on or before the 23d day of Oct. next
£. 10 per cent. on or before the 23d day of Nov. next

On the lottery for £. 480,000

£. 20 per cent. on or before the 11th day of May next
£. 25 per cent. on or before the 10th day of July next
£. 20 per cent. on or before the 11th day of Sept. next
£. 20 per cent. on or before the 9th day of Oct. next

That all the monies, ſo to be received by the ſaid chief caſhier or caſhiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England, ſhall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, to be applied from

time to time to ſuch ſervices as ſhall then have been voted by this houſe in this ſeſſion of parliament.

That every contributor, who ſhall pay in the whole of his or her contribution-money towards the ſum of twelve millions to be contributed as aforeſaid at any time before the twenty-ſecond day of October next, or on account of his or her ſhare in the ſaid lottery on or before the tenth day of Sept. next, ſhall be allowed an intereſt, by way of diſcount, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum, on the ſum ſo completing his or her contribution reſpectively, to be computed from the day of compleating the ſame, to the twenty-third day of November next, in regard to the ſum to be paid for the ſaid annuities, and to the eighth day of October next in reſpect of the ſum to be paid on account of the ſaid lottery; and that all ſuch perſons as ſhall make their full payments on the ſaid lottery ſhall have their tickets delivered to them as ſoon as they can conveniently be made out. 12,480,000 0 0

APRIL 12.

1. Reſolved, That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of ſeven hundred fifty-ſeven thouſand and eighty-ſeven pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, and ten pence, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, for the diſpoſition of parliament, of the monies which had then ariſen of the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, overplus monies, and other revenues, compoſing the fund, commonly called the Sinking Fund —— —— —— 757,087 17 10

2. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of twenty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and eight pounds, eleven ſhillings, and ten pence halfpenny, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, of the two ſevenths exciſe granted by an Act of parliament of the fifth and ſixth years of the reign of their late majeſties King William and Queen Mary, after ſatisfying the ſeveral charges and incumbrances thereupon for the half year then ended —— —— 23,708 11 10½

3. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of forty thouſand pounds, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, of the duties on wines, granted by an Act of the eighteenth year of the reign of his late majeſty, for

paying

paying annuities on ſingle lives, purſuant to the ſaid Act, after reſerving ſufficient to ſatisfy the ſeveral annuities to the 5th day of January, 1781 — 40,000 0 0

4. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of fifty-ſix thouſand pounds, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, of the duties on glaſs, for paying annuities on lives, granted by an Act of the nineteenth year of the reign of his late majeſty, after reſerving ſufficient to ſatisfy the ſeveral annuities to the 5th day of January, 1781 — — — — 56,000 0 0

MAY 1ſt.

Reſolved, That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſum of one million five hundred thouſand pounds be raiſed by loans or exchequer bills, if not diſcharged, with intereſt thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1782, to be exchanged and received in payment in ſuch manner as exchequer bills have uſually been exchanged and received in payment — 1,500,000 0 0

MAY 24.

Reſolved, That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the farther ſum of one million nine hundred thouſand pounds be raiſed, by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament; and ſuch exchequer bills, if not diſcharged, with intereſt thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1782, to be exchanged and received in payment in ſuch manner as exchequer bills have uſually been exchanged and received in payment — 1,900,000 0 0

JUNE 14.

Reſolved, That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the propoſal of the governor and company of the Bank of England, for advancing the ſum of two millions on exchequer bills, upon ſuch terms and conditions as are therein mentioned, be accepted — 2,000,000 0 0

JUNE 18.

1. Reſolved, That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be applied the ſum of ſixteen thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-nine pounds, ſix ſhillings, and eight pence halfpenny, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, ſubject to the diſpoſition

of parliament, excluſive of the ſurplus then remaining of the ſinking fund — — 16,879 6 8½

2. That ſuch of the monies as ſhall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer after the 5th day of April, 1781, and on or before the 5th day of April, 1782, of the produce of the duties charged by two Acts, made in the fifth and fourteenth years of his preſent majeſty's reign, upon the importation and exportation of gum ſenega and gum arabic, be applied towards making good the ſupply granted to his majeſty — — — 228 6 6

JUNE 19.

1. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of one million ſeven hundred forty-two thouſand nine hundred and twelve pounds, two ſhillings, and two pence, out of ſuch monies as have ariſen, or ſhall or may ariſe, of the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, or overplus monies, and other revenues, compoſing the fund commonly called the Sinking Fund — — — — 1,742,912 2 2

2. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be applied a ſum, not exceeding four hundred thouſand pounds, out of the balances remaining in the hands of the Right Honourable George Nugent Earl Temple, the perſonal repreſentative of the Right Honourable George Grenville, deceaſed, and of the Right Honourable William, Lord Viſcount Barrington in the kingdom of Ireland, and of the Right Hon. Richard, Lord Viſcount Howe in the kingdom of Ireland, and of Sir Gilbert Elliot, baronet, the perſonal repreſentative of the Right Honourable Sir Gilbert Elliot, baronet, deceaſed, late treaſurers of his majeſty's navy, and of John Powell, Eſq; the only acting executor of the late Right Hon. Henry Lord Holland, deceaſed, and of the Right Hon. Caroline Baroneſs Greenwich, the perſonal repreſentative of the Right Hon. Charles Townſhend, deceaſed, and of the Right Hon. Frederick Lord North, and of George John Cooke and Charles Molloy, Eſqrs. the perſonal repreſentatives of the late George Cooke, Eſq; deceaſed, and of the Right Hon. Thomas Townſhend, and of George John Cooke and Charles Molloy, Eſquires, the perſonal repreſentatives of the late George Cooke, Eſq; de-

ceaſed,

ceaſed, late paymaſters general of his majeſty's forces *. 367,640 3 6½

3. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be applied the ſum of eighteen thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-three pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and eleven pence, remaining in the hands of Sir William Howe, late commander in chief in North America; and the ſum of one thouſand three hundred and fifty-ſeven pounds, fourteen ſhillings, remaining in the hands of the executors of Zachary Philip Fonnereau, Eſq; deceaſed, and Sir Merrick Burrell, baronet, contractors for furniſhing the garriſon of Gibraltar with proviſions, from the 12th day of May, 1777, to the 17th day of January, 1779 †; and the ſum of eight thouſand eight hundred and forty-eight pounds, one ſhilling, and four pence farthing, remaining in the hands of Thomas Rumſey, Eſq; acting executor of John Richardſon, Eſq; agent to the out-penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital, from the 25th day of December, 1773, to the 24th day of June, 1774; and the ſum of ſeven hundred and ſeventy-two pounds, eight ſhillings, and ſixpence halfpenny, remaining in the hands of Sir William Erſkine, as quarter-maſter-general of the forces from the 25th day of December, 1776, to the 30th day of June, 1779 — — — 25,853 16 5½

* Of the above ſum of 400,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* only 367,640*l.* 3*s.* 6½*d.* were paid into the Exchequer.

Particulars of the ſum of 367,640*l.* 3*s.* 6½*d.* paid into the exchequer, on account of balances, viz.

Intereſt-money repaid by the executors of George Grenville, Eſq;	11,582 15 9¼
Ditto — — by Lord Barrington — —	9,316 9 10¼
Ditto — — by Lord Howe — —	9,969 0 4½
Ditto — — by the executors of Sir Gilbert Elliot	6,000 0 0
Ditto — — by the hands of John Powel, Eſq; executor of Lord Holland	232,515 4 8
Ditto — — by the adminiſtrators of Charles Townſhend, Eſq;	27,000 0 0
Ditto — — by Lord North, and the executors of George Cooke, Eſq;	60,075 5 10
Ditto — — by the Right Hon. Thomas Townſhend, and the executors of George Cooke, Eſq; —	11,181 7 0
	367,640 3 6½

† Of this, only 5,000*l.* was paid into the exchequer.

4. That

4. That ſuch of the monies as ſhall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer by the united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies, in full diſcharge and ſatisfaction of the claims and demands of the public to the net profits which have accrued to the company at home, before the 1ſt day of March, 1781, be applied towards making good the ſupply granted to his majeſty — — — 400,000 0 0

5. Sale of lands, &c. in the Ceded Iſlands 5,200 0 0

RECAPITULATION *of the aforementioned Ways and Means.*

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Malt Duty				750,000	0	0
Land-Tax				2,000,000	0	0
Contributions to annuities				12,000,000	0	0
Ditto — to lottery				480,000	0	0
Sink. fund Surplus on 5th Jan. 1781.	288,346	19	8			
Sink. fund Ditto on 5th Apr. 1781.	757,087	17	10	2,788,346	19	8
Sink. fund Future produce —	1,742,912	2	2			
Exchequer bills				1,500,000	0	0
Ditto				1,900,000	0	0
Ditto — for the bank charter —				2,000,000	0	0
Money to be paid by the Eaſt-India Company				400,000	0	0
Surplus of the 2 7ths 9d exciſe				23,708	11	10½
Ditto of the fund for life-annuities 18 Geo. II.				40,000	0	0
Ditto of the fund for life-annuities 19 Geo. II.				56,000	0	0
Diſpoſeable money in the exchequer				16,879	6	8½
Balances of late treaſurers of the navy and paymaſters of the forces, voted 400,000*l.* but no more paid into the exchequer than —				367,640	3	6½
Balance of the account of Sir William Howe				18,723	13	11
Ditto of the account of Meſſieurs Fonnereau and Burrell				1,357	14	0
Ditto of the account of Sir William Erſkine				772	8	6½
Part of 8,848*l.* 1*s.* 4½*d.* being the balance of the account of the late Mr. Richardſon —				5,000	0	0
Sale of lands, &c. in the Ceded Iſlands —				5,200	0	0
Money ariſen by ſale of French prizes —						
Duty on gum ſenega				228	6	6
				24,353,857	4	9
Vote of credit				1,000,000	0	0
				25,353,857	4	9

The

The total amount of the ſupplies granted —	25,373,524	10	8¾
The total amount of ways and means towards ſatisfying the ſame — — —	25,353,857	4	9
Deficiency of ways and means — — —	19,66	5	11¾

The national debt, up to July 1781, is — £.	177,206,000	0	0
The annual intereſt to be raiſed is — —	6,812,000	0	0

TAXES *for* 1781.

	£.		
Five per cent. on exciſe, except malt, ſoap, candles, and hides — — — —	150,000	0	0
Diſcount of the cuſtoms — — —	167,000	0	0
Tobacco, one penny three farthings per pound —	61,000	0	0
Sugar, one halfpenny per pound — —	326,000	0	0
Since laid.			
Duty on paper — — — —	100,060	0	0
Ditto on Almanacks — — —	10,000	0	0
Total —	814,060	0	0

Review of perpetual Taxes laid on, from 1776 *to* 1781, *incluſive.*

Computed produce per annum.

TAXES.				TAXES.			
In 1776 —	£. 73,000	0	0	In 1779 —	£. 478,000	0	0
1777 — —	242,000	0	0	1780 —	701,616	0	0
1778 — —	336,000	0	0	1781 —	814,060	0	0
				Total —	2,644,676	0	0

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, Nov. 1, 1780.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with more than ordinary ſatisfaction that I meet you in parliament, at a time when the late elections may afford me an opportunity of receiving the moſt certain information of the diſpoſition and the wiſhes of my people, to which I am always inclined to pay the utmoſt attention and regard.

The preſent arduous ſituation of public affairs is well known: the whole force and faculties of the monarchies of France and Spain are drawn forth, and exerted to the utmoſt, to ſupport the rebellion of my colonies in North America, and, without the leaſt provocation or cauſe of complaint, to attack my dominions; and the undiſguiſed object of this confederacy manifeſtly is to gratify boundleſs ambition, by deſtroying the commerce, and giving a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain.

By the force which the late parliament put into my hands, and by the bleſſing of Divine Providence on the bravery of my fleets and armies, I have been enabled to withſtand the formidable attempts of my enemies, and to fruſtrate the great expectations they had formed; and the ſignal ſucceſſes which have attended the progreſs of my arms in the provinces of Georgia and Carolina, gained with ſo much honour to the conduct and courage of my officers, and to the valour and intrepidity of my troops, which have equalled their higheſt character in any age, will, I truſt, have important conſequences in bringing the war to a happy concluſion. It is my moſt earneſt deſire to ſee this great end accompliſhed; but I am confident you will agree with me in opinion, that we can only ſecure ſafe and honourable terms of peace by ſuch powerful and reſpectable preparations, as ſhall convince our enemies that we will not ſubmit to receive the law from any powers whatſoever; and that we are united in a firm reſolution to decline no difficulty or hazard, in the defence of our country, and for the preſervation of our eſſential intereſts.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you.

you. I ſee, and feel, with great anxiety and concern, that the various ſervices of the war muſt, unavoidably, be attended with great and heavy expences; but I deſire you to grant me ſuch ſupplies only, as your own ſecurity and laſting welfare, and the exigency of affairs ſhall be found to require.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I repoſe an entire confidence in the zeal and affections of this parliament, conſcious that, during the whole courſe of my reign, it has been the conſtant object of my care, and the wiſh of my heart, to promote the true intereſts and happineſs of all my ſubjects, and to preſerve inviolate our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled.

Die Mercurii, 1° Novembris, 1780.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our moſt humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

Permit us to offer to your majeſty our moſt dutiful congratulations on the birth of another prince, and the happy recovery of the queen, and to aſſure your majeſty, that every addition to your majeſty's domeſtic happineſs muſt always afford the higheſt ſatisfaction to your faithful ſubjects.

In the preſent arduous ſituation of public affairs, we think it an indiſpenſable part of our duty to make thoſe ſpirited and vigorous exertions which ſuch a conjuncture demands; and we beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that we are united in a firm reſolution to decline no difficulty or hazard, in the defence of our country, and for the preſervation of our eſſential intereſts.

It is with juſt and heart-felt indignation, that we ſee the monarchies of France and Spain leagued in confederacy to ſupport the rebellion in your majeſty's colonies in North America, and employing the whole force of thoſe kingdoms in the proſecution of a war waged in violation of all public faith, and for the ſole purpoſe of gratifying boundleſs ambition, by deſtroying the commerce, and giving a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain.

We have ſeen with great ſatisfaction, that the force which with juſt confidence was entruſted to your majeſty by parliament, has, by the bleſſing of Divine Providence on the bravery of your fleets and armies, enabled your majeſty to withſtand the formidable attempts of your enemies, and to fruſtrate the great expectations they had conceived; and we hope and truſt that the ſucceſs of your majeſty's arms in Georgia and Carolina, gained with ſo much honour to the conduct and courage of your majeſty's officers, and to the valour and intrepidity of your troops, will have the moſt important conſequences; and that ſuch ſignal events, followed by thoſe vigorous meaſures which your majeſty recommends, and in which we are determined to concur, will diſappoint

point all the views of our enemies, and reſtore the bleſſings of a ſafe and honourable peace.

We are ſatisfied that the only way to accompliſh this great end which your majeſty ſo earneſtly deſires, is to make ſuch powerful and reſpectable preparations, as ſhall convince our enemies that we will not ſubmit to receive the law from any powers whatever; but with that ſpirit and reſolution which become us, will maintain the eſſential rights, honour, and dignity of Great Britain.

We have a deep and moſt grateful ſenſe of the conſtant ſolicitude your majeſty ſhews to promote the true intereſts and happineſs of all your ſubjects, and to preſerve inviolate our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate. And we beg leave humbly to aſſure your majeſty, that it ſhall be our earneſt endeavour to juſtify and deſerve the confidence which your majeſty ſo graciouſly places in our affection, duty, and zeal.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

I Thank you heartily for this very loyal and dutiful addreſs.

The joy you expreſs in the increaſe of my family, and in the happy recovery of the queen, is extremely agreeable to me.

Your wiſe and ſpirited reſolutions to proſecute the war with vigour, and to maintain, at every hazard, the eſſential intereſts, dignity, and honour of Great Britain, give me the higheſt ſatisfaction, and muſt be productive of the moſt ſalutary effects both at home and abroad.

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to his Majeſty.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, return your majeſty the thanks of this houſe, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We beg leave to congratulate your majeſty upon the ſafe delivery of the queen, and the birth of another prince; and to aſſure your majeſty, that we take a ſincere part in every event that contributes to your majeſty's domeſtic happineſs.

We acknowledge, with the utmoſt gratitude, your majeſty's condeſcending goodneſs, in your deſire to meet your parliament at this time, and your gracious expreſſions of attention and regard to the diſpoſition and wiſhes of your people.

We are impreſſed with a due ſenſe of the difficulties of the preſent arduous conjuncture, when the whole force of France and Spain is combined and exerted to ſupport the rebellion in your majeſty's colonies, and to attack all the dominions of your crown; and when it is but too manifeſt to all the world, that the real views of this moſt unjuſt confederacy are to give a fatal blow to the commerce and power of Great Britain, in reſentment for the ſucceſsful efforts which this nation has ſo often made, to ſave the liberties of Europe from the ambition of the Houſe of Bourbon.

We have obſerved with great and juſt ſatisfaction, that your majeſty, by

by the ſupport of your parliament, and the ſpirit and bravery of your fleets and armies, has, under the divine protection, been enabled to withſtand the formidable attempts of your enemies; and we offer our moſt cordial congratulations to your majeſty on the ſignal ſucceſſes which have attended the progreſs of your majeſty's arms in the provinces of Georgia and Carolina, and in which the conduct and courage of your majeſty's officers, and the valour and intrepidity of your troops, have been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed.

We conſider your majeſty's earneſt deſire and ſolicitude to ſee the war brought to a happy concluſion, as the ſtrongeſt proof of your paternal regard for your people: but we entirely agree with your majeſty, that ſafe and honourable terms of peace can only be ſecured by ſuch powerful preparations and vigorous exertions as ſhall convince our enemies, that your majeſty and your parliament are united in a firm and ſtedfaſt reſolution to decline no difficulty or danger in the defence of their country, and for the maintenance of their eſſential intereſts.

We are thoroughly ſenſible that theſe ends cannot be effected without great and heavy expences; and we will grant your majeſty ſuch ſupplies as the laſting ſecurity and welfare of your kingdoms, and the exigency of affairs, ſhall be found to require.

Your majeſty may rely, with entire confidence, on the moſt zealous and affectionate attachment of your faithful commons to your perſon, family, and government; and we acknowledge, with the livelieſt ſentiments of reverence and gratitude, that the conſtant tenor of your majeſty's conduct ſhews, that the ſole objects of your royal care and concern are to promote the happineſs of your people, and to preſerve inviolate our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I THANK you for this very dutiful addreſs.

I receive your congratulations on the increaſe of my family, and on the happy recovery of the queen, as a mark of your loyalty and affection.

I have a firm confidence that the ſupport of my faithful commons, and the ſpirit of my brave people, engaged in a juſt cauſe, and fighting for their country and their eſſential intereſts, will, in the end, enable me to ſurmount all difficulties, and to attain the object of all my meaſures and all my exertions, a ſafe and honourable peace.

Addreſs of the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and Clergy of the Province of CANTERBURY, *in Convocation aſſembled, preſented to his Majeſty on the 17th of November,* 1780.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the archbiſhop, biſhops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation aſſembled, humbly beg leave to approach your throne, and with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude for the protection we conti-

nue

nue to enjoy under your majeſty's reign, to offer our unfeigned congratulations on the further ſecurity of your majeſty's illuſtrious houſe, by the birth of another prince, and on the happy recovery of our gracious queen, the patroneſs of religion and virtue.

We are on this occaſion, particularly obliged to acknowledge and admire a late inſtance of your majeſty's attention to the intereſts of Chriſtianity, in your royal munificence to the pious deſigns of the Society for the propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, erected by a charter of your glorious predeceſſor King William, and now reſtored to its former activity, by the liberal contributions of your ſubjects, encouraged by your majeſty's example.

Amidſt all the protection and favour we derive from the goodneſs of your majeſty's heart, we lament the neceſſity of confeſſing, that the licentiouſneſs of the times continues to counteract your paternal care for the ſtate of national religion. Bad men and bad books are the produce of all times; but we obſerve with particular regret, that the wickedneſs of the age hath of late been directly pointed at the fences of piety and virtue, eſtabliſhed by God himſelf, and apparently ſecured by law.

The open violation of the Lord's Day, and the invitations of men to deſert the religious duties of that day for amuſements, frivolous at beſt, appears to call for the aid of the civil magiſtrate, to check the progreſs of an evil ſo dangerous both to church and ſtate, by ſuppreſſing, on the Lord's Day, places of reſort for pleaſure, where the interpoſition of the miniſters of religion is impracticable. We humbly aſſure your majeſty, that ſo far as any exertions of our's can reach, we ſhall not fail to admoniſh and rebuke, both by word and example.

We have the comfortable hope, Sir, that it will appear to your majeſty, that Popery is leſs prevalent than it has been in this part of your dominions We are too zealouſly attached to Proteſtantiſm not to oppoſe the errors of the church of Rome, as well in controverſial attacks, as in the more ſucceſsful way of teaching the doctrines of our apoſtolical church; adhering at the ſame time, invariably to the principles of the Reformation, which direct us to oppoſe error of every kind, by argument and perſuaſion, and to diſavow all violence in the cauſe of religion.

May Almighty God, who, for our ſins, hath permitted your majeſty to be involved in a war, juſt, indeed, and neceſſary, but, in its own nature, productive of much calamity, bleſs your majeſty's efforts with deciſive ſucceſs!

It becomes us, as miniſters of the goſpel, to praiſe God for every victory which has a tendency to the bleſſings of peace; and whenever it ſhall pleaſe his infinite wiſdom to reſtore them to this nation, we ſhall farther beſeech him to grant to your majeſty the full enjoyment of thoſe bleſſings for many years, in the proſperity and unanimous loyalty of your ſubjects.

To which Addreſs his Majeſty was pleaſed to return the following moſt gracious Anſwer.

I THANK you for your congratulations on the increaſe of my family,

family, and the happy recovery of the queen.

I hear with pleaſure the zeal you expreſs for the intereſts of our holy religion; and I ſhall continue to make it my conſtant endeavour to ſupport them upon the principles of the Reformation, againſt the incroachments of licentiouſneſs or ſuperſtition.

Truſting to the juſtice of my cauſe, I rely on the continuance of the bleſſings of Providence on my endeavours to reſtore to my people a ſafe and honourable peace.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thurſday, January 25, 1781.

THE following meſſage from his majeſty was delivered to the houſe by Lord Viſcount Stormont, Secretary of State for the northern department, and was read by the chancellor.

"George R.

"His majeſty judges it proper to acquaint the Houſe of Lords, that during the receſs of parliament, he has been indiſpenſably obligated to direct letters of marque and general repriſals to be iſſued againſt the States General of the United Provinces, and their ſubjects.

"The cauſes and motives of his majeſty's conduct on this occaſion, are ſet forth in his public declaration, which he has ordered to be laid before the houſe.

"His majeſty has with the utmoſt reluctance been induced to take an hoſtile meaſure againſt a ſtate, whoſe alliance with this kingdom ſtood not only on the faith of ancient treaties, but on the ſoundeſt principles of good policy.—His majeſty has uſed every endeavour to prevail on the States-General to return to a line of conduct, conformable to thoſe principles, to the tenor of their engagements, and to the common and natural intereſts of both kingdoms, and has left nothing untried to prevent, if poſſible, the preſent rupture.

"His majeſty is fully perſuaded that the juſtice and neceſſity of the meaſures he has taken, will be acknowledged by all the world.—Relying therefore on the protection of Divine Providence, and the zealous and affectionate ſupport of his people, his majeſty has the firmeſt confidence, that by a vigorous exertion of the ſpirit and reſources of the nation, he ſhall be able to maintain the honour of his crown, and the rights and intereſts of his people, againſt all his enemies, and to bring them to liſten to equitable terms of peace."

PROTEST OF THE LORDS.

Die Jovis, 25° *Januarii,* 1781.

MOVED, That the motion for an addreſs to his majeſty on the foregoing meſſage be poſtponed, in order that the houſe may take into conſideration another motion 'for an addreſs to his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give orders, that there be forthwith laid before this houſe, copies of all the treaties lately ſubſiſting between Great Britain and the ſtates of the Seven United Provinces, and alſo of the correſpondence between his majeſty's miniſters

niſters and his late ambaſſador at the Hague, and of all memorials, requiſitions, manifeſtos, anſwers, and other papers, which have paſſed between the two courts, as far as they relate in any reſpect to the preſent rupture, or to any miſunderſtanding or complaints which have exiſted between the two nations ſince the commencement of hoſtilities between Great Britain and the provinces of North America.'

Which being objected to, after long debate, the queſtion was put, whether to agree to the ſaid motion?

It was reſolved in the negative.

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DISSENTIENT,

1ſt. Becauſe we cannot conſent to involve this and other nations in all the horrors of war, but upon the cleareſt proofs both of juſtice and neceſſity; and it would be peculiarly inconſiſtent with our public truſt, without ſuch evidence, to give a parliamentary ſanction to a war againſt the ancient and natural allies of this nation.

It is on the juſtice of our cauſe, and on the abſolute neceſſity of proceeding to ſuch extremities, that we muſt be anſwerable to God and our conſciences for a meaſure, which neceſſarily plunges millions of innocent people in the utmoſt diſtreſs and miſery. It is on this foundation alone that we can with confidence pray for ſucceſs, or hope for the protection of Providence.

We conceive that a careful, and above all, an impartial examination of the correſpondence between his majeſty's miniſters and his late ambaſſador at the Hague, and of all the memorials, complaints, requiſitions, manifeſtos, anſwers, and other papers which have paſſed between the two courts, as far as they relate in any reſpect to the preſent rupture, is indiſpenſable to warrant parliament in pronouncing whether the hoſtilities which his majeſty has authorized his ſubjects to commence againſt thoſe of the Seven United Provinces are, or are not, founded in juſtice, and conſequently before they can with propriety offer to his majeſty any advice, or promiſe him any aſſiſtance, in the preſent conjuncture.

The ſudden attack which the miniſters have adviſed his majeſty to begin againſt the property of our neighbours, ſailing in full confidence of peace and of their alliance with this nation, made without allowing the uſual time ſtipulated by treaties, even between enemies, for ſecuring the property of unſuſpecting individuals in caſe of a ſudden rupture, is a proceeding which, till explained, muſt appear unwarranted by the law of nations, and contrary to good faith; nor can we, upon the bare recommendation of miniſters, approve of ſuch a conduct, or determine upon the nice conſtruction of treaties and reciprocal obligations, without ſo much as hearing what our late allies and friends have on their ſide to alledge.

But the influence of his majeſty's miniſters in parliament has been ſuch, as to obtain not only the rejection of a motion which has been made for this neceſſary information, but alſo to induce this great council of the nation, on

on a matter deeply affecting their moſt important intereſts, to give a ſolemn opinion without any knowledge of the facts on which they have pronounced, with ſo blindfold a compliance to the will of the court.

2dly, Becauſe, however ſufficient the reaſon of juſtice ought to be, that of expediency may perhaps be more prevalent, and is not wanting on this occaſion.

It has been the uniform and approved policy of our ableſt ſtateſmen, for near a century, to form alliances, and to unite with the powers on the continent to reſiſt the ambitious attempts of the Houſe of Bourbon. The Proteſtant republic of Holland, from the freedom of its conſtitution and ſentiment, as well as from its religion, has ever been deemed a valuable ſupport of the liberties of Europe. Twice have they been on the very verge of falling a ſacrifice to France in this cauſe, and we can never believe that their old affection to Great Britain can have been alienated, much leſs that a direct rupture with them can have become neceſſary on our part, without groſs miſmanagement in our councils. We cannot but form the moſt ſerious apprehenſions at ſeeing the three great Proteſtant and free countries of Great Britain, North America, and Holland, ſo weakening each other by war, as to become an eaſy prey to the ancient enemy of them all, whenever ſhe ſhall pleaſe to turn her arms againſt them.

We are not inſenſible of the diſtreſsful ſituation, with reſpect to the armed neutral powers, into which we have been led, ſtep by ſtep, by the unfortunate American war; but as we are convinced that wicked and weak councils have been the ſole cauſe of that unhappy conteſt, ſo we are perſuaded that honeſt and able miniſters might have prevented this, amongſt ſome of its wretched conſequences.

But whilſt the ſame meaſures, which have cauſed our unexampled calamities, continue to be purſued and cheriſhed; whilſt a ſyſtem of corruption prevails, which muſt exclude both ability and integrity from our councils; whilſt every intereſt of the ſtate is ſacrificed to its ſupport, and every attempt at reformation rejected, our condition can change but from bad to worſe.

It is not for us to pretend to foretell events, which are in the hands of Providence; but if cauſes are ſuffered to produce their natural conſequences, we cannot but apprehend, from the preſent conduct of our affairs, every danger to this country, both foreign and domeſtic, to which a nation can be expoſed.

Richmond,
Portland,
Fitzwilliam,
Harcourt,
Ferrers.

Rockingham,
Devonſhire,
Pembroke,
Coventry,

SECOND PROTEST.

DISSENTIENT,

For the above reaſons, and for that, inſtead of being convinced of the juſtice, neceſſity, or policy, of a war with Holland, as we ought to be, before we give our ſanction to that meaſure, it appears to us, as far as the information we poſſeſs enables us, to be equally contrary to the intereſts of both countries,

and to the inclinations of all whoſe inclinations ought to influence the councils of either. Of ſuch inclinations in many reſpectable members of the Dutch government, we thought we ſaw, and we ſaw it with pleaſure, a ſufficient indication to encourage us to hope, that it is not yet too late to open a negociation, by which, if conducted with the temper, and in the language of conciliation, we may avert the evils which the continuance of this unnatural war cannot fail to produce.

With this view, it was recommended in the debates, with the earneſtneſs and ſerioufneſs ſuitable to the occaſion, not to loſe an hour in propoſing a ceſſation of hoſtilities with Holland, for the purpoſe of meeting and cultivating a friendly diſpoſition, of reconciling commercial differences, and for reſtoring that union of political intereſts which has been hitherto thought fundamentally neceſſary to the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, and of the liberties of Europe. The inattention of his majeſty's miniſters to ſuch a propoſition, in the actual circumſtances of this country, their diſinclination to the objects of it, ſo plainly manifeſted by the unprecedented confiſcations intended by their proclamation of the 20th of December laſt, the loſs of ſo valuable an ally, the acceſſion of ſo conſiderable a force to the formidable powers antecedently combined againſt us, and the juſt grounds it affords to apprehend the acceſſion of other powers to that combination, leave us no other part to take, as members of this houſe, after having ſtated our ideas of the extent of the danger, and ſuggeſted what we conceive to be the beſt and only remedy, than to enter our ſolemn proteſt to exculpate ourſelves from being acceſſary to that accumulation of evils, which we foreſee, and think might be, but will not be prevented.

Wycombe, Portland,
Camben, Rockingham,
Richmond, Fitzwilliam,
Ferrers, Pembroke.*

LORDS PROTEST.

Die Jovis Mart. 21°, 1781.

AN Act for raiſing a certain ſum of money by way of annuities, and a lottery; and for conſolidating certain annuities which were made one joint ſtock, by an Act made in the ſecond year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, with certain annuities conſolidated by ſeveral Acts made in the twenty-fifth and twenty-ſixth years of the reign of King George II. and in the fifth year of the reign of his preſent majeſty.

Moved, "That the ſaid bill be now read a third time." Which being objected to, after debate the queſtion was put thereupon; and it was reſolved in the affirmative.

The ſaid bill was then accordingly read a third time. The queſtion was put, that the ſaid bill do now paſs: it was reſolved in the affirmative.

* The diviſion did not take place till half after one in the morning, nor did the houſe riſe till paſt two.

Dis-

DISSENTIENT,

"Becauſe when a bargain improvident in its terms, corrupt in its operations, and partial in its diſtributions, is negotiated by a miniſter acting for the public, its having paſſed through the Houſe of Commons can be no reaſon for its paſſing without obſervation thro' the Houſe of Lords. Without waving our undoubted right of giving a negative to this or any other bill, we reſpect the principle of public credit too much to attempt, at this juncture, to exerciſe that right, though if we looked only at the enormity of the abuſe, the moſt direct oppoſition never could be more properly called for.

"Twenty-one millions are added to the capital of the debt for a loan of twelve; five and a half per cent. perpetual annuity is granted; ſix hundred and fifty thouſand pounds are to be levied in the yearly taxes upon the people. In ſuch a ſituation the moſt rigid œconomy ought to have been uſed, and the premium on the loan ought to have been reduced in proportion to the exorbitance of the intereſt to be paid. Several circumſtances appeared favourable to the miniſter, if his object had been to ſerve his country, rather than to raiſe a faction for his own ſupport. Beſides the proſpect derived from the beginning of a negociation for peace, it is allowed that treble the ſum ſubſcribed had been offered, and a very large part of that ſurplus by perſons more reſponſible than very many of thoſe who were admitted. In that ſituation, ſo favourable to the borrower, where the being permitted to lend was ſought with emulation, the firſt Commiſſioners of the Treaſury choſe to make a bargain, opened at ten per cent. premium the day after the loan.

"This price was not the effect of mere popular opinion, or of artful management, but was grounded on the real value of the great body of the other ſtocks at the time, and was no more than what aroſe from a juſt relation to the reſt. We are the more diſſatisfied with this ſhameful prodigality of public money, by comparing it with the period when a ſtrict and conſcientious management of the public treaſure at home became a foundation for the glory of our arms abroad. During the Duke of Newcaſtle's adminiſtration, the ſeveral ſucceſſive loans from the year 1758 incluſive, to the time of his removal from office, never exceeded one and a half per cent. at the opening; they were generally leſs and ſometimes at diſcount. Yet the national credit was in vigour. During that time forty-three millions were borrowed. In thoſe happy days, the miniſters ſtanding on national ground, were not in a ſtate of ſervitude to any ſet of men, nor led, through a falſe ſyſtem of politics, to aggravate the diſtreſſes of their country, by hiring a venal cry to perſonate the voice of the public, and to give ſupport to the meaſures which had occaſioned ſuch diſtreſſes.

"It is not a matter of ſurprize to us, at a time when ſuch things can be done with impunity, that lords of the greateſt honour and ability have wholly diſcontinued their attendance. But it is not improper that thoſe lords who do ſometimes attend, ſhould record

their names in teſtimony of their ſtrong condemnation of the terms of this loan, and of the motives, which, they conceive, dictated terms ſo very diſadvantageous to the crown and the nation.

Rockingham,
Portland,
Oſborne,
J. St. Aſaph,
De Ferrers,
Fitzwilliam,
Bolton,
Ponſonby."

Anſwer of the States General to the Manifeſto of the King of Great Britain.

IF ever the annals of the world have furniſhed an inſtance of a free and independent ſtate being attacked by an enemy, in the moſt unjuſtifiable manner, and without the leaſt appearance of right or equity, by a neighbouring power allied for a long time, and bound by ties founded on the baſis of common intereſt, it is without doubt, the Republic of the United States of the Netherlands, which finds itſelf in that caſe with his majeſty the King of Great Britain, and his miniſters. From the beginning of the diſputes, which had ariſen between that kingdom and its American colonies, their High Mightineſſes, nowiſe obliged to interfere, had taken the firm and determined reſolution to adopt and ſtrictly to adhere to the moſt exact neutrality: and when the ſaid diſputes had kindled the flames of a war which had embroiled more powers than one, and ſpread in ſeveral parts of the world, their High Mightineſſes have conſtantly obſerved and maintained the ſame line of conduct; whilſt, in the mean time, they have taken care to give on many occaſions, and in ſome inſtances of a very eſſential nature, the moſt convincing proofs of their ſincere inclination to conform to the wiſhes of his majeſty: ſo far as they could do it without going againſt the rules of impartiality, or bringing in queſtion their rights of ſovereignty.

It was with this view, and for this purpoſe, that their High Mightineſſes from the beginning, and at the requiſition of his Britannic majeſty, cauſed moſt expreſs inhibitions to be publiſhed againſt the exportation of all warlike ſtores to the colonies of his Britannic majeſty in America; and againſt all fraudulent trade with the ſaid colonies: and in order that the ſaid prohibitions ſhould be more effectually carried into execution, their High Mightineſſes made no difficulty to take ſuch farther ſteps as greatly circumſcribed their own navigation, and the trade of their ſubjects with the Dutch colonies in the Weſt-Indies.

It was to further the above purpoſes, that their High Mightineſſes ſent the moſt exact orders to all commanders and governors of their colonies and ſettlements, as well as to the commanders of their ſhips of war, carefully to abſtain from doing, in regard to the American flag, any thing from which could be juſtly inferred or deduced an acknowledgment of the independency of the ſaid colonies: and it is alſo, eſpecially to the above intent, that their High Mightineſſes having received a memorial preſented to them by the Engliſh ambaſſa-

ambaſſador, full of the heavieſt complaints againſt the Governor of St. Euſtatia, condeſcended to deliberate on the ſaid memorial; though couched in terms little conſonant with the regard which ſovereign powers owe to each other: the conſequence of the ſaid deliberation was the immediate recall of the ſaid governor, whom their High Mightineſſes called to an account for his conduct, and who was not permitted to return to his reſidence till he had cleared himſelf of all the charges brought againſt him, before a court of juſtice; a copy of whoſe proceedings was ſoon after tranſmitted to the miniſter of his Britannic majeſty.

By ſuch meaſures as theſe, their High Mightineſſes, who always earneſtly wiſhed to avoid giving the ſmalleſt cauſe of diſcontent to his Britannic majeſty, have conſtantly endeavoured to promote and cultivate perfect harmony; but his Britannic majeſty's conduct towards the Republic has been diametrically oppoſite.

The differences between the courts of London and Verſailles had ſcarcely broke out, when they beheld the ports of England filled with Dutch veſſels, which were unjuſtly ſeized and detained: theſe veſſels navigated upon the faith of the treaties, and were not laden with any other merchandiſe than what the expreſs tenor of the treaties had declared free and legal. They beheld thoſe free cargoes forced to ſubmit to an arbitrary and deſpotic authority. The cabinet at St. James's knowing no other rule than an aſſumed right of *temporary convenience*, thought proper to appropriate thoſe cargoes to the uſe of the crown by a forcible purchaſe, and to employ them in the ſervice of the king's navy. The moſt earneſt and ſerious repreſentations on the part of their High Mightineſſes againſt theſe proceedings were ineffectual, and it was in vain that they urged, in the ſtrongeſt manner poſſible, the treaty ſubſiſting between England and the Republic. By this treaty, the rights and liberties of the *neutral flag* are deciſively and clearly ſtated. The ſubjects of Great Britain had fully enjoyed the advantages of this treaty, in the firſt and only caſe, wherein it pleaſed the Court of London to remain neuter, whilſt the Republic was engaged in a war. Certainly then in a reciprocal caſe that court could not, without the greateſt injuſtice, refuſe the enjoyment of the ſame advantages to the Republic; and as little right as his Britannic majeſty had to withhold the advantageous effects of this treaty from their high Mightineſſes, he had as little foundation for attempting to make them quit the neutrality they had embraced, and to force them to plunge into a war, the cauſe of which related immediately to the rights and poſſeſſions of his Britannic majeſty lying beyond the limits of defenſive treaties.—And, notwithſtanding this treaty, his majeſty, from the commencement of the difference with the crown of France, has made no ſcruple of infringing and violating it. The treſpaſſes and infractions made on this treaty on the part of Great Britain, and the arbitrary deciſions of the courts of juſtice in that kingdom, directly contrary to the expreſs ſanction of the ſame treaty, multi-

plied daily. The merchant veſſels became the innocent victims of the exactions and accumulated violences of the Engliſh men of war and privateers. They did not however reſt there.—The very flag of the ſtates was not ſpared, but openly and outrageouſly inſulted by a hoſtile attack upon the convoy, under the care of the Rear-Admiral Compte de Byland. The ſtrongeſt repreſentations from the ſtates to his Britannic majeſty were diſregarded, the ſhips taken from the convoy were declared good prizes, and this inſult on the flag of the Republic was very ſoon followed by an open violation of their neutral territory, as well in Europe as America. They will content themſelves, however, with reciting two examples.

At the iſland of St. Martin his Britannic majeſty attacked and carried away by force ſeveral veſſels that lay at anchor under the cannon of the fort, where, according to the inviolable rights of mankind, the veſſels ought to have found a ſecure aſylum. The inſults committed by an armed Engliſh veſſel on the coaſt of the Republic, near *Geedercede*, furniſh a ſecond example of theſe violations. Theſe inſults were carried ſo far, that many inhabitants of the iſland, who dwelt on the ſhore, where they ought to have ſuppoſed themſelves ſecure from any diſturbance, were expoſed, by the violence of the fire from the ſhips, to ſuch imminent danger, that they were forced to retire to the interior part of the iſland. Yet, for theſe unheard of proceedings, the Republic, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt and beſt founded repreſentations, has not obtained the ſmalleſt ſatisfaction.

Affairs being thus ſituated, ſo that their High Mightineſſes had no other alternative left them, but to ſee the navigation and commerce of their ſubjects, on which the ruin or proſperity of their Republic alone depends, totally annihilated, or elſe to adopt meaſures hoſtile to their old friend and ally; at this period the Empreſs of Ruſſia, urged by a generous magnanimity of diſpoſition, thought proper to interfere, and with as much affection as humanity invited the Republic to take the juſteſt meaſures, and ſuch too as were entirely conſiſtent with the treaty ſubſiſting between the ſtates and other powers, for the defending and maintaining, in conjunction with her Imperial majeſty, and the other northern powers, thoſe privileges and immunities which the rights of nations, and the moſt ſolemn treaties allowed to neutral flags.

This invitation could not but be infinitely agreeable to their High Mightineſſes, ſince they conſidered it as a means of ſecuring the undiſturbed commerce of their ſubjects upon the moſt ſolid baſis, and as holding out a method of protecting their independence againſt every infraction, at the ſame time that it propoſed nothing at all derogatory to the alliance contracted between them and his Britannic majeſty, or the other belligerent powers. But this was a meaſure of which the Court of London endeavoured to deprive the Republic, by proceeding with precipitation to the moſt deſperate extremities, by recalling their ambaſſador, by the publication of a manifeſto, containing a liſt of fictitious grievances, and by granting letters of

of marque and pretended repriſal againſt the ſtates, their ſubjects, and their property, by which violence indeed this court did nothing more than clearly carry into proof and practice the deſigns which they have for a long time foſtered, of diſregarding the true and eſſential intereſts which connect the two nations, and of deſtroying the bonds of their ancient amity by an attack ſo replete with injuſtice.

It will not be at all neceſſary to enter into an elaborate refutation of the reaſons, and pretended griefs which were alleged in the manifeſto, to convince every impartial man of their entire want of ſolidity. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, in few words, with reſpect to the offer which was made by his Britannic majeſty for opening an amicable conference, that the ſole object of theſe conferences could only be this, to take into conſideration the naval treaty ſpoken of above; that the conſtruction of this treaty, conceived as it is, in terms the moſt clear and expreſs, could not be a ſubject of any doubt or equivocation; that it gives the neutral powers a free right of conveying to the belligerent powers all kinds of naval ſtores; that the Republic, neither propoſing any thing elſe to themſelves, nor deſiring any thing more of his Britannic majeſty, than the quiet, undiſturbed enjoyment of rights, ſtipulated in this treaty, a point ſo manifeſt, and incontrovertibly equitable, could not perceive any reaſon or motive for a negociation, or any other new convention, which muſt have been derogatory to the treaty in queſtion, particularly as their High Mightineſſes could not prevail upon themſelves, nor experience the leaſt diſpoſition to renounce, voluntarily, rights juſtly acquired, nor to deſiſt from their rights by a regard for the Court of England; a renunciation, which though advantageous to one of the belligerent powers, would be totally incompatible with the principles of neutrality, and by which their High Mightineſſes would, from another quarter, have ſubjected the ſtate to dangers, which they think it is their duty moſt ſolemnly to avert. A renunciation alſo which would have carried with it a moſt irreparable injury to their commerce and navigation, which is the principal ſupport of the Republic, and the ſource of all their proſperity; for the different branches of their commerce are ſeverally ſo intimately connected with each other, ſo as to form one whole, that it impoſſible to ſeparate one part of ſo principal a nature as was expected by the Court of London, without the entire ruin and deſtruction of the general body: not to mention that at this time, when their High Mightineſſes made a reaſonable difficulty of acceding to the propoſed conference, they yet qualified and tempered this effectual exerciſe of their rights by a proviſional reſolution.

As for the ſuccours required, their High Mightineſſes cannot diſſemble that they never could conceive how his Britannic majeſty thought himſelf juſtified to inſiſt, under the moſt diſtant appearance of right or equity, for the aſſiſtance ſtipulated by the treaties, at the time when he had already foregone the obligation which they impoſed on him towards the Republic. Their High Mightineſſes

were not leſs ſurpriſed to ſee that, whilſt the diſturbances in America, and their direct conſequences, could not affect the Republic by virtue of any treaty, and that the aſſiſtance had not been required before the declaration of the Court of Spain had increaſed the number of the belligerent powers; his Britannic majeſty had nevertheleſs taken occaſion, from this event, to inſiſt on his demand with ſo much ardor and earneſtneſs, as if his majeſty had a right to pretend and maintain, that, a war being once kindled between him and ſome other power, was alone ſufficient to compel the ſtates to grant directly, and without any previous examination, the ſaid ſtipulated aſſiſtance.

The Republic, it is true, had bound itſelf by treaties to aid and aſſiſt the kingdom of Great Britain, whenever that power ſhould be attacked or threatened with an unjuſt war: the Republic was moreover to declare war in ſuch a caſe againſt the aggreſſor; but their High Mightineſſes never intended to give up that right which is the nature of a defenſive alliance, and which cannot be diſputed to the allied powers to examine firſt, and before they grant the required aſſiſtance, or take part in the war, the principles of the diſſenſions which have prevailed; the nature of the differences from which they ſprang; as alſo to inveſtigate and maturely weigh the reaſons and motives which may inforce the *Caſus Fœderis*, and which are to form the baſis of the equity and lawfulneſs of the war, on the part of that confederate ſtate claiming the aforeſaid aſſiſtance. There is not a treaty extant, by which their High Mightineſſes have forgone the independence of the ſtates, or ſacrificed their intereſts to thoſe of Great Britain, ſo far as to deprive themſelves of the right of ſo neceſſary and indiſpenſable an examination; by taking ſuch ſteps as might inſinuate, that they ſhould be looked upon as compelled to ſubmit to the pleaſure of Great Britain, by granting the required aſſiſtance; even when the above court, being at variance with another power, thinks proper to prefer a war to an amicable accommodation on well ſupported complaints.

It is not therefore through ſpirit of party, or the ſcheme of a predominant cabal, but after a mature deliberation, and by a deſire of ſupporting the deareſt intereſts of the Republic, that all the provincial ſtates reſpectively have, with one voice, teſtified they were of opinion, that the aſſiſtance required ſhould be politely refuſed; and their High Mightineſſes would not have failed to communicate to his Britannic majeſty, in conſequence of thoſe reſolutions, an anſwer to the repeated requeſts for aſſiſtance, had they not been prevented from ſo doing, by the violent and unprecedented inſult offered to the Dutch flag, under the command of Rear-Admiral Byland; by their being refuſed redreſs on ſo ſerious a matter, and by his majeſty's declaration, no leſs ſtrange than unjuſt, in regard to the ſuſpenſion of the treaties which ſubſiſted between him and the Republic. Theſe were ſo many events which, as they required deliberations of a different kind, put an end to thoſe which were held in conſequence of the aforeſaid requiſitions. It is in vain,

vain, and in oppoſition to all truth, that endeavours have been uſed to multiply the number of grievances, by alleging the ſuppreſſion of duties on exports, as a meaſure calculated to facilitate the carrying of naval ſtores over to France: for, beſides that the ſaid ſuppreſſion is an object which reſpects the interior regulation of commerce, to which all ſovereigns have an uncontroverted right, and for which they are accountable to no one, the matter has been put in deliberation, but never finally reſolved upon; ſo that thoſe duties are ſtill on the former footing; and what is ſet forth reſpecting this matter in the manifeſto, is totally groundleſs, tho' it cannot be denied, that the conduct of his Britannic majeſty towards the Republic, furniſhed their High Mightineſſes with but too many motives to juſtify ſuch a meaſure on their part.

The diſpleaſure of his Britannic majeſty, in regard to what has been done for Paul Jones, is equally groundleſs. Their High Mightineſſes had for many years before given general and poſitive orders for the admiſſion into their ports, of all privateers and armed ſhips, with their prizes: orders which have been obſerved and executed without the leaſt exception: in this caſe their High Mightineſſes could not deſiſt from ſuch orders, in regard to an armed ſhip, which, provided with a commiſſion from the American Congreſs, was in the Texel, together with the frigates of a ſovereign power, without aſſuming the part of judges, and giving a deciſion in a matter which their High Mightineſſes were not obliged to take any cognizance of, and in which it ſeemed to them contrary to the intereſt of the Republic to interfere; their High Mightineſſes, therefore, thought it beſt not to ſwerve from the rules eſtabliſhed for ſo long a time, but reſolved to lay the ſtrongeſt injunctions, leſt the ſaid privateers and armed ſhips ſhould take in any warlike ſtores, and deſired them to quit the road as ſoon as poſſible, without being permitted to ſojourn, but juſt as long as would prove abſolutely neceſſary to repair the damages ſuffered at ſea; declaring formally at the ſame time, that in caſe of a longer delay, their departure ſhould be poſitively inſiſted upon. To this purpoſe, the commanding officer in the ſaid road took care to make every requiſite diſpoſition, the effects of which the privateer of Paul Jones had hardly time to prevent. In regard to what has happened in other parts of the world, the informations tranſmitted to their High Mightineſſes, from time to time, from the Eaſt-Indies, are in direct oppoſition to thoſe which ſeem to have been laid before his Britannic majeſty. The frequent complaints of the Eaſt-India direction, addreſſed to them, and which the love of peace had obliged the latter to ſmother, as it were, in their breaſts, are ſo many incontrovertible proofs of the aſſertion. The meaſures taken in regard to the Weſt-Indies, before mentioned, will ſerve at all times for an unqueſtionable proof of the ſincerity of the zeal, and of the attention with which their High Mightineſſes have aſſiduouſly endeavoured to obſerve, in theſe countries, the moſt exact and ſtrict neutrality; nor could their High Migh-

Mightineſſes find out the leaſt legal proof of any infraction of their orders in this reſpect.

As for what concerns the project of an eventual treaty of commerce with North America, framed by a member of the government of the province of Holland, without the ſanction of any public authority; and the memorials preſented on this matter by the chevalier Yorke, the matter happened as follows:

As ſoon as this ambaſſador had preſented a memorial, dated Nov. 10, 1780, their High Mightineſſes, without noticing the expreſſions, rather unbecoming between ſovereigns, with which this memorial abounded, did not delay entering into the moſt ſerious deliberation on that matter; and by their reſolution of the 27th of the ſame month, they did not heſitate to diſclaim and diſapprove publicly whatever had been done in this affair.

After this they had every reaſon to expect that his Britannic majeſty would have acceded to this declaration, ſince he could not be ignorant thet their High Mightineſſes have no juriſdiction over the reſpective provinces, and that it was to the States of Holland, to whom, as being inveſted as the States of the other provinces with a ſovereign and excluſive authority over their ſubjects, was to be ſubmitted, an affair which their High Mightineſſes had no reaſon to doubt but the other States of the ſaid provinces would regulate according to the exigency of the caſe, and conformably to the laws of the State, and the principles of equity. The eagerneſs with which the chevalier Yorke, by his ſecond memorial, inſiſted on the puniſhment, could not, of courſe, but appear very ſtrange to their High Mightineſſes, that if he did not receive the very ſame day an anſwer to his memorial in every reſpect ſatisfactory, he ſhould find himſelf obliged to acquaint his court thereof by an extraordinary courier. Their High Mightineſſes, informed of this declaration, ſoon perceived its importance, as a manifeſtation of the meaſures already determined on in the king's council; and although, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, ſuch verbal declarations from foreign miniſters admit of no deliberation, they nevertheleſs thought proper to ſet it aſide on this occaſion, and to deſire their recorder to wait on the chevalier, and inform him, that his memorial had been taken *ad referendum*, by the deputies of the reſpective provinces, according to the received cuſtom and conſtitution of government; adding, at the ſame time, what ſeemed deſignedly omitted in the manifeſto, that they would endeavour to frame an anſwer to his memorial as ſoon as poſſible, and the conſtitution of government would permit. In conſequence thereof, a few days after, the deputies of the province of Holland gave notice to the aſſembly of their High Mightineſſes, that the ſtates of their province had *una voce*, reſolved to require the advice of their court of juſtice in regard to the requiſition of puniſhment, requeſting the ſaid court to give their opinion as ſoon as poſſible, foregoing all other affairs. Their High Mightineſſes did not fail to acquaint the chevalier Yorke with the above reſolve; but what was their ſurprize and aſtoniſhment, when

when they underſtood that the ſaid ambaſſador, after having read his inſtructions, had ſent a note to the recorder, wherein he called the aboveſaid reſolve illuſive, and flatly refuſed to tranſmit it to his court! This obliged their High Mightineſſes to ſend it to Count Welderen, their miniſter at London, with orders to lay it immediately before the miniſter of his Britannic Majeſty; but the refuſal of the latter created an obſtacle to the execution of thoſe orders.

All the circumſtances of this affair being thus expoſed, the impartial public will be enabled to appreciate the principal motive, or rather pretence, to which his Brittannic Majeſty has had recourſe, in order to give a ſcope to his deſigns againſt the Republic. To this we may reduce the whole matter: his Majeſty was informed of a negociation which would have taken place between a member of the government of one of the provinces, and a repreſentative of the American congreſs; which negociation intended to lay the plan of a treaty of commerce to be concluded between the Republic and the ſaid colonies, *caſu quo*, that is to ſay, that in caſe the independency of thoſe colonies ſhould be acknowledged by the crown of England; this negociation, although conditional, and holding by a clauſe which depended on the anterior act of his majeſty, this negociation, which without the ſaid act, or anterior declaration, could not have the leaſt effect, was ſo miſconſtrued by his Majeſty, and excited his diſpleaſure to ſuch a degree, that he thought proper to require from the States a public diſavowal and diſapprobation, as well as a complete puniſhment and ſatisfaction: it was in conſequence, and without the leaſt delay, that their High Mightineſſes acceded to the firſt part of his requiſition; but the puniſhment inſiſted upon was not within their power, and they could not aſſent to it, without ſtriking at the root of the fundamental conſtitution of the ſtate. The States of the province of Holland were the only ones to which it pertained lawfully to take cognizance of it, and to provide thereto by the ordinary means and the authority of the laws. This ſovereign ſtate adhering to the maxims which oblige them to reſpect the authority of the laws, and fully convinced that the maintaining that department in all the integrity and impartiality which are inſeparable from it, is the firmeſt baſis of the ſupreme power; that ſovereign ſtate, obliged by what is held moſt ſacred, to defend and protect the rights and privileges of its ſubjects, could not forget itſelf ſo far as to ſubmit to the will of his Britannic Majeſty, by attempting to overturn thoſe rights and privileges, and exceeding the limits preſcribed by the fundamental laws of its government: theſe laws required the intervention of the judicial department, and thoſe were the means which the above ſtates reſolved to uſe, by requiring on this object, the advice of the court of juſtice, eſtabliſhed in their province.

By an adherence to this method it was, that, before the eyes of his Britannic Majeſty, the Engliſh nation, and all Europe, were diſplayed the unalterable principles of that juſtice and equity which form the leading feature of the Dutch

Dutch conſtitution, and which, in ſo important a part of public adminiſtration, we mean that which concerns the exerciſe of the juſticary power, will for ever ſerve as a bulwark againſt whatever could militate with the ſecurity and independance of a free nation. It was alſo by theſe means, and by following this road, that, far from precluding juſtice, or evading the puniſhment required, a free courſe, on the contrary, has been laid open to a regular proceſs, conformably to the conſtitutional principles of the Republic; and by the ſame reaſon, in ſhort, depriving the court of London of any pretence to complaint of a denial of juſtice, care has been taken to anticipate the leaſt ſhadow, or appearance of reaſon, which might have authoriſed that court to make repriſals; to which, nevertheleſs, it has had recourſe without ſcruple, in a manner equally odious and unjuſt.

To theſe ends, and ſince, after the repeated outrages and heavy loſſes which the ſubjects of this Republic muſt have experienced from his Britannic Majeſty, their High Mightineſſes find themſelves furthermore provoked, and aſſailed by his aforeſaid Majeſty, and compelled to uſe thoſe means which they have in hand, in order to defend the precious rights of their liberty and independence; they entertain the firmeſt hope that the Lord of hoſts, the God of their fathers, who, by the palpable direction of Providence, ſupported and carried this Republic through the greateſt dangers, will bleſs the means which they have determined to employ, by crowning the juſtice of their arms, with the ever-triumphant aſſiſtance of his omnipotent protection; whilſt their High Mightineſſes will ardently ſigh after the inſtant, when they ſhall ſee their neighbour and old ally, but now their enemy, recalled to ſentiments more moderate and equitable. And it is at that period, where their High Mightineſſes will improve all the opportunities which, conſonant with the honour and independence of a free ſtate, may tend to a reconciliation between them and their old friend and ally.

Thus given and ſettled in the aſſembly of their High Mightineſſes, our lords the States General of the United Provinces, at the Hague, the 10th day of March, 1781.

Signed, Coco. HAAFTAN, Vt.
By command, H. FAGEL.

Copy of the MARITIME TREATY *between the Empreſs of Ruſſia and the King of Denmark, acceded to by the King of Sweden, and States General of the United Provinces.*

ARTICLE I.

THEIR reſpective majeſties are fully and ſincerely determined to keep upon the moſt friendly terms with the preſent belligerent powers, and preſerve the moſt exact neutrality: they ſolemnly declare their firm intention to be, that their reſpective ſubjects ſhall ſtrictly obſerve the laws forbidding all contraband trade with the powers now being, or that may hereafter be, concerned in the preſent diſputes.

II. To prevent all equivocation or miſunderſtanding of the word contra-

contraband, their imperial and royal majeſties declare that the meaning of the ſaid word, is ſolely reſtrained to ſuch goods and commodities as are mentioned under that denomination in the treaties ſubſiſting between their ſaid majeſties and either of the belligerent powers. Her imperial majeſty abiding principally by the Xth and XIth articles of the treaty of commerce with Great Britain; the conditions therein mentioned, which are founded on the right of nations, being underſtood to extend to the kings of France and Spain; as there is at preſent no ſpecific treaty of commerce between the two latter and the former. His Daniſh majeſty, on his part, regulates his conduct in this particular by the firſt article of his treaty with England, and the XXVIth and XXVIIth of that ſubſiſting between his ſaid majeſty and the king of France, extending the proviſions made in the latter to the Catholic King; there being no treaty *ad hoc*, between Denmark and Spain.

III. And whereas by this means the word *contraband*, conformable to the treaties now extant, and the ſtipulations made between the contracting powers, and thoſe that are now at war, is fully explained; eſpecially by the treaty between Ruſſia and England of the 20th of June 1766; between the latter and Denmark, of the 11th of July 1670; and between their Daniſh and moſt Chriſtian Majeſties, of Auguſt 23d, 1742; the will and opinion of the high contracting powers, are, that all other trade whatſoever ſhall be deemed and remain free and unreſtrained.

By the declaration delivered to the belligerent powers, their contracting majeſties have already challenged the privileges founded on natural right, whence ſpring the freedom of trade and navigation; as well as the right of neutral powers; and being fully determined not to depend in future merely on an arbitrary interpretation, deviſed to anſwer ſome private advantages or concerns, they mutually covenanted as followeth:

Firſt, That it will be lawful for any ſhip whatever to ſail freely from one port to another, or along the coaſt of the powers now at war.—2dly, That all merchandiſe and effects belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid belligerent powers, and ſhipped on neutral bottoms, ſhall be entirely free; except contraband goods.—3dly. In order to aſcertain what conſtitutes the blockade of any place or port, it is to be underſtood to be in ſuch predicament, when the aſſailing power has taken ſuch a ſtation, as to expoſe to imminent danger, any ſhip or ſhips that would attempt to ſail in or out of the ſaid ports.—4thly, No neutral ſhips ſhall be ſtopped without a material and well-grounded cauſe: and in ſuch caſes juſtice ſhall be done to them without loſs of time; and beſides indemnifying, each and every time, the party aggrieved, and thus ſtopped without ſufficient cauſe, full ſatisfaction ſhall be given to the high contracting powers, for the inſult offered to their flag.

IV. In order to protect officially the general trade of their reſpective ſubjects, on the fundamental principles aforeſaid, her Imperial, and his royal majeſty have thought proper, for effecting ſuch purpoſe, each

each reſpectively to fit out a proportionate rate of ſhips of war and frigates. The ſquadron of each of the contracting powers ſhall be ſtationed in a proper latitude, and ſhall be employed in eſcorting convoys according to the particular circumſtances of the navigators and traders of each nation.

V. Should any of the merchantmen belonging to the ſubjects of the contracting powers, ſail in a latitude where ſhall be no ſhips of war of their own nation, and thus be deprived of the protection; in ſuch caſe, the commander of the ſquadron belonging to the other friendly power ſhall, at the requeſt of ſaid merchantmen, grant them ſincerely, and *bona fide*, all neceſſary aſſiſtance. The ſhips of war and frigates, of either of the contracting powers, ſhall thus protect and aſſiſt the merchantmen of the other: provided nevertheleſs, that under the ſanction of ſuch required aſſiſtance and protection, no contraband be carried on, nor any prohibited trade, contrary to the laws of the neutrality.

VI. The preſent convention cannot be ſuppoſed to have any relative effect; that is to extend to the differences that may have ariſen ſince its being concluded: unleſs the controverſy ſhould ſpring from continual vexations which might tend to aggrieve and oppreſs all the European nations.

VII. If, notwithſtanding the cautious and friendly care of the contracting powers, and their ſteady adherence to an exact neutrality, the Ruſſian and Daniſh merchantmen ſhould happen to be inſulted, plundered, or captured by any of the armed ſhips or privateers belonging to any of the belligerent powers: in ſuch caſe the ambaſſador or envoy of the aggrieved party, to the offending court, ſhall claim ſuch ſhip or ſhips, inſiſting on a proper ſatisfaction, and never neglect to obtain a reparation for the inſult offered to the flag of his court. The miniſter of the other contracting power ſhall at the ſame time, in the moſt efficacious and vigorous manner, defend ſuch requiſition, which ſhall be ſupported by both parties with unanimity. But in caſe of any refuſal, or even delay in redreſſing the grievances complained of; then their majeſties will retaliate againſt the power that ſhall thus refuſe to do them juſtice, and immediately agree together on the moſt proper means of making well-founded repriſals.

VIII. In caſe either of the contracting powers, or both at the ſame time, ſhould be in any manner aggrieved or attacked, in conſequence of the preſent convention, or for any reaſon relating thereto; it is agreed, that both powers will join, act in concert for their mutual defence, and unite their forces in order to procure to themſelves an adequate and perfect ſatisfaction, both in regard to the inſult put upon their reſpective flags, and the loſſes ſuffered by their ſubjects.

IX. This convention ſhall remain in force for and during the continuance of the preſent war; and the obligation enforced thereby, will ſerve as the ground-work of all treaties that may be ſet on foot hereafter: according to future occurrences, and on the breaking out of any freſh maritime wars which might unluckily diſturb the tranquillity of Europe. Meanwhile,

while all that is hereby agreed upon ſhall be deemed as binding and permanent, in regard both to mercantile and naval affairs, and ſhall have the force of law in determining the rights of neutral nations.

X. The chief aim and principal object of the preſent convention being to ſecure the freedom of trade and navigation, the high contracting powers have antecedently agreed, and do engage to give to all other neutral powers free leave to accede to the preſent treaty, and, after a thorough knowledge of the principles on which its reſts, ſhare equally in the obligations and advantages thereof.

XI. In order that the powers, now at war, may not be ignorant of the ſtrength and nature of the engagements entered into by the two courts aforeſaid; the high contracting parties ſhall give notice, in the moſt friendly manner, to the belligerent powers, of the meaſures by them taken; by which, far from meaning any manner of hoſtility, or cauſing any loſs or injury to other powers, their only intention is to protect the trade and navigation of their reſpective ſubjects.

XII. This convention ſhall be ratified by the contracting powers, and the ratifications interchanged between the parties in due form, within the ſpace of ſix weeks, from the day of its being ſigned, or even ſooner, if poſſible. In witneſs whereof, and by virtue of the full powers granted us for the purpoſe, we have put our hands and ſeals to the preſent treaty.

Given at Copenhagen, July the 19th, 1780.

(Signed)

CHARLES D'OSTEN, called SOKEN.
J. SCHACK RATLAU,
A. P. COMPTE BERNSTORFF.
O. THOFT.
H. EIKSTEDT.

Acceded to, and ſigned by the plenipotentiaries of the court of Sweden, at Peterſburgh, 21ſt of July, 1780, and by the States-General accepted Nov. 20, 1780, and ſigned at Peterſburgh, Jan. 5, 1781, with the addition only of article

XIII. If the reſpective ſquadrons, or ſhips of war, ſhould meet or unite, to act in conjunction, the command in chief will be regulated according to what is commonly practiſed between the crowned heads and the Republic.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled.*

The humble Petition of the Britiſh Subjects reſiding in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, and their ſeveral Dependencies.

Sheweth,

"THAT your petitioners, labouring under the weight of many and great grievances, know not where to apply for relief with ſo much propriety and confidence as to the Commons of

* Preſented to the Houſe Jan. 24, 1781.

Great

Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, the great guardians of the liberties and properties of Britiſh ſubjects.

"That your petitioners humbly conceive there are certain rights inherent in Engliſhmen, and confirmed by the moſt ſacred acts of the legiſlature, which no power on earth can legally deprive them of, where the laws of Great Britain are in force.

"That your petitioners obſerved, with the deepeſt concern and affliction, that at the paſſing of the act of the 13th George III, intituled, "An act for eſtabliſhing certain regulations for the beſt management of the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company, as well in India as in Europe;" and previous to it, very erroneous reports had been propagated, and injurious ideas entertained, of the principles and practices of the Britiſh ſubjects reſiding within theſe provinces; from which it was inferred, that they required more rigorous reſtraints and coercions than have been uſually impoſed upon Engliſhmen.

"That your petitioners knowing ſuch reports, when applied to the community, to be void of all foundation in truth, did flatter themſelves that time, better information, and their own loyal and obedient conduct, would have convinced their enemies, and the whole Engliſh nation, of the injuſtice and cruelty of theſe ſuppoſitions, and have excited the known candour of the Britiſh Parliament to frame in their wiſdom ſuch ordinances and regulations as were better adapted to the real circumſtances and ſituation of your petitioners.

"That your petitioners have for ſome years vainly flattered themſelves with this expectation, and now find, to their unſpeakable ſorrow, that their dutiful ſubmiſſion appears only to have encouraged the Juſtices of the Supreme Court to proceed ſtep by ſtep in reducing them to the moſt grievous diſtreſs, till your petitioners have in fact been put out of the law by a declaration from the Bench on a ſolemn occaſion, that the act of parliament above recited was not intended for the ſecurity and protection of the whole, but for the immediate protection of a part of the inhabitants of theſe provinces.

"That your petitioners humbly conceive that the trial by Jury, in all caſes where it can be granted, is one of theſe inherent, unalienable, and indefeaſible rights, of which neither time nor circumſtances can deprive a Britiſh ſubject living under Britiſh laws; yet the Juſtices of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal have, by the actual or aſſumed powers of a charter granted under an act of parliament, refuſed to allow your petitioners the benefit of this ſacred bulwark of their freedom, except in criminal caſes; thereby, as your petitioners apprehend, acting in direct contradiction to the late act of parliament, to the fundamental law of the land, and the Great Charter of Britiſh liberties.—This grievance, ſo inſupportable, muſt come home to the breaſt of every Engliſhman; and none will feel it more ſenſibly than the enlightened Members of a Britiſh ſenate.

"With all due ſubmiſſion to the will of their moſt gracious Sovereign,

Sovereign, and with the moſt loyal and ſincere affection for his perſon, family, and government your petitioners humbly apprehend, that neither letters patent, nor any other grant, can be valid if made contrary to the known law of the land: yet the ſaid Juſtices, acting under letters patent, aſſume a power not only to fine and impriſon your petitioners, but to decide on all actions for damages for perſonal wrongs, both determining the fact, and aſſeſſing the damages to any amount, at their own diſcretion; thereby taking to themſelves an uncontrouled dominion over the perſons and property of your petitioners, to the great fear and imminent danger of all Britiſh ſubjects.

"Your petitioners humbly conceive, that in all ſubject ſtates, but more eſpecially in one ſo remote from the ſeat of empire, where the diſproportion between the governing power and thoſe governed is ſo great as to make the preſent ſafety and future permanency of the dominion itſelf depend entirely upon the precarious tie of ideal ſuperiority, that all poſſible tenderneſs and caution ſhould be uſed to prevent that opinion being weakened or deſtroyed, or the authority and reputation of the government leſſened, leſt the multitude ſhould be encouraged to put themſelves on a level with their rulers, and loſe that idea of their ſuperior power by which alone they are held in ſubjection; but, to the great mortification and alarm of your petitioners, they ſee the reſpect and veneration which the natives have hitherto manifeſted for the government daily decreaſing, owing, as your petitioners verily believe, to the extenſion of the authority of the court acting independent of the government, to perſons and caſes where they conceive it never was the intention of the legiſlature to allow them to act: a ſpirit of contempt for its authority, and for Europeans in general, heretofore unknown, diffuſing itſelf among the natives, which, if not reſtrained in due time, muſt terminate in diſaffection and reſiſtance, and ultimately occaſion the deſtruction of the Britiſh ſubjects reſiding in theſe provinces, and the loſs of theſe valuable dominions to the crown of Great Britain for ever.

"That your petitioners entertaining the moſt perfect conviction of the truth of theſe obſervations, ſuggeſted by the reſiſtance ſhewn to the authority of government in various parts of theſe provinces, and by the late daring tumult, heretofore unprecedented, which happened in open day in the capital, and at the entrance of the ſeat of judicature itſelf, offer them with ſubmiſſion to your moſt ſerious conſideration.

"Your petitioners have been informed, and believe, that *ex poſt facto* and retroſpective laws are contrary to natural juſtice, incompatible with the laws of England, and irreconcileable to the feelings of a Britiſh parliament, and that they are held in abhorrence by the nation.—That if theſe principles are admitted in England, and acknowledged to be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences, they muſt apply ſtill more forcibly to a ſubjected country ſituated at the diſtance of half the globe, where the manners, cuſtoms, laws,

and prejudices of the people differ ſo widely from thoſe of the governing nation. Your petitioners appeal to the humanity of the Britiſh Parliament to reflect on the innumerable hardſhips which muſt enſue, and the univerſal confuſion which muſt be occaſioned, as well to perſonal rights as to private and public property, by giving to the voluminous and intricate laws of England a boundleſs and retroſpective power in the midſt of Aſia, and by an application of thoſe laws, made for the freeſt and moſt enlightened people on earth, the principle of whoſe conſtitution is founded in virtue and liberty, to tranſactions with the natives of India, who have from time immemorial lived under a deſpotic government, eſtabliſhed on fear and reſtraint. And your petitioners moſt earneſtly call upon you to conſider what muſt be the fears, what muſt be the terrors of individuals, to find their titles to property, their tranſactions and engagements with natives, previous to the eſtabliſhment of the court of judicature, tried by the ſtandard of Engliſh law, and by men educated under its forms, and unavoidably imbibing its prejudices; when no ſuch laws could be known to, or practiſed by, natives or Europeans, then reſiding in the country, and at a time too, when few or no perſons of a legal knowledge were in the country to aſſiſt or adviſe them.

"Your petitioners humbly conceive, that no tyranny can be more dreadful in its operations, or more fatal in its conſequences, than that a court eſtabliſhed by law, with all the authority of one of the firſt courts in England, ſhould alſo poſſeſs undefined powers and juriſdiction, of which the judges of it are the ſole interpreters, and under no controul, but at the immenſe diſtance of the mother country; yet ſuch is the ſituation of your petitioners; they are placed within the reach of this two-edged weapon, ſurrounded with the toils and pitfalls of the law, in a country where perjury is almoſt a profeſſion, unknowing where they may reſt in ſafety: for the judges of this court can, at pleaſure, determine on the denomination of a civil injury, the degree of its criminality, by what ſtatutes it ſhall be tried, what penalties ſhall be inflicted, and who are, and who are not, amenable to the juriſdiction of the court. The Judges have declared that they are, by the charter of juſtice, empowered to moderate the laws of England by the cuſtoms of this country; but their information reſpecting theſe cuſtoms, can only be obtained from ſuch witneſſes as appear before them, and it is in the breaſts of the Judges to admit or reject what evidence they pleaſe. This power has filled your petitioners with the utmoſt terror and diſmay. If it had remained with a body of jurors, acquainted with the language of the natives, informed as to their cuſtoms, and bound by oath to decide with truth and juſtice, there would have exiſted no foundation for either.

"Your petitioners perceived, with heart-felt ſatisfaction, that the ſaid act had provided ſome barrier againſt oppreſſion, by authoriſing an appeal from the decrees of the Supreme Court to his Majeſty in Council, which his Majeſty

Majeſty has alſo been moſt graciouſly pleaſed to recognize in his charter of juſtice; but the hopes of relief raiſed upon this foundation, vaniſhed from before us, when you petitioners found that the judges of the court had not only taken upon themſelves to make and alter the rules of it, but that they could receive or refuſe what evidence they thought proper, and that the appeal could only be heard under theſe rules, and upon the evidence recorded during the trial. Removed at ſuch a vaſt diſtance from the tribunal of juſtice, before an unjuſt or illegal ſentence could be reverſed, the ſufferer might fall a victim to penury, or periſh by impriſonment. But, from an appeal under ſuch circumſtances, what redreſs can your petitioners obtain?

"Your petitioners entertain all the becoming reſpect for the authority of the charter of juſtice, and the utmoſt reverence for their Sovereign, whoſe ſanction it has received; yet they cannot but obſerve, that by the powers delegated in this charter, men are conſtituted the judges of their own acts, which appear to your petitioners highly improper and inconſiſtent. For the Judges of the Supreme Court in Calcutta are empowered to ſit alſo as a Court of Chancery, and in this capacity to reviſe, correct, reſcind, or confirm deciſions paſſed by themſelves, whilſt acting as judges in a court of law: and by another part of their inſtitution, they poſſeſs the power, and they alone, of ſtaying execution in criminal caſes till his majeſty's pleaſure be known.

"There is a principle in human nature which inevitably impreſſes a bias upon the mind in favour of its own deciſions; and experience has decided, that reaſon and philoſophy are too weak to reſtrain it: but in all well-regulated communities, when the conſequence of any principle is foreſeen, or found to be fatal, the wiſdom of the legiſlature interpoſes to check its operation. Your petitioners have the moſt perfect conviction, that the poſſible evils of this power did not occur to their moſt merciful Sovereign, when his approbation was conferred on the charter of juſtice, and that they require only to be pointed out to enſure redreſs.

"Your petitioners with all deference, conceive that there muſt be ſome fundamental error in that inſtitution, which requires a more than ordinary degree of temper, ability, and integrity, to carry its purpoſes into execution; and they do not heſitate to declare, that to adminiſter the power appertaining to the inſtitution of the Supreme Court without extenſive public detriment, and partial acts of private ſeverity and injuſtice (if it be poſſible at all), requires more equity and moderation, diſcernment and enlightened abilities, than they can hope to find in any men. To what extent the judges of his majeſty's court may poſſeſs thoſe qualities, your petitioners do not pretend to decide, and ſtill leſs to aſſert that they do not poſſeſs them at all; but they complain of the juriſdiction, of the uncontrouled, unlimited powers, with which the court is veſted, and with the execution of which no men are to be truſted.

"Your petitioners can bear

diſtreſs like men, but they muſt alſo feel like men, and ſpeak theſe feelings like Engliſhmen. If the language of complaint is warm, let it be attributed to the dread of future injuries, from a keen ſenſibility of what is paſt. Your petitioners claim a trial by jury as their birth-right; and they ſolicit to be relieved from the other great grievances they labour under. To a Britiſh Houſe of Commons they appeal, with the firmeſt reliance on its wiſdom, juſtice, and humanity; and in appealing to ſuch a tribunal, they perceive their apprehenſions yield to the moſt flattering hopes of a ſpeedy redreſs.

"Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that you will be pleaſed to take into conſideration the following requeſts:—

"To grant a trial by jury in all caſes where it is by law eſtabliſhed in England.

"To limit the retroſpective powers of the court to the time of its eſtabliſhment in Bengal.

"To define, beyond the power of diſcretional diſtinction, the perſons who are and who are not amenable to the juriſdiction of the court.

"To declare what ſtatutes ſhall, and what ſtatutes ſhall not be in force in Bengal.

"To direct and circumſcribe the power of the court in the admiſſion and rejection of evidence, ſo as that all rejected evidence may accompany the appeal by way of affidavit or otherwiſe.

"To appoint diſtinct and ſeparate judges for the law and equity ſides of the court.

"To reſtore the ancient and conſtitutional power of hearing appeals in the firſt inſtance, to the ſupreme authority in this government formerly veſted in the preſident and council, and now veſted in the governor-general and council.

"To lodge a power of ſtaying executions in criminal caſes, till his majeſty's pleaſure be known, in the governor-general and council.

And your petitioners ſhall ever pray."

Calcutta in Bengal, Feb. 26, 1779.

Signed by ſix hundred and forty-ſeven perſons.

Petition of the Jews at St. Euſtatius *to Admiral* Rodney *and General* Vaughan.

To their Excellencies, the Commanding Officers in Chief of his Britannic *Majeſty's Army and Navy in the* Weſt Indies.

May it pleaſe your Excellencies,

TO permit us in the name and on the behalf of ourſelves and others of the people of the Hebrew nation, reſidents in the iſland of Saint Euſtatius, humbly to approach your excellencies, and with heartfelt anguiſh, to lay our grievances before you, and ſay: that it was with the utmoſt concern and aſtoniſhment, we have already, not only received your excellencies afflicting order and ſentence, to give up the keys of our ſtores with an inventory thereof, and of our houſehold plate and furniture, and to hold ourſelves in readineſs to depart this iſland, ignorant of our deſtination, and leaving our beloved wives and helpleſs children behind us, and our property and effects

effects liable to ſeizure and confiſcation; but alſo find, that theſe orders are for the major part carried into execution, a number of our brethren having, on Tueſday the thirteenth inſtant, been ſent on board a ſhip, and have not ſince been heard of. Such unexpected orders as theſe from Britiſh commanders, whoſe principal characteriſtic is "mercy and humanity," have not only been productive of the moſt horrid and melancholy ſcenes of diſtreſs and confuſion, that ever Britiſh eyes beheld under the fatal conſequences of a rigid war, but numbers of families are now helpleſs, diſconſolate, and in an abſolute ſtate of indigence and deſpair.

Unconſcious of deſerving ſo ſevere a treatment, we flatter ourſelves that your excellencies will be pleaſed to hear this our humble petition, and not involve in one complicated ſcene of diſtreſs and miſery, our helpleſs women and innocent babes; confidently relying upon, and earneſtly hoping that, through your excellencies juſtice and humanity, we ſhall not ſupplicate in vain.

It is the peculiar happineſs of thoſe who live under a Britiſh conſtitution, to be indulged with their own ſentiments in matters of religion, when theſe principles of religion are not incompatible with, or ſubverſive of the conſtitution in church or ſtate; and it is the peculiar happineſs of the Hebrew nation to ſay, that their religion teaches peace and obedience to the government under which they live: and when civil diſſenſions have threatened to ſubvert the conſtitution, the Hebrew nation have ever preſerved a peaceful demeanour, with true loyalty to the King, and a firm and ſteady attachment to the laws and conſtitution.

For what reaſon, or from what motive we are to be baniſhed this iſland, we are at a loſs to account. —If any among us have committed a crime for which they are puniſhable, we humbly beg thoſe crimes may be pointed out, and that ſuch perſons may be purged from among us.—But if nothing can be alleged againſt us but the religion of our forefathers, we hope that will not be conſidered a crime; or that a religion, which preaches peace, and recommends obedience to government, ſhould point out its ſectaries as objects of your excellencies rigour, and merit excluſion from a Britiſh iſland, by the expreſs orders of Britiſh commanders. A moment's reflection muſt diſcountenance the idea, and leave us in perfect confidence of your excellencies favourable anſwer.

Permit us then to aſſure your excellencies, that we ever have, and ſtill are willing, to give every conſcientious teſtimony of obedience to government; and thoſe of us in particular, who claim to be natural-born ſubjects of Great Britain, moſt humbly intreat your excellencies to order us before you, or before ſuch perſon or perſons as your excellencies ſhall pleaſe to appoint, there to prove our loyalty and fidelity, and to repeat and take our oaths of allegiance.

May the God of all mercies incline your hearts to liſten to the prayers and ſupplications of your petitioners, and in this confidence, we humbly ſubmit ourſelves to your excellencies determination, hoping that you will pardon us for the in-

truſion of this addreſs; and that through your excellencies lenity and humanity, your excellencies will be pleaſed to grant us ſuch favourable terms, as you in your judgment and wiſdom ſhall think moſt advantageous to his majeſty's intereſt, and the honour and glory of his ſucceſsful arms.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

Saint Euſtatius, Feb. 16, 1781.

Memorial from the Empreſs of Ruſſia, *to the States General.* Hague, *March* 3, 1781.

HIS Excellency Prince Gallitzin, Envoy Extraordinary from Ruſſia, held a conference on the firſt inſtant with the Preſident of the States-General, and preſented the following memorial from the Empreſs of Ruſſia:

'High and Mighty Lords!

'No ſooner had her Imperial majeſty been informed of the Britiſh ambaſſador's ſudden departure from the Hague; than, without waiting for any further explanation, guided only by the friendſhip and good-will ſhe bears to the two contending powers, and awakened by the alarming tendency of a meaſure ſo detrimental to their mutual welfare and tranquillity, ſhe directed her miniſter in London to make the moſt earneſt repreſentations to that court, to prevent, if poſſible, the matter being carried to any extremity, and to recommend the moſt conciliating meaſures; offering at the ſame time to promote them as far as was in her power. Although her majeſty has not yet heard of any anſwer from the ſaid court, ſhe has ſome reaſon to think that the overtures made by her have been favourably received. In conſequence whereof, her Imperial majeſty does not heſitate to give a freſh proof of her good intentions for bringing about a reconciliation between the two powers, whom ſhe equally ſupports, and who have lived ſo long in that natural and perfect harmony which beſt ſuits their reſpective intereſts, by offering them, in form, her ſervices and mediation, for the purpoſe of putting an end to that diſcord and war which has lately broke out between them.

While Monſieur de Simolin, her Imperial majeſty's miniſter at the Court of London, is fulfilling her commands on this head; the underwritten has the honour to acquit himſelf of the ſame taſk here with their High Mightineſſes, and to aſſure them of the zeal and readineſs he wiſhes to have an opportunity to diſplay, in forwarding the deſirable work of reſtoring the ſaid ſtates to their wonted peace and tranquillity. That diſintereſtedneſs, impartiality, and benevolence, which have hitherto ſtamped every action of her Imperial majeſty, are equally conſpicuous in the preſent inſtance.

The wiſdom and prudence of your High Mightineſſes will eaſily diſtinguiſh thoſe ſacred characteriſtics, and dictate the anſwer which the underwritten ſhall tranſmit to his Imperial miſtreſs, as a proof of his having executed her commands.

[Signed]

LE PRINCE DE GALLITZIN.'

Hague, March 1, 1781.

Hague, March 7. Their noble and great Mightineſſes, the ſtates of

of Holland and Weſt Frieſland, having examined the above memorial, have accepted of the mediation offered by the empreſs of Ruſſia.

Memorial of the States General, to the Court of Stockholm.

Stockholm, March 6, 1781.

Baron Van Lynden, *Envoy Extraordinary from the States-General of the United Provinces at his Court, has lately held a Conference with Count* Ulric Schieffer, *Miniſter and Secretary of State for the foreign Department, to whom he delivered the following Memorial.*

THE underwritten Envoy Extraordinary from their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces, to his majeſty the King of Sweden, in purſuance of an expreſs order from his maſters, has the honour to propoſe to his Swediſh Majeſty,

That their High Mightineſſes having acceded, by their reſolution of the 20th of November, 1780, to the treaty of armed neutrality, in conformity to the invitation of the northern powers; and placing the moſt perfect confidence in the power, magnanimity, and fidelity of their imperial and royal majeſties, for the fulfilling of their engagements, and the maintaining of their dignity, by accompliſhing a work ſo glorioully undertaken, namely, the liberty of the ſeas, and freedom of navigation for all neutral nations, were not deterred by the conſideration of the conſequences, which that acceſſion and declaration might be productive of to the Republic, from the part of the belligerent powers. But their High Mightineſſes have declared in favour of this acceſſion and declaration, in relying implicitly on the ſentiments of their imperial and royal majeſties, whom they alſo acquainted in due time, of the meaſures taken in conſequence thereof.

That the event has alſo juſtified their requiſition, in regard to the Britiſh court: ſince the miniſter of the latter, after his fruitleſs endeavours to thwart the acceſſion to the alliance, took the reſolution, on the firſt notice he had of it, to ſpeak in a ſtrain truly unprecedented, and ill ſuited to the mutual regard which the reſpective ſovereigns owe to each other: without ſo much as granting to the Republic a ſufficient time to conſider on the matter, according to the political ſyſtem of the Republic, which his Britannic majeſty is fully acquainted with: the Engliſh miniſter inſiſted, nevertheleſs, upon an immediate and ſpeedy ſatisfaction, and the puniſhment of a pretended offence, occaſioned by the diſcovery of a negociation with North America, without receiving as an ample ſatisfaction, the proviſional anſwer, nor the formal diſavowal of their High Mightineſſes of a negociation, of which (as acknowledged even by his Britannic majeſty) they had not the leaſt ſhare, or knowledge: of a negociation relating to a pretended treaty, which, in itſelf, ſufficiently denotes, from its terms, only the ſketch of an eventual treaty entered into by private perſons, without being formally authoriſed thereto by the body of the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, or by the ſtates of the province of

Holland, and much leſs by the States General, whoſe members are alone authoriſed to enter into engagements in the name of the Republic.

The Britiſh miniſter went even ſo far as to refuſe noticing the reſolution, by which the province of Holland (the only one concerned) was required to deliberate, how far the laws of the country might give authority to proſecute the perſons accuſed, and puniſh them; a formality, without which no puniſhment can be inflicted, neither in England nor in this Republic, or any other country. Nay, the ſaid miniſter went ſo far as to threaten, that in caſe of a refuſal, his ſovereign would adopt ſuch means, as to procure himſelf that ſatisfaction. It was at the ſame time reſolved to attack the Republic by ſurprize, and ſo far haſten the meaſures taken to begin hoſtilities, that lord Stormont, making uſe of vain pretences, would not ſo much as accept from Count Welderen the aforeſaid declaration; and anſwered, under his hand, 'That he (Stormont) could no longer look upon him as the miniſter of a friendly power, after having officially acquainted him of his king's manifeſto:" whilſt this very manifeſto (and this ſhould be noted) was delivered into the hands of Count Welderen, only an hour before the time appointed by Lord Stormont, the preceding day, for giving him audience. That, moreover, although no mention is made in the manifeſto alluded to, of the Republic acceding to the treaty of the armed neutrality (which it was of the utmoſt importance to paſs over in ſilence), it nevertheleſs appears clearly, to the penetrating eye of your majeſty, as well as to all Europe, if the whole proceedings are attended to, and the time and manner in which the manifeſto was publiſhed, that the hatred, occaſioned by the Republic acceding to the confederation of armed neutrality, is the true motive of his Britiſh majeſty's reſentment, and the only one that could excite him to an open attack againſt the Republic, by ſeizing, at once, upon a great number of Dutch merchantmen, and ſome ſhips of war. Beſides that the aforeſaid manifeſto, known to your majeſty, ſufficiently diſplays the cauſe of England's diſpleaſure: the more ſo as amongſt the pretences made uſe of to varniſh over the hoſtilities againſt the Republic, it is ſaid, that it had taken a neutral part: without the cabinet of St. James's deigning to obſerve, that ſuch anſwer was inſulting to the neutral powers who are perfectly acquainted with the treaties now in force between England and the Republic; and that the latter could not be charged with an intention of entering into an alliance with a power not lawfully neuter in the preſent conteſt, and without obſerving that this liberty of negociating had been put beyond all doubt, by England itſelf; ſince, by ſuſpending, in April, 1780, the effects of the treaty paſſed in 1674, the Engliſh having manifeſted their intent of looking henceforth upon the Republic as a neutral power, no ways privileged by any treaty.

That for the reaſons here above mentioned, the animoſity of Great Britain appears ſtill more conſpicuous, from the ill-grounded reproach

proach contained in the ſaid manifeſto againſt this Republic, that their High Mightineſſes had encouraged the exportation of naval ſtores for France, by ſuſpending the uſual duties on thoſe commodities, whilſt it is known to all the world, that ſuch a ſuſpenſion has never taken place, and that the Republic had a right to export thoſe commodities, not only agreeably to the treaty in 1674, but alſo in conformity to the principles laid down by the neutral powers in the convention of armed neutrality. That conſequently it would be needleſs to enter any farther into the merits of the ſaid manifeſto; as his Swediſh majeſty has it in his power to appreciate himſelf its value, and muſt, moreover, be fully perſuaded that the line of conduct purſued by their High Mightineſſes ſince the beginning of the troubles with America, is an evident proof, that they have never favoured or countenanced the revolted colonies; witneſs the many partial condeſcenſions in favour of England, which were merely gratuitous on the part of their High Mightineſſes, by circumſcribing the trade within their own colonies; by refuſing to grant the protection of their convoys to veſſels laden with ſhip timber; and by recalling the Governor of St. Euſtatia on ſome ill-grounded complaints of the Britiſh miniſtry: condeſcenſions which have been rewarded by the attack and ſeizure of the convoy of Count Bylandt; by a violation of the territories of this Republic, and by the taking by force ſome American veſſels from under the very batteries of the iſland of St. Martin.

That their High Mightineſſes having thus faithfully adhered to the ſyſtem of moderation, it is evident that the reſentment of his Britannic majeſty ariſes merely from their acceſſion to the treaty of armed neutrality; and that, conſequently, their High Mightineſſes are fully authoriſed to claim the performance of the conditions ſtipulated in the articles VII. VIII. and IX. of the treaty of armed neutrality, which form the baſis of that union and alliance contracted between their imperial and royal majeſties and the Republic. That therefore no obſtacles can hinder or delay the fulfilling of the engagements contracted by virtue of the ſaid confederation, of which the Republic ought to be conſidered as a member from the very moment in which their High Mightineſſes acceded to the ſame reſolution at the Hague; and diſpatched their declaration, in conformity to the ſaid acceſſion and convention, to the belligerent powers.

That if their High Mightineſſes had to complain only of a ſingle act of offence, or an attack committed againſt them, which was likely to be redreſſed by the friendly interpoſition of their allies, they would have claimed their intervention rather than have recourſe to arms; but as their High Mightineſſes find themſelves actually and ſuddenly attacked in an hoſtile manner by his Britannic majeſty, in conſequence of, and from mere reſentment of the above mentioned alliance, they find themſelves under the neceſſity of repelling force by force, and to return hoſtilities for hoſtilities; being fully perſuaded that the allied powers will not heſitate to make this their common cauſe,

cauſe, and to procure to their Republic due ſatisfaction and indemnity for the loſſes occaſioned by an attack equally unjuſt and violent; and that the ſaid powers will moreover, in conjunction with the States General, take ſuch farther meaſures, as the exigences of the preſent circumſtances may require. This their High Mightineſſes ſolicit with great earneſtneſs, and rely upon it with ſo much more confidence, as they are firmly perſuaded, that the generous and equitable ſentiments, which actuate their imperial and royal majeſties, will not ſuffer them to let the Republic fall a victim to a ſyſtem of politics, not leſs glorious than founded in equity, and eſtabliſhed for the ſecurity of the rights of neutral nations; and eſpecially as the Republic, if left ſingly expoſed to the iniquitous and violent attacks of England, would hardly be able to cope with that overbearing power, and thus run the hazard of becoming totally uſeleſs to the ſaid confederation.

For theſe reaſons, the underwritten envoy extraordinary, inſiſting on the motives urged here above, and fully perſuaded that the ratifications of the treaty ſigned at Peterſburgh, will take place as ſoon as poſſible, has the honour, in the name and by expreſs order of his maſters, to claim the performance of the engagements ſtipulated in the Articles VII. VIII. and IX. of the ſaid treaty, and to require, in virtue thereof, a ſpeedy and adequate aſſiſtance from his Swediſh majeſty, whoſe noble and equitable ſentiments, acknowledged by all Europe, will not permit him to abandon the complete eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem worthy the higheſt praiſe.

The friendſhip and affection of your majeſty towards their High Mightineſſes, leave them no doubt of your majeſty's willingly granting the aſſiſtance which they now claim, and alſo promiſe to the underwritten envoy a ſpeedy and ſatisfactory anſwer, which he ſolicits the more anxiouſly, as every moment's delay may be attended with heavy and irreparable loſſes to the Republic.

(Signed)
D. W. VAN LYNDEN.

Stockholm, February 28, 1781.

His Majeſty's Speech on cloſing the Seſſion of Parliament, July 18, 1781.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

ALTHOUGH the buſineſs of this ſeſſion has required a longer attendance than may have been conſiſtent with your private convenience, yet I am perſuaded that you look back with ſatisfaction on the time you have employed in a faithful diſcharge of your duty to your country, in the preſent arduous and critical ſtate of public affairs.

I cannot let you depart into your reſpective counties, without aſſuring you of my entire approbation of your conduct, and of my perfect confidence in the loyalty and good affections of this parliament.

The zeal and ardour which you have ſhown for the honour of my crown; your firm and ſteady ſupport of a juſt cauſe, and the great efforts you have made to enable me to

to surmount all the difficulties of this extensive and complicated war, must convince the world that the ancient spirit of the British nation is not abated or diminished.

In the midst of these difficulties, you have formed regulations for the better management and improvement of the revenue; you have given additional strength and stability to public credit; and your deliberations on the affairs of the East-India Company, have terminated in such measures as will, I trust, produce great and essential advantages to my kingdoms.

I have observed, with much satisfaction, that during the course of that important business, your attention was not more anxiously directed to the benefits to be derived from the territorial acquisitions, than to the happiness and comfort of the inhabitants of those remote provinces.

Whatever may remain to be done for securing those valuable possessions, and for restraining the abuses to which they are peculiarly liable, you will, I doubt not, proceed to provide for at your next meeting, with the same wisdom and temper that have governed your late proceedings and enquiries.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

My particular thanks are due to you for the ample provision you have made for the service of the current year, I see with great pleasure, that you have had it in your power to apply so large a sum to the discharge of the debt of the navy, and that the supplies which you have granted have been raised in a manner the least burthensome to the property and industry of my faithful people.

My Lords and gentlemen.

While I lament the continuance of the present troubles, and the extension of the war, I have the conscious satisfaction to reflect, that the constant aim of all my councils has been to bring back my deluded subjects in America, to the happiness and liberty they formerly enjoyed, and to see the tranquillity of Europe restored.

To defend the dominions, and to maintain the rights of this country, was, on my part, the sole cause, and is the only object of the war. Peace is the earnest wish of my heart: but I have too firm a reliance on the spirit and resources of the nation, and the powerful assistance of my parliament, and the protection of a just and all-ruling Providence, to accept it upon any terms or conditions than such as may consist with the honour and dignity of my crown, and the permanent interest and security of my people.

Then the lord chancellor, by his majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the thirteenth day of September next to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the thirteenth day of September next.

Answer given by Lord Stormont *to Mons.* Simolin, *the* Russian *Minister with respect to the Mediation offered by the Empress between*

tween Great Britain *and the* United Provinces.

THE alliance which has subſiſted ſo many years between Great Britain and the States General, has always been conſidered by his majeſty as a tie, formed by the moſt natural cauſes, and not only agreeable to the intereſt of both nations, but abſolutely eſſential to their mutual welfare.

The king has done every thing in his power to preſerve this tie unbroken, and even to ſtrengthen it; and if the conduct of their High Mightineſſes had at all anſwered to that of his majeſty, they would ſtill have remained in their utmoſt force. But ſince the commencement of the preſent troubles, the only return made by the Republic to this conſtant friendſhip, has been the total relinquiſhment of the principles of an alliance, the prime object of which was the mutual defence of the two nations; an obſtinate refuſal to fulfil the moſt ſacred obligations; a daily violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties; an aſſiſtance given to the very enemy, againſt whom he had a right to demand ſuccour; an aſylum granted to the American pirates in the Dutch ports, in open violation of the cleareſt ſtipulations; and to complete the whole, a denial of juſtice and ſatisfaction for the affront given to the dignity of the king, by a ſecret league with his rebellious ſubjects.

All theſe accumulated injuries rendered it impoſſible for the king to take any other part than that which he has done.

When the motives which rendered this rupture inevitable were explained to the public, the king aſcribed the conduct of the Republic to the true cauſe; that is to ſay, to the unhappy influence of a faction, which ſacrificed the intereſt of the nation to their own private views. But the king at the ſame time, manifeſted the moſt ſincere deſire to bring back the Republic to that ſyſtem of ſtrict union, efficacious alliance and reciprocal protection, which has ſo much contributed to the welfare and glory of the two ſtates.

When the empreſs offered her good offices to effect a reconciliation by a particular peace, the king teſtified his gratitude to her for that freſh proof of a friendſhip which he values ſo highly, and avoided expoſing the mediation of her majeſty to the danger of a fruitleſs negociation. He explained his reaſons, which perſuaded him, that in the preſent diſpoſition of the Republic, governed by a faction, all reconciliation, during the war with France, would be merely ſuperficial, and would afford an opportunity to the party which ſways the Republic to act as ſecret auxiliaries of all the king's enemies, under the maſk of a pretended alliance with Great Britain.

But if there are any indications of change in this diſpoſition, if the powerful intervention of her imperial majeſty ſhould be able to effect any alteration, and induce the Republic to return to thoſe principles which the moſt diſcerning part of the nation have never forſaken, his majeſty will be ready to treat with their High Mightineſſes on the ſubject of a ſeparate peace; and it is his wiſh, that the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias may be the ſole mediatreſs of this

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peace. She has been the first to offer her good offices, and so powerful an intervention as hers, cannot gain any thing either in weight or influence by the accession of the most respectable allies.

The friendship of the empress to both nations, the interest which her empire has in their reciprocal welfare, her known impartiality, and elevated views, are sufficient pledges of the manner in which she will conduct this salutary work: and in a negociation, the whole object of which is to terminate a war, caused by a violation of the treaties, and by an affront offered to his crown, his majesty relies, with the utmost confidence and satisfaction, upon the mediation of a sovereign, who holds sacred the faith of treaties, who knows so well how to estimate the dignity of sovereigns, and who has maintained her own, during her glorious reign, with so much greatness and resolution.

(Signed) STORMONT.

State Paper presented by Baron Nolken, *the* Swedish *Minister, resident in* London, *concerning the Mediation of that Court between this Country and the States General of the* United Provinces.

THE King does not imagine it necessary at this time, for him to enter into an explanation of the principles which have governed his conduct ever since he ascended the throne of his ancestors. He has been guided by the love of peace, and he could have wished to have seen all the other European powers enjoy that blessing, as uninterruptedly as himself. These desires, dictated by his natural sentiments of humanity, have not been fulfilled.—The flame of war, kindled in another hemisphere, has communicated to Europe; but the king still flattered himself, that this conflagration would not extend beyond its first bounds, and particularly that a nation, entirely commercial, which have made neutrality the invariable foundation of its conduct, would not have been enveloped in it; and yet, nevertheless, this has happened, almost in the very moment when that power had entered into the most inoffensive engagements with the king and his two nothern allies. If the most exact impartiality that was ever observed, could not exempt the king from immediately feeling the inconveniences of war, by the considerable losses sustained by his commercial subjects, he had much greater reason to apprehend the consequences, when those troubles were going to be extended; when an open war between Great Britain and the Republic of Holland multiplied them; and, to conclude, when neutral commerce was about to endure new shackles by the hostilities committed between those two powers. The king could not fail to perceive these evils, and to wish sincerely that the measures taken by the Empress of Russia, for extinguishing this new war, in its beginning, might be crowned with the most perfect success; but as this salutary work has not been brought to perfection, the king has resolved to join with his allies, the Empress of Russia, and the King of Denmark in endeavouring to dispose his Britannic majesty to listen to the pacific sentiments which their

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High Mightineſſes the State General have already made known, by their conſenting to open a negociation for peace.

If ſuch are the inclinations of that Monarch, which ought not to be doubted, it appears that a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities would be the moſt eſſential prelude to their accompliſhment, as military operations accompanying a negociation of that nature, can only ſerve to embarraſs and retard the matter, whilſt the allied courts wiſh for nothing more than to be able to accelerate it by every method that may tend to the advantage and ſatisfaction of the two belligerent powers.

In the ſincerity and rectitude which animate his majeſty and his two allies, he cannot conceal the apprehenſion which he feels from the report of the continuation of the war, which may be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences, and may revive a variety of controverſies and diſputes. This motive, and more particularly a deſire to prevent a farther effuſion of blood, are conſiderations which ought to operate on the mind of the King of Great Britain; and in the entire confidence which his majeſty places in thoſe circumſtances, he would receive the trueſt ſatisfaction, if, by his interpoſition and mediation, joined to that of his allies, he ſhould ſucceed in terminating the differences which have taken place between Great Britain and the United Provinces.

(Signed)
The BARON de NOLKEN.

Copy of the Anſwer given to the foregoing Paper, by Lord Stormont, *on the* 18*th of September, to the Baron de* Nolken, *the* Swediſh *Envoy.*

THE preſervation of public tranquillity has been the firſt object of his majeſty's care, during the whole courſe of his reign; the commencement of that reign was ſignalized by the reſtoration of peace.

The king made very great ſacrifices to humanity, to procure that bleſſing, and he had reaſon to flatter himſelf that, by ſuch moderation, in the midſt of victory, he ſhould ſecure the public quiet, upon the moſt ſolid and durable foundations; but thoſe hopes have all proved fallacious, and thoſe foundations have been ſhaken by the ambitious politics of the Court of Verſailles. This court, after having ſecretly ſupported the rebellion kindled in America, openly joined his majeſty's rebellious ſubjects; and on account of this violation of public faith, and this direct act of hoſtility, he commenced the preſent war.

The conduct of the Republic of Holland, through the whole courſe of the preſent war, has excited a general indignation.—This nation preſents itſelf under a very different aſpect from that of a nation merely commercial; it is a reſpectable power, for a long time bound to Great Britain by the cloſeſt alliance. The principal object of that alliance was their common ſafety, and expreſsly the mutual protection of each other againſt the ambitious deſigns of a dangerous neighbour, which their united efforts have ſo often defeated, to their reciprocal advantage, and to that of all Europe.

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The deſertion of all theſe principles of alliance, which the king, on his part, conſtantly adhered to; an obſtinate refuſal to fulfil the moſt ſacred engagements; a daily infraction of the moſt ſolemn treaties; aſſiſtance given to thoſe very enemies, againſt whom he had a right to demand ſuccour; an aſylum and protection granted in the Dutch ports to the American pirates, in direct violation of the moſt clear and preciſe ſtipulations; and, to complete the whole, a denial of juſtice and ſatisfaction for the affront offered to his majeſty's crown, by a clandeſtine league entered into with his rebellious ſubjects; theſe accumulated cauſes of complaint, made it impoſſible for the king to take any other meaſures than thoſe which he has done, though with the moſt ſincere regret. In explaining to the public the reaſons which rendered this rupture inevitable, he aſcribed the conduct of the republic to the true cauſe, namely, to the fatal influence of a faction, who ſacrificed the national intereſt to their own private views; but the king expreſſed, at the ſame time, the moſt earneſt deſire to bring back the Republic to that ſyſtem of cloſe union, efficacious alliance, and mutual protection, which has ſo much contributed to the proſperity and glory of the two ſtates.

When the Empreſs of Ruſſia tendered her good offices, to effect a reconciliation by a ſeparate peace, the King, in expreſſing the gratitude which that freſh proof of a friendſhip which ever appeared to him ſo valuable, juſtly merited, declined expoſing her imperial majeſty to a fruitleſs negociation: but now that there are ſome marks of a change in the diſpoſition of the Republic, ſome indications of a deſign to return to thoſe principles, which the wiſeſt part of the Batavian nation have never deſerted, a negociation for a ſeparate peace between the king and their High Mightineſſes may be opened with ſome hopes of ſucceſs, under the mediation of the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias, who has been the firſt to propoſe her good offices in this ſalutary work—If his majeſty did not immediately avail himſelf of that offer, it was becauſe he had every reaſon to believe that the Republic only ſought at that time to amuſe him by an inſidious negociation; but the king would think that he made an ill return to the ſentiments which prompted thoſe firſt offers, and would be wanting in the regard ſo juſtly due to her imperial majeſty, and to the confidence which ſhe inſpires, if he aſſociated to her mediation any other, even that of an ally the moſt reſpectable, and for whom the king entertains the moſt ſincere friendſhip.

(Signed) STORMONT.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs and Petition of ſundry Weſt-India *Planters and Merchants, on behalf of themſelves, and others intereſted in the* Britiſh Weſt-India *Iſlands.*

Moſt gracious Sovereign.

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the planters and merchants intereſted in the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands, beg leave to approach your royal preſence,

preſence, with hearts full of the warmeſt attachment to your majeſty's perſon and family, and to the happy conſtitution of this kingdom.

The unhappy breach between Great Britain and the colonies of North America, had no ſooner taken place, than the Weſt-India planters and merchants humbly repreſented to your majeſty, and to both houſes of parliament, their apprehenſions of the diſtreſs and danger, that would probably enſue therefrom.

When the colonies of North America formed an alliance with the ancient enemies of this kingdom, thoſe apprehenſions of your majeſty's petitioners were greatly encreaſed; and they ſhould have conſidered themſelves as deficient in every duty to your majeſty, as well as regard to the great intereſts of this kingdom, had they not repreſented to your majeſty's miniſters, the additional danger to which all the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands were expoſed, from ſo powerful a combination.

Every effort was, therefore, early made, and invariably continued, by your petitioners, to urge your majeſty's miniſters, to provide effectual reinforcements for their protection, and particularly to induce them to keep a permanent ſuperiority of naval force in the Weſt-Indies, as being the natural, and only certain ſecurity of thoſe poſſeſſions. The loſs of ſeveral of thoſe Iſlands has afforded a melancholy proof of thoſe timely and unremitted applications.

Confident, however, that the remaining iſlands muſt be conſidered as objects deſerving the moſt ſerious attention, your petitioners did not yield to deſpair, but truſted that the unhappy experience of paſt loſſes would excite your majeſty's miniſters to adopt ſuch meaſures, as might effectually ſecure thoſe iſlands, which ſtill remained.

But it is with the utmoſt concern, that your petitioners are compelled to declare, that the remaining iſlands are ſtill ſo unhappily deſtitute of protection, that at no moment of the war have they been expoſed to more imminent danger, than in the preſent awful conjuncture.

Your petitioners, therefore, alarmed by the inefficacy of their former applications to your majeſty's miniſters, humbly implore your majeſty to enforce and extend the preſent aſſurances they have given us, and to direct, that without delay, reinforcements, naval and military, adequate to the permanent defence of your majeſty's Weſt-India iſlands, may be ſent out, ſo that, by the bleſſing of Providence, thoſe moſt valuable poſſeſſions may ſtill be preſerved to the Britiſh empire.

And your petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c. &c.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs, Remonſtrance, and Petition, of the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common hall aſſembled.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

IMPRESSED with an awful ſenſe of the dangers which ſurround us, feeling for ourſelves and

and our posterity anxious for the glory of a country hitherto as much renowned for the virtues of justice and humanity, as for the splendour of its arms, we approach your throne with sentiments becoming citizens at so alarming an hour; at the same time with that respect which is due to the monarch of a free people, and a prince of the illustrious house of Brunswick, to which we feel ourselves in a peculiar manner attached, by all the ties of gratitude and affection.

It is with inexpressible concern that we have heard your Majesty declare, in your speech to both houses of parliament, your intention of persevering in a system of measures which has proved so disastrous to this country. Such a declaration calls for the voice of a free and injured people. We feel the respect due to majesty: but in this critical and awful moment, to flatter is to betray. Your majesty's ministers have, by false assertions and fallacious suggestions, deluded your majesty and the nation into the present unnatural and unfortunate war. The consequences of this delusion have been, that the trade of this country has suffered irreparable losses, and is threatened with final extinction.

The manufactures in many valuable branches are declining, and their supply of materials rendered precarious, by the inferiority of your majesty's fleet to that of the enemy in almost every part of the globe.

The landed property throughout the kingdom has been depreciated to the most alarming degree.

The property of your Majesty's subjects vested in the public funds, has lost above one third of its value.

Private credit has been almost wholly annihilated by the enormous interest given in the public loans, superior to that which is allowed by law in any private contract. Such of our brethren in America as were deluded by the promises of your majesty's ministers, and the proclamations of your generals to join your majesty's standard, have been surrendered by your majesty's armies to the mercy of their victorious countrymen.

Your majesty's fleets have lost their wonted superiority,

Your armies have been captured,

Your dominions have been lost,

And your majesty's faithful subjects have been loaded with a burthen of taxes, which, even if our victories had been as splendid as our defeats have been disgraceful, if our accession of dominion had been as fortunate as the dismemberment of the empire has been cruel and disastrous, could not in itself be considered but as a great and grievous calamity.

We do, therefore, most humbly and earnestly implore your majesty to take all these circumstances into your royal consideration, and to compare the present situation of your dominions with that uncommon state of prosperity to which the wisdom of your royal ancestors, the spirit and bravery of the British people, and the favour of Divine Providence, which attends upon principles of justice and humaniy, had once raised this happy country, the pride and envy of all the civilized world!

We beſeech your majeſty no longer to continue in a deluſion from which the nation has awakened; and that your majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to relinquiſh entirely, and for ever, the plan of reducing our brethren in America to obedience by force; a plan which the fatal experience of paſt loſſes has convinced us cannot be proſecuted without manifeſt and imminent danger to all your majeſty's remaining poſſeſſions in the weſtern world.

We wiſh to declare to your majeſty, to Europe, to America itſelf, our abhorrence of the continuation of this unnatural and unfortunate war, which can tend to no other purpoſe than that of alienating and rendering irrecoverable the confidence of our American brethren, with whom we ſtill hope to live upon the terms of intercourſe and friendſhip, ſo neceſſary to the commercial proſperity of this kingdom. We do, therefore, farther humbly implore your majeſty, that your majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to diſmiſs from your preſence and councils all the adviſers, both public and ſecret, of the meaſures we lament, as a pledge to the world of your majeſty's fixed determination to abandon a ſyſtem incompatible with the intereſt of your crown, and the happineſs of your people.

Signed, by order,
WILLIAM RIX.

Petition of Henry Laurens, *Eſq. to the Houſe of Commons.*

To the Right Hon. Charles Wolfran Cornwall, *Speaker, and the Hon. the Houſe of Commons.*

THE repreſentation and prayer of Henry Laurens, a native of South Carolina, ſome time recognized by the Britiſh Commiſſioners in America by the ſtyle of his Excellency Henry Laurens, Preſident of Congreſs, now a cloſe priſoner in the Tower of London;

Moſt reſpectfully ſheweth, That your repreſenter for many years, at the peril of his life and fortune, evidently laboured to preſerve and ſtrengthen the ancient friendſhip between Great Britain and the colonies; and that in no inſtance he ever excited on either ſide the diſſenſions which ſeparated them.

That the commencement of the preſent war, was a ſubject of great grief to him, inaſmuch as he foreſaw and foretold, in letters now extant, the diſtreſſes which both countries experience at this day.

That in the riſe and progreſs of the war, he extended every act of kindneſs in his power to perſons called Loyaliſts and Quietiſts, as well as to Britiſh priſoners of war, very ample proofs of which he can produce.

That he was captured on the American coaſt, firſt landed upon American ground, where he ſaw exchanges of Britiſh and American priſoners in a courſe of negotiation; and that ſuch exchanges and enlargements upon parole are mutually and daily practiſed in America.

That he was committed to the Tower on the 6th of October, 1780, being then dangerouſly ill; that in the mean time he has, in many reſpects, particularly by being deprived (with very little exception) of the viſits and conſultations of his children and other relations and friends, ſuffered under a degree of rigour, almoſt, if not

not altogether, unexampled in modern British history.

That from long confinement, and the want of proper exercise, and other obvious causes, his bodily health is greatly impaired, and that he is now in a languishing state: And,

Therefore your representer humbly prays your Honours will condescend to take his case into consideration: and, under proper conditions and restrictions, grant him enlargement, or such other relief as to the wisdom and benignity of your Honours shall seem fitting.

HENRY LAURENS.

Tower of London,
Dec. 1, 1781*.

The Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take and state the Public Accounts of the Kingdom †.

PURSUING the line of inquiry marked out in our first report to the legislature, namely, an examination of the balances in the hands of those accountants who receive money from the subject to be paid into the exchequer; that we might omit no office of receipt, and no receiver of the public revenue under that description, we obtained from the office of the auditor of the exchequer, "A list of all the public offices where money is received for taxes or duties, and of the names of all persons who are receivers of public money raised upon the subject by taxes or duties, and who pay the same into the Exchequer."

We have examined into the manner in which the public revenue is collected, received, and paid into the exchequer in all these offices, and by all these receivers.

In the customs, the receiver general, William Mellish, Esquire, certified to us, that upon the 10th of September last, there was in his hands, exclusive of the current weekly receipt of the duties of the customs, the sum of four thousand four hundred and twelve pounds three shillings and ten pence; which sum was the amount of certain collections transmitted to him, either from the plantations, or particular out-ports; and was to continue in his hands no longer, than until the comptroller-general, as to some parts of it, and the commissioners, as to other parts, should direct under what heads of duties the several items, of which this sum was compounded, should be arranged, and paid into the exchequer, or otherwise disposed of. Mr. Mellish has informed us, that part of this sum has been since paid by him, according to orders of the commissioners and comptroller-general; and that the other part thereof, amounting to three thousand two hundred eighty-eight pounds fourteen shillings and eleven pence farthing, was remaining in his hands the 20th in-

* This petition was presented to the House in the form in which it came out of Mr. Laurens's own hand, it being written by him in the Tower with a leaden pencil.

† The first report was given in the Annual Register for the preceding year.

ſtant: this remainder, we are of opinion, the commiſſioners and comptroller-general ſhould in their ſeveral departments arrange, and the receiver-general ſhould pay according to ſuch arrangement as ſpeedily as poſſible.

By the examinations of Joſhua Powell, Eſquire, chief clerk to the comptroller-general; and of Mr. Anthony Blinkhorn, aſſiſtant to the receiver-general; it appears that the duties of the cuſtoms are collected by officers, either in London or at the out-ports: in London, the chief teller every day receives them from the collectors, and pays them into the office of the receiver-general; at the out-ports, the collectors remit their receipt by bills to the receiver-general, and are not permitted to retain in their hands above one hundred pounds, unleſs for ſpecial reaſons, allowed of by the commiſſioners, and by the lords of the treaſury. The nett produce of every duty received in each week is paid by the receiver-general in the following week into the exchequer.

In the exciſe, we find from the examinations of George Lewis Scott, Eſquire, one of the commiſſioners, and of Richard Paton, Eſq; ſecond general-accountant (both annexed to our firſt report), that the collectors retain in their hands no part of the duties they receive; and that the receiver-general every week pays into the exchequer the nett produce of this revenue, unleſs ſome foreſeen demands in the following week make a reſervation of any part of it neceſſary.

In the ſtamp office, we examined Mr. James Dugdale, deputy receiver-general; and Mr. John Lloyd, firſt-clerk to the comptroller and accountant-general; from whom we collect, that the whole produce of theſe duties, ariſing either from the receipt at the office in London, or from bills remitted from the diſtributors in the country, is paid every week into the exchequer.

In the ſalt-office, Milward Rowe, Eſquire, one of the commiſſioners, and Mr. John Elliot, correſpondent, were examined: the collectors of theſe duties are continually remitting their receipt to the office in bills; every week the account is made up, and the whole balance paid into the exchequer, reſerving always, in the hands of the caſhier, a ſum not exceeding five hundred pounds, for the purpoſe of defraying the incidental expences of the office.

In the office for licenſing hawkers and pedlars, we learn from Mr. James Turner, one of the commiſſioners, that the riding ſurveyors keep remitting to this office, in bills, the duties they receive in the country; which the caſhier pays, together with what he receives in London, weekly, into the exchequer, purſuant to the act of the 9th and 10th of King William the Third, provided his whole receipt amounts to more than two hundred pounds; reſerving in his hands ſuch a ſum as may be ſufficient for the payment of ſalaries, incidents, and current expences.

In the office for regulating hackney coaches and chairs, we collect from the examination of Mr. Joſeph Marſhall, clerk to the receiver-general, that the duties or rents of the hackney coaches become

come due every lunar month, and of the hackney chairs every quarter; and theſe rents being uſually paid within a certain time after they become due, the receiver-general makes a payment of one thouſand pounds into the exchequer every twenty-eight days, except that each of his quarterly payments amounts to five hundred pounds only, as he then reſerves in his hands a ſum for the payment of ſalaries, and the incidental expences of the office.

The punctuality and expedition with which the duties collected in theſe offices paſs from the pocket of the ſubject into the exchequer, leave us no room to ſuggeſt any alteration in the time or manner of paying in the ſame.

In the poſt-office, Robert Trevor, Eſq; the receiver-general, in anſwer to our precept, returned a balance of nine thouſand three hundred fifty-eight pounds two ſhillings in his hands, upon the 5th of September laſt. From his examination, and from thoſe of William Fauquier, Eſq; accountant-general in this office, and of Mr. William Ward, collector of the bye and croſs-road office, it appears, that this revenue is paid into the office of the receiver-general, either by certain officers or collectors in London (ſome paying every other day, ſome weekly, and ſome quarterly, or by remittances in bills from the poſt-maſters in the country), who do not keep the money they receive any conſiderable time in their hands. The collector of the bye and croſscroad office makes his payments to the receiver-general quarterly, and to the amount of about fifteen thouſand pounds each quarter. The receiver-general pays into the exchequer ſeven hundred pounds every week, purſuant to the act of the 9th and 10th of Queen Anne, chapter the 10th, and the balance in his hands he pays in every quarter, reſerving about five thouſand pounds to anſwer incidental warrants from the board, to pay ſalaries, and other expences of the office.

There are four branches of the revenue which are collected not under the direction of commiſſioners, but by ſingle perſons only: theſe are the firſt fruits and the tenths of the clergy; and the deductions of ſix-pence, and of one ſhilling, in the pound, out of penſions, ſalaries, fees, and wages.

We examined Edward Mulſo, Eſquire, the receiver, and John Bacon Eſq; the deputy receiver, of the firſt fruits; who informed us, that this revenue is received from the clergy, at the office in London; that at the end of October, or at the beginning of November, in every year, this receiver pays into the exchequer the nett receipt of the preceding year, ending 31ſt of December; and that the balance of this duty, in his hands, upon the 30th of November laſt, was four thouſand three hundred thirty-two pounds eight ſhillings and eleven pence three farthings.

Robert Cheſter, Eſquire, the receiver of the tenths, being examined, we find that theſe payments become due from the clergy every Chriſtmas; that they ought to be made before the laſt day of April following, and if they are not made before the 31ſt of May, he delivers an account of the defaulters into the exchequer; that he

receives theſe payments, together with the arrears of former years, during the following year, ending at Chriſtmas, to which time he makes up his yearly account, and in the month of June or July after, he has, for the laſt three years, paid into the exchequer the nett receipt of the preceding year; and it appears, that, upon the 20th of December laſt, the ſum in his hands was nine thouſand eight hundred and ninety pounds and two pence halfpenny.

Both theſe dues from the clergy are granted in purſuance of the 2d and 3d of Queen Anne, chapter 11th, to the corporation called "The Governors of the bounty of Queen Anne, for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy." Theſe governors uſually hold their firſt meeting ſome time in November every year, a ſhort time before which it has been cuſtomary for theſe receivers to make their payments into the exchequer.

Thomas Aſtle, Eſq; receiver of the ſixpenny duty, collects it from the offices and perſons charged, either quarterly, half-yearly, or yearly, according to the practice of the office or perſon he receives it from: he has no ſtated times for his payments into the exchequer, except that in March or April, every year, he pays in the balance then in his hands, of his laſt year's collection. By his return to us, upon the 16th of December laſt, the ſum of ſix thouſand eight hundred eighty-one pounds ſeven ſhillings and eleven pence was then remaining in his hands; but this ſum, as he has ſince informed us, he has paid into the exchequer, together with the balance of his year's account, ending the 5th inſtant.

Richard Carter, Eſq; receiver of the one-ſhilling duty, collects it from different offices, at different times: he uſually makes payments every quarter into the exchequer, and once a year pays in the balance. The ſum in his hands, upon the 20th of October laſt, was two thouſand and fifty pounds fifteen ſhillings and ſeven pence; and he has ſince ſignified to us, that he has paid the ſame into the exchequer.

The intention of that clauſe in the act, which directs our firſt inquiries to the public money in the hands of accountants, is, that the public may the ſooner avail themſelves of the uſe of their own money: one of the indiſpenſable means of obtaining this end is, to accelerate the payments of the revenue into the exchequer.

Out of the revenue of the poſt-office, the act of Queen Anne orders a payment of ſeven hundred pounds every week into the exchequer, and aſſigns as a reaſon, "the raiſing a preſent ſupply of monies for carrying on the war, and other her majeſty's moſt neceſſary occaſions." The neceſſary occaſions of theſe times, require payments as large and as frequent as can be made. It appears from an account of the nett produce of the revenues of the poſt-office at the time the act of Queen Anne paſſed, and from the accounts of the preſent weekly receipts of theſe revenues, and of the balances paid quarterly into the Exchequer, tranſmitted to us from the receiver-general, that the revenues of this office are much increaſed, and that the current weekly receipt

ceipt will ſupply a much larger payment than ſeven hundred pounds. We are therefore of opinion, that the method of paying the balance every week into the exchequer, eſtabliſhed in the cuſtoms, exciſe, and other offices abovementioned, ſhould be adopted in the poſt-office: and that the receiver general ſhould every week pay the nett balance of his receipt into the exchequer, reſerving in his hands no more than is neceſſary to anſwer the current payments and expences of the office.

It appears to be cuſtomary for the receiver of the firſt fruits, to detain in his hands the produce of the whole year, until eight or nine months after that year is ended, beſides receiving the current produce of thoſe months; and for the receiver of the tenths to detain in his hands, for at leaſt a year, the whole of this duty, received by him before the 31ſt of May in each year (at which time he delivers a liſt of the defaulters into the exchequer), beſides receiving the current produce of that year. It appears likewiſe, that the receivers of the ſixpenny and ſhilling duties, do not pay into the exchequer, the whole produce of theſe duties as they receive them. All ſuch detentions are, in our opinion, a diſadvantage to the public, and liable to abuſe. There exiſts no reaſon why the public ſhould not have the cuſtody and uſe of public money, rather than an individual, until the ſervice to which it is appropriated, of whatever nature that ſervice may be, calls for its application: the public coffers are the ſafeſt repoſitory for public money.

One purpoſe among others, expreſſed in the act that appoints us, is, that any defect in the preſent method of collecting the duties may be corrected, and that a leſs expenſive one may be eſtabliſhed; and we are expreſsly directed to report ſuch regulations, as in our judgment ſhall appear expedient to be eſtabliſhed, in order that the duties may hereafter be received in the manner the moſt advantageous to the public.

We therefore, in obedience thereto, think it our duty to ſubjoin one obſervation, that has occurred to us during the progreſs of our inquiries.

The land-tax, and the duties ariſing from ſtamps, ſalt, licences to hawkers and pedlars, and from hackney coaches and chairs, are under the management of five ſeparate and diſtinct boards of commiſſioners, conſiſting of twenty-five in number: the amount of the groſs produce of the laſt four of theſe duties, by the returns made to our precepts, is eight hundred thirty-one thouſand one hundred twenty-ſix pounds three ſhillings and one penny three farthings; of the nett produce, ſeven hundred ſixty thouſand five hundred forty-eight pounds fifteen ſhillings and ſix pence. The time in which the commiſſioners are uſually engaged in tranſacting the buſineſs of their ſeveral offices is as follows: the attendance of the commiſſioners of the land-tax, at their office, is thrice a week; of the ſtamp office, thrice a week; of the ſalt office, twice a week; of hawkers and pedlars, once a week; of hackney coaches and chairs, once a week.

We are aware, that the compa-

rative produce of different duties, is not alone a criterion by which we may judge with preciſion and certainty of the time, trouble, expence, and number of officers neceſſary to be employed in the management of them: to have formed an accurate and deciſive opinion upon this point, it would have been neceſſary to have entered into an examination, which would have carried us too far from the object of our preſent enquiry; but we are of opinion, that the ſmall produce of ſome of theſe duties, and the ſhort time in which each of theſe five boards are able to tranſact their buſineſs, are circumſtances which induce a ſtrong preſumption, that ſo many eſtabliſhments are not neceſſary for the management of theſe branches of the revenue; and which lay a reaſonable foundation for an enquiry, whether there may not be formed a conſolidation of offices, beneficial to the public. This ſuggeſtion we ſubmit to the wiſdom of the legiſlature.

Office of Accounts, Bell-Yard, 31ſt of January, 1781.

GUY CARLETON,	(L. S.)
T. ANGUISH,	(L. S.)
A. PIGOTT,	(L. S.)
R. NEAVE,	(L. S.)
SAM. BEACHCROFT,	(L. S.)
GEO. DRUMMOND.	(L. S.)

The Third Report of the Commiſſioners appointed to examine, take, and ſtate the public Accounts of the Kingdom.

HAVING finiſhed our examinations of all thoſe public accountants that came to our knowledge in the firſt claſs as far as relates to the balances of public money in their hands, we, in the next place, directed our attention to thoſe accountants who receive public money out of the exchequer, by way of impreſt, and upon account.

The certificate of the accounts depending in the office of the auditors of the impreſt, tranſmitted to us purſuant to our precept, furniſhed us with a liſt of theſe accountants: we took them into our conſideration in the order in which they ſtand upon that certificate; a rule we purſue in regard to all liſts of accountants, unleſs there are ſome ſpecial reaſons for departing from it.

The ſet of accountants therein firſt mentioned, are the treaſurers of the navy; and of theſe, the names that ſtand firſt are the executors of Anthony Viſcount Falkland, whoſe final account is dated the 4th of April, 1689, and from whom a balance of twenty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and eleven pounds ſix ſhilling and five-pence farthing, is declared to be then due. We did not miſpend our time in a purſuit where there was ſo little probability of benefit to the public: a debt that has ſubſiſted for nearly a century, may be preſumed deſperate. Paſſing over therefore this article, we iſſued our precepts to Earl Temple, as repreſentative of the late George Grenville, Eſq; to Lord Viſcount Barrington, Lord Viſcount Howe, and to Sir Gilbert Elliot, Baronet, as repreſentative of the late Sir Gilbert Elliot, for an account of the public money in their hands, cuſtody, or power, as late treaſurers of the navy. The returns

returns made to our precepts are ſet forth in the Appendix; from which it appears, that the balances of public money remaining in their reſpective hands, upon the days therein mentioned, amounted together to the ſum of ſeventy-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-three pounds eighteen ſhillings and one penny farthing.

That we might learn for what reaſon, ſervices, or purpoſes, theſe ſums are permitted to remain in the hands of the treaſurers of the navy, ſo long after they are out of office, we examined ſeveral of the officers in this department, namely George Swaffield, Eſq; caſhier of the victualling; Andrew Douglas, Eſq; paymaſter; Mr. Adam Jellicoe, chief clerk to the pay-maſter; and Mr. Francis Cook, ledger-writer. By them we are ſupplied with the following information:

The office of the treaſurer of the navy is divided into three branches, the paymaſter's, the caſhier's, and the victualling branch. All the money he receives is for the navy ſervices, and placed under, or carried over, to one of theſe branches; the money in each branch is ſubdivided, arranged, and kept under various different heads of ſervices; the whole balance, at the time he leaves the office, continues to be liable, whether it be in his hands, or in the hands of his repreſentatives, in caſe of his death, to the ſame ſervices for which its ſeveral parts were originally deſtined; and the commiſſioners of the navy, victualling, and ſick and hurt offices, each in their ſeveral departments, continue to aſſign bills upon him for payment, until they have reduced the balance to ſuch a ſum as, in their opinions, will not be more than ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes for which it has been uſual to leave money with him, until his final account is paſſed. Theſe purpoſes are, firſt, to carry on the recalls upon thoſe ſhips books which were open in his treaſurerſhip, and the payment of the half-pay liſts, and bounties to chaplains. The ſhips books are uſually kept open for recalls, for ſeven or eight years after the expiration of the treaſurerſhip, in order to give thoſe ſeamen who, by being either turned over to other ſhips, or employed in other places, could not attend at the time their ſhip was paid, an opportunity of receiving their wages when it is in their power to apply for them. The only fund applicable to this ſervice is, the money in the pay branch, placed under the head of "To pay ſhips and carry on recalls." This ſervice is at an end when the ſhips' books are made up. They are made up as they come in courſe, in order of time; and after the laſt is cloſed, the half-pay liſts are alſo cloſed, and the payment of the bounty to chaplains ceaſes.

The other purpoſe is to pay the fees and expences of carrying on, making up, and paſſing his accounts. Upon paſſing every annual account, fees are paid to the auditors of the impreſt, out of the money in his hands, under the head of "To pay exchequer fees, and other contingent expences of the pay office:" but upon paſſing his final account, there is a gratuity alſo paid in the following manner:—The officers and clerks who tranſact the buſineſs of the treaſurer in office, carry on alſo

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at the ſame time, and finally make up, the accounts of the treaſurers out of office: for which extra work they have no ſalary or recompence whatever, until the final account is ready to be paſſed, at which time it has been uſual for them, by petition to the lords of the treaſury, to obtain a reaſonable allowance for their trouble, which has been paid them, by virtue of a treaſury warrant, out of any money remaining in the hands of that treaſurer, under whatever heads of ſervice it may be placed. This gratuity, together with the fees of paſſing the annual accounts, and for the quietus, it is imagined will exhauſt the whole balance now remaining in the hands of Lord Temple.

All the ſhips books which were paid by Mr. Grenville, Lord Barrington, and Lord Howe, are made up, and conſequently the balances which the three boards have left in the hands of theſe treaſurers muſt be for the purpoſe of paying the fees and expences of carrying on, making up, and paſſing their accounts. Of Sir Gilbert Elliot's ſhips' books, five hundred and ſix are ſtill open for recalls; and payments, if applied for, are made upon them once a week; and therefore, whatever ſum ſtand upon his account, in his paymaſter's branch, under the heads of wages, half-pay, and bounties to chaplains, are ſtill applicable to thoſe ſervices; and the reſidue of the money permitted to remain with him is for the purpoſe of paying the fees and expences of carrying on, making up, and paſſing his accounts.

How ſoon then will theſe ſeveral ſums be wanted for this purpoſe? The accounts of the treaſurers of the navy are made up and paſſed as they come in courſe, in order of time; the officers muſt finiſh one year before they begin upon another; and a ſubſequent treaſurer's account is never finiſhed till his predeceſſor's is finally cloſed. The ſtate in which their accounts are, in the office of the auditors of the impreſt, is this:—The laſt which is declared is Mr. Grenville's account for the year 1758: of all the ſubſequent accounts, only ſome ſections of their reſpective navy and victualling ledgers are delivered into this office; which parts of a treaſurer's accounts are uſually ſent thither as ſpeedily as they can be made up after the year expires.

From an account of the balances remaining in the hands of theſe treaſurers, at the times they reſpectively ceaſed to be treaſurers; and an account of the times when their laſt ſhips' books were made up; and a ſtate of Mr. Grenville's balances, and of the balances of Lord Barrington, Lord Howe, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, every year ſince they ſeverally went out of office, all tranſmitted to us from the pay office of the navy, purſuant to our requiſitions, we find that Mr. Grenville reſigned this office in 1762, and his laſt ſhips' book was made up in 1771; that Lord Barrington reſigned this office in 1765, and his laſt ſhips' book was made up in 1775; that Lord Howe reſigned this office in 1770, and his laſt ſhips' book was made up in 1778; and that Sir Gilbert Elliot died in 1777: hence it appears, that for nineteen years there have been in the hands of Mr. Grenville, or of his repreſentatives,

ſentatives, and for fifteen years in the hands of Lord Barrington, and for ten years in the hands of Lord Howe, and for three years in the hands of the repreſentatives of Sir Gilbert Elliot, conſiderable ſums of public money (excluſive of the ſums on the heads of wages, half-pay, and bounties to chaplains) deſtined to purpoſes which (except the paſſing three years of Mr Grenville's accounts) have not yet exiſted, and which, if we may judge from the progreſs hitherto made in paſſing theſe accounts, are not likely ſoon to exiſt.

Where public money is appointed for a ſervice or purpoſe to ariſe at a future time, we are of opinion, the public alone ought to have the cuſtody and uſe of that money in the mean time, and until the ſervice or purpoſe calls for its application.

When the fees and the gratuity become payable, we ſee no reaſon why the treaſurer in office ſhould not pay them in like manner as the treaſurers out of office pay them now.

We did not form our opinion upon thoſe balances without firſt hearing the late treaſurers themſelves, or the repreſentatives of thoſe who are dead; and therefore we examined Earl Temple, Lord Viſcount Barrington, Lord Viſcount Howe, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, Baronet; not one of whom made any objection to paying their balances into the exchequer, upon condition, ſome of receiving their quietus, others of being made ſecure in ſuch payments. We do therefore conceive, that the balances of public money now remaining in the hands of Earl Temple, as repreſentative of the late George Grenville, Eſq. and in the hands of Lord Viſcount Barrington, and of Lord Viſcount Howe, and of Sir Gilbert Elliott, Bart. as repreſentative of Sir Gilbert Elliot, late treaſurers of the navy, ought to be paid into the exchequer, for the public ſervice, leaving in the hands of Sir Gilbert Elliot the ſums in his account placed under the heads of wages, half-pay, and bounties to chaplains, to carry on the ſervices to which the ſame are applicable: that ſuch payments ſhould be without prejudice, and a proper ſecurity and indemnification be given to each of them, againſt any loſs or detriment that may accrue to them in conſequence of ſuch payments.

The Right Hon. Welbore Ellis, the preſent treaſurer of the navy, returned to our requiſition, a balance in his hands upon the 31ſt of Auguſt laſt, of three hundred forty-eight thouſand nine hundred forty-one pounds eleven ſhillings and nine pence. The act directs us to examine into all balances in the hands of public accountants, for the purpoſe of conſidering what ſum may be taken out of their hands, to be applied to the public ſervice. It is obvious, we could not examine the balance in the hands of the treaſurer in office with this view: it could not be in our power to ſay, that any part of it ought to be paid back into the exchequer, becauſe in an office of ſo conſtant and large an expenditure, this ſum muſt probably be exhauſted, even while it was under our conſideration: but it was competent to us, and we thought it our du y, to examine whether this was a larger ſum than the current buſineſs of the office required ſhould

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at that time be entruſted to the treaſurer of the navy. A compariſon between the quantum of the ſum and the demands upon it, would enable us to form ſome judgment upon this point; with this view we examined the preſent treaſurer himſelf, Timothy Brett, Eſquire, commiſſioner of the navy, and comptroller of the treaſurer's accounts, John Slade, Eſquire, commiſſioner of the victualling, and John Bell, Eſquire, commiſſioner of the ſick and hurt; from whom we collect the following information:

All the money received by the treaſurer, for the ſervices of the navy, is either iſſued to him out of the exchequer, or paid to him by ſundry perſons, in purſuance of the directions of the navy, victualling, or ſick and hurt boards. The money from the exchequer is iſſued to him, and arranged in his accounts under various heads of ſervices. Theſe heads are kept diſtinct, and he cannot place or transfer a ſum iſſued to him under one head, to any other head of ſervice. All bills aſſigned upon him for payment by theſe boards, ſpecify the correſpondent head of ſervice out of which that bill is to be paid, and he muſt not pay it out of money placed under any other head of ſervice, than that ſo ſpecified on the bill.

When money is wanted, the application for it never originally moves from the treaſurer, except in the ſingle inſtance of money to pay fees, and other contingent expences: this he craves of himſelf, when that fund is nearly exhauſted: in all other caſes the board, in whoſe department it is, by letter, deſire him to preſent a memorial to the lords of the treaſury, ſpecifying the ſum wanted, and for what particular ſervice; the memorial purſues the letter, and the iſſue is directed from the exchequer in the terms of the memorial. The treaſurer immediately certifies to the navy-board the whole ſum he receives, and to the other boards ſo much of that ſum as concerns them: he alſo tranſmits to the navy-board an account of all his receipts and payments in the caſhier's and victualling branch every fortnight; and in the pay branch every month; by theſe means they have an exact knowledge of the ſtate of his balance under each head of ſervice. Each of theſe boards enter in their books all the aſſignments they make upon him for payment; of which they tranſmit to him a liſt: hence they know what the actual demands upon him amount to; and, from their experience in the courſe of the navy buſineſs, they can form ſome conjecture relative to the probable approaching demands that may be made upon him in the various branches of the ſervice. By ſuch knowledge and conjecture theſe boards are guided in their directions to the treaſurer, as to the time when, the quantum of the ſum, and the ſervice for which every application for a ſupply is to be made to the treaſury.

At the end of every month the navy-board tranſmit to the treaſury a certificate, containing an exact ſtate of all the receipts and payments made by the treaſurer during that month, as they appear from their books; hence the lords of the treaſury have full knowledge of the ſtate of his balance every month. This certificate for the month of Auguſt laſt we procured from

from the navy-office, on which the balance in the hands of the treaſurer appears to be two hundred ſixty thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixteen pounds one ſhilling and eightpence farthing.

Being made acquainted thus far with the courſe of buſineſs in this office, our next ſtep was to reſolve this balance of three hundred forty-eight thouſand nine hundred and forty-one pounds eleven ſhillings and nine-pence into its conſtituent parts, and compare the quantum of each part, as far as we could, with the actual and probable demands of ſervice upon it on the 31ſt of Auguſt, the date of his return.

The firſt circumſtance that engaged our attention, was a difference between the treaſurer's balance and the navy balance, upon the ſame day, the 31ſt of Auguſt, the former exceeding the latter by the ſum of eighty-eight thouſand two hundred and twenty-five pounds ten ſhillings and three farthings: this difference lies in the caſhier's and victualling branches, and ariſes from the following cauſe:—when the three boards aſſign bills upon the treaſurer for payment, they immediately give him credit for thoſe bills, in his account kept at their offices; but the treaſurer does not himſelf take credit for any bills in his own account till he actually pays them. The perſons who receive theſe bills do not always immediately preſent them to the treaſurer for payment, but frequently keep them in their poſſeſſion for a conſiderable time. The treaſurer's balance muſt therefore exceed the navy balance as much as the ſum of the bills aſſigned upon him for payment exceeds the ſum of the bills actually paid by him. We conceive this exceſs is not money for which the treaſurer is accountable to the public, but belongs to the proprietors of thoſe bills, and remains in his hands, at their riſk, until they apply to him for payment. This ſum, therefore, we think, ſhould be deducted from his balance.

We, in the next place, obſerved that ſeveral ſums in each branch were not actually in the hands of the treaſurer, but of his officers and clerks, either carrying on ſervices in London, or at the diſtant ports, whither theſe ſums were directed to be ſent by the navy-board, to carry on the ſervices at thoſe ports. It may reaſonably be preſumed, that the boards would not have directed into the hands of the officers, nor the treaſurer have entruſted them with, larger ſums than were wanted; and therefore theſe ſums too, may be deducted from the treaſurer's balance; which will reduce the public money actually in his hands to the ſum of one hundred twenty-eight thouſand eighty-three pounds ſixteen ſhillings and ten pence farthing. The conſtituent parts of this balance, under their ſeveral heads of ſervice, conſiſting of a variety of articles, are ſtated in the navy certificate: ſome of them carry the appearance of having been applied for ſooner than the ſervices ſeem to have required: but, upon examination, we find that the boards do not direct an application for a ſupply to any fund, until they know that fund is nearly, or likely ſoon to be exhauſted. The treaſury are ſometimes prevented from granting the

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iſſue until many days after it is craved; and therefore the boards are careful to apply early enough, to guard againſt the hazard of a demand upon an exhauſted fund. To ſearch into the actual and probable demands, at that time, upon each of theſe ſums, was hardly practicable: one circumſtance alone might enable us to judge with ſufficient accuracy whether the ſum total was too large or not; that is, in what time this balance was in fact paid away by the treaſurer. It appears from his accounts for the month of Auguſt, that this whole balance, and much more, was received by him during that month: and by his accounts for the month of September, tranſmitted to us purſuant to our requiſition, it appears that not only the balance remaining on the 31ſt of Auguſt, but a much larger ſum, was in fact paid away by him during the ſucceeding month. Conſidering therefore, this ſum by itſelf, independent of, and unconnected with his other receipts and payments, prior and ſubſequent to the date of this balance, we have no grounds to ſay that this individual ſum, received in one month, and paid away in the next, was more than the ſervice required ſhould be in the hands of the treaſurer of the navy upon the 31ſt of Auguſt laſt.

But it was neceſſary to extend our enquiry ſtill farther. What is the amount of the ſum that has been continually in the hands of the treaſurer of the navy; and has that ſum been more than the current ſervices required? To come at this knowledge, we obtained from the navy office an account of the total ſums received and paid by the treaſurer of the navy, for every month from the 1ſt of January 1779, to the 31ſt of Auguſt laſt, with the total of the balances remaining in his hands at the end of each month, as they appear in the monthly certificates to the treaſury.

As the public money ſhould paſs without delay from the pocket of the ſubject into the exchequer, ſo it ought not to iſſue out of the exchequer either before it is wanted, or in larger ſums than the ſervice for which it is iſſued requires. By this laſt account, a very large ſum has been conſtantly in his hands, during the period therein mentioned, excluſive of the amount of bills aſſigned upon him, but not preſented to him for payment. The principal cauſe of the magnitude of this balance, is the practice in this office, of not applying money iſſued under one head, towards ſatisfying a demand upon any other head of ſervice; the conſequence of which is, when the money upon the account of any head of ſervice is nearly exhauſted, a ſupply muſt be procured for that ſervice, how abundant ſoever the ſums upon other heads of accounts, or the ſum total of his caſh, may be. Were all the ſums he receives to conſtitute and be conſidered as one common general caſh, and be applied indiſcriminately to every ſervice, a much leſs ſum than the loweſt of the balances in the account laſt-mentioned would, in our opinion, ſuffice to carry on the current ſervices of the navy, even various and extenſive as they now are. It would create no confuſion in the accounts; for the receipts and payments under each head of ſervice might ſtill be kept diſtinct;

distinct; and though the payments might frequently exceed the receipts on some heads of accounts, yet the treasurer would not be without sufficient cash, and the next issue from the exchequer would restore the balances. What the sum necessary for carrying on the service should be, must depend upon circumstances: it will be different at different times, and must be left principally to the discretion of those commissioners, from whom the direction for supplies moves, who, being conversant in the business, can best determine. But, to enable the lords of the treasury likewise to judge of the propriety of, and be a check and controul upon, the requisition, we are of opinion, that, besides the certificate sent every month from the navy-board, an account of the sum total of the balance in the hands of the treasurer of the navy, should be inserted in every application for a supply to the treasury.

We have not been inattentive to defects; we have observed in this office, during the course of our inquiries, defects, which concern the officer, the office, and the public.

The treasurer finds his business does not end with his office; his accounts are still open: he goes on receiving and paying, until he feels himself, his family, and his fortune, subject to all the evils of long public accounts far in arrear, and the difficulties of rendering an account increasing daily: he continues responsible for millions, without an expectation of obtaining his final discharge during his life.

The office is perplexed with a multiplicity of these accounts.—There are four distinct accounts of four treasurers of the navy at this time open at the pay-office, and business is carried on upon every one of them at the same time, by the same officers, when the current business of the present treasurer alone would find employment enough for them all.

There have been issued to three of these treasurers, for the navy service, upwards of thirty-three millions, the accounts of which are not passed; exclusive of above twenty-five millions to the late Mr. Grenville, whose final account is not yet settled; and of sixteen millions to the present treasurer, none of whose accounts could as yet be settled.

The navy accounts in July last, when the imprest certificate was transmitted to us, were in arrear in the office of the auditor of the imprest twenty-two years. This delay is occasioned by the accounts of the subsequent years not being made up at the pay-office of the navy, where there is a want of officers and clerks for this department. A sufficient number of persons, intelligent in this branch, should forthwith be provided, by the proper authority, with adequate salaries, for the sole purpose of proceeding upon, bringing forward, and making up these accounts, with as much dispatch as the nature of the business will admit.

By this delay in making up the accounts, the public loses the use, at least of considerable sums of their own money; not that the principal itself has always been safe. A defaulter of above twenty-seven thousand pounds stands at the head of the list of treasurers of the

the navy upon the impreſt certificate.

We enquired why a treaſurer, under the preſent conſtitution of the office, might not upon his reſignation, immediately pay over his balance to the ſucceſſor, or into the exchequer, and all the ſubſequent tranſactions of office be carried on by the treaſurer for the time being?—Two reaſons were aſſigned for the neceſſity of keeping open his accounts, though out of office.

1ſt. That ſufficient time may be given to his ſub-accountants to clear their impreſts.

The ſub-accountants are certainly very numerous; and as, according to the preſent mode of paſſing theſe accounts, they muſt all be ſet *inſuper* upon the final account, was that account to be made up ſoon after the expiration of the treaſurerſhip, it would be very voluminous and troubleſome to the office. But, ſince the treaſurer in office does now clear the impreſts of ſome of his predeceſſors, and can clear the impreſts of all, and the three boards can, at their pleaſure, call upon the ſub-accountants to clear their impreſts, we do not think this reaſon concluſive.

2d. That the payment of his ſhips books may be completed.

A ſhip's book is a voucher for the treaſurer who pays it: two cannot pay upon the ſame book; it would create confuſion, as the payments of the one could not, without great trouble and difficulty, be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the other; it could not therefore be made a voucher for two treaſurers. To enable a treaſurer in office to carry on the payment of a ſhip's book open in the time of his predeceſſor, the names of all the ſeamen not paid muſt be abſtracted, and entered in a new book; a work of great labour and length of time, where the books are ſo numerous; and during all that time, no payment of wages could be made to the ſeamen unpaid upon thoſe books.

Upon the examination of a ſhip's book, there appears a foundation for this objection, which opens a door for a poſſible miſchief, worthy conſideration. It is in the power of a treaſurer of the navy, retiring in diſguſt, to refuſe carrying on any more payments, and by that means to put a ſtop, for eight months or more, to the payment of all the ſeamen on the numerous volumes of ſhips' books open at the ſeveral ports in his treaſurerſhip. Mr. Grenville left open above thirteen hundred. This evil does not reſt in ſpeculation; we have an inſtance of it in evidence. The office that does not guard againſt the poſſibility of ſuch an evil, is fundamentally defective.

Theſe defects ſhould be ſpeedily corrected. To alter the conſtitution of the office; to aboliſh the ſubordinate treaſury; to render a treaſurer the mere accountant; and to vary the mode of accounting, carry with them a ſtrong appearance of an effectual remedy; but were we, in the preſent ſtate of our inquiries, to come to deciſions of ſuch moment, we ſhould be premature, perhaps raſh. It is eaſier to ſee the defects than to ſupply the regulation. The pay of the navy is an important object, and any alteration in the mode ſhould be well weighed before it is adopted; it ſhould be traced

traced through all its effects, and perfectly aſcertained to be as feaſible in practice, as it is ſpecious in theory. To diſturb, to confound, or to delay (effects not unfrequent, when novelty of form is introduced, and new principles applied to an old office), might be attended with very ſerious conſequence.

The defects, to which we have alluded, preſented themſelves in the courſe of an examination made, in obedience to the Act, for a more limited prupoſe. Coming however, before us, they are, in our opinion, too important to be paſſed over in ſilence; we thought it our duty to point them out, that ſhould they be deemed a proper ſubject for the exerciſe of the wiſdom of the legiſlature, the ſolid advantages, which would reſult to the public from their correction, might not be delayed. Had we protracted this report until we were poſſeſſed of materials for a well-grounded opinion upon theſe points, we muſt have diſobeyed the Act, that enjoins us to report, in the firſt place, upon the balances in the hands of accountants in this ſeſſion of parliament, to the end that the public money, long ago iſſued, and ſtill remaining in their hands, may, with all convenient ſpeed, be reſtored to the protection of the public.

GUY CARLETON, (L. S.)
T. ANGUISH, (L. S.)
A. PIGGOTT, (L. S.)
RICHARD NEAVE, (L. S.)
SAM. BEACHCROFT, (L. S.)
GEO. DRUMMOND, (L. S.)

Office of Accounts, Bell-Yard, March 6, 1781.

The remaining reports of the commiſſioners will be given in the next volume.

Heads of the principal Acts of Parliament from Nov. 1, 1780, *to July* 18, 1781.

AN Act for the better ſupply of mariners and ſeamen, to ſerve in his majeſty's ſhips of war, and on board merchant ſhips, and other trading ſhips and veſſels.

An Act for extending the proviſions of three Acts made in the 18th, 19th, and 20th years of his preſent majeſty's reign, with reſpect to bringing prize goods into this kingdom, to prizes taken from the States General of the United Provinces; for declaring what goods ſhall be deemed military or ſhip ſtores; for regulating the ſale of, and aſcertaining the duties upon Eaſt-India goods, condemned as prize in the port of London; for permitting the purchaſers of prize goods, condemned abroad, to import ſuch goods into this kingdom, under the like regulations and advantages as are granted by law to the captors themſelves; and for reducing the duties on foreign prize tobacco.

An Act for the encouragement of ſeamen, and for the more ſpeedy and effectual manning of his majeſty's navy.

An Act for keeping the militia forces of this kingdom complete, during the time therein mentioned; and for regulating the admiſſion of ſubſtitutes to ſerve in the militia.

An Act to permit the importa-

tion of flax, and flax ſeed, into this kingdom, or Ireland, in any ſhip or veſſel belonging to any kingdom or ſtate in amity with his majeſty, navigated with foreign mariners, during the preſent hoſtilities.

An Act to permit goods, the product or manufacture of certain places within the Levant, or Mediterranean ſeas to be imported into Great Britain, or Ireland, in Britiſh or foreign veſſels, from any place whatſoever, and for laying a duty on cotton, and cotton wool, imported into this kingdom, in foreign ſhips or veſſels, during the preſent hoſtilities.

An Act to permit, during the preſent hoſtilities, the importation of goods, the produce of the plantations of the crown of Portugal, into Great Britain and Ireland, in Portugueſe veſſels, and the importation of certain other goods therein mentioned, in any neutral ſhips and veſſels.

An Act for preventing certain abuſes and profanations on the Lord's day, called Sunday.

An Act for continuing and amending an Act, made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intituled, "An Act for appointing and enabling commiſſioners to examine, take, and ſtate the public accounts of the kingdom; and to report what balances are in the hands of accountants which may be applied to the public ſervice, and what defects there are in the preſent mode of receiving, collecting, iſſuing, and accounting for public money, and in what more expeditious an effectual, and leſs expenſive manner, the ſaid ſervice can, in future, be regulated and carried on for the benefit of the public."

An Act to direct the payment into the exchequer, of the reſpective balances remaining in the hands of the ſeveral perſons therein named, for the uſe and benefit of the public, and for indemnifying the ſaid reſpective perſons and their repreſentatives, in reſpect of ſuch payments, and againſt all future claims relating thereto, and for other purpoſes therein mentioned.

An Act to render valid, certain marriages ſolemnized in certain churches and public chapels, in which banns had not uſually been publiſhed before, or at the time of paſſing an Act, made in the 26th year of King George the Second intituled, "An Act, for the better preventing all clandeſtine marriages."

An Act for eſtabliſhing an agreement with the united company of merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies, for the payment of the ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds, for the uſe of the public, in full diſcharge and ſatisfaction of all claims and demands of the public, &c. and for granting to the ſaid company, for a farther term, the ſole and excluſive trade to and from the Eaſt Indies; and for eſtabliſhing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the ſaid company, as well in India as in Europe, and the recruiting the military forces of the ſaid company.

An Act to explain and amend ſo much of an Act, made in the 13th year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, intituled, "An Act for eſtabliſhing certain regulations for the

the better management of the affairs of the East-India company, as well in India as in Europe, as relates to the administration of justice in Bengal; and for the relief of certain persons imprisoned at Calcutta, in Bengal, under a judicature; and also for indemnifying the governor-general and council of Bengal, and all officers who have acted under their orders or authority, in the resistance made to the process of the supreme court."

CHARACTERS.

Character of the Emperor Conſtantine; *from* Gibbon's *Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the* Roman Empire.

[A. D. 324.]

THE character of the prince who removed the ſeat of empire, and introduced ſuch important changes into the civil and religious conſtitution of his country, has fixed the attention, and divided the opinions, of mankind. By the grateful zeal of the Chriſtians, the deliverer of the church has been decorated with every attribute of a hero, and even of a ſaint; while the diſcontent of the vanquiſhed party has compared Conſtantine to the moſt abhorred of thoſe tyrants, who, by their vice and weakneſs, diſhonoured the Imperial purple. The ſame paſſions have in ſome degree been perpetuated to ſucceeding generations, and the character of Conſtantine is conſidered, even in the preſent age, as an object either of ſatire or of panegyric. By the impartial union of thoſe defects which are confeſſed by his warmeſt admirers, and of thoſe virtues which are acknowledged by his moſt implacable enemies, we might hope to delineate a juſt portrait of that extraordinary man, which the truth and candour of hiſtory ſhould adopt without a bluſh. But it would ſoon appear, that the vain attempt to blend ſuch diſcordant colours, and to reconcile ſuch inconſiſtent qualities, muſt produce a figure monſtrous rather than human, unleſs it is viewed in its proper and diſtinct lights by a careful ſeparation of the different periods of the reign of Conſtantine.

The perſon, as well as the mind of Conſtantine, had been enriched by nature with her choiceſt endowments. His ſtature was lofty, his countenance majeſtic, his deportment graceful; his ſtrength and activity were diſplayed in every manly exerciſe, and from his earlieſt youth, to a very advanced ſeaſon of life, he preſerved the vigour of his conſtitution by a ſtrict adherence to the domeſtic virtues of chaſtity and temperance. He delighted in the ſocial intercourſe of familiar converſation; and though he might ſometimes indulge his diſpoſition to raillery with leſs reſerve than was required by the ſevere dignity of his ſtation, the courteſy and liberality of his manners gained the hearts of all who approached him. The ſincerity of his friendſhip has been ſuſpected; yet he

ſhewed, on ſome occaſions, that he was not incapable of a warm and laſting attachment. The diſadvantage of an illiterate education had not prevented him from forming a juſt eſtimate of the value of learning; and the arts and ſciences derived ſome encouragement from the munificent protection of Conſtantine. In the diſpatch of buſineſs, his diligence was indefatigable; and the active powers of his mind were almoſt continually exerciſed in reading, writing, or meditating, in giving audience to ambaſſadors, and in examining the complaints of his ſubjects. Even thoſe who cenſured the propriety of his meaſures were compelled to acknowledge, that he poſſeſſed magnanimity to conceive, and patience to execute, the moſt arduous deſigns, without being checked either by the prejudices of education, or by the clamours of the multitude. In the field, he infuſed his own intrepid ſpirit into the troops, whom he conducted with the talents of a conſummate general; and to his abilities, rather than to his fortune, we may aſcribe the ſignal victories which he obtained over the foreign and domeſtic foes of the republic. He loved glory, as the reward, perhaps as the motive, of his labours. The boundleſs ambition, which, from the moment of his accepting the purple at York, appeared as the ruling paſſion of his ſoul, may be juſtified by the dangers of his own ſituation, by the character of his rivals, by the conſciouſneſs of ſuperior merit, and by the proſpect that his ſucceſs would enable him to reſtore peace and order to the diſtracted empire. In his civil wars againſt Maxentius and Licinius, he had engaged on his ſide the inclinations of the people, who compared the undiſſembled vices of thoſe tyrants, with the ſpirit of wiſdom and juſtice which ſeemed to direct the general tenor of the adminiſtration of Conſtantine.

Had Conſtantine fallen on the banks of the Tyber, or even in the plains of Hadrianople, ſuch is the character which, with a few exceptions, he might have tranſmitted to poſterity. But the concluſion of his reign (according to the moderate and indeed tender ſentence of a writer of the ſame age) degraded him from the rank which he had acquired among the moſt deſerving of the Roman princes. In the life of Auguſtus, we behold the tyrant of the republic, converted almoſt by imperceptible degrees, into the father of his country and of human kind. In that of Conſtantine, we may contemplate a hero, who had ſo long inſpired his ſubjects with love, and his enemies with terror, degenerating into a cruel and diſſolute monarch, corrupted by his fortune, or raiſed by conqueſt above the neceſſity of diſſimulation. The general peace which he maintained during the laſt fourteen years of his reign, was a period of apparent ſplendor rather than of real proſperity; and the old age of Conſtantine was diſgraced by the oppoſite yet reconcileable vices of rapaciouſneſs and prodigality. The accumulated treaſures found in the palaces of Maxentius and Licinius, were laviſhly conſumed; the various innovations introduced by the conqueror, were attended with an increaſing

increaſing expence; the coſt of his buildings, his court, and his feſtivals, required an immediate and plentiful ſupply; and the oppreſſion of the people was the only fund which could ſupport the magnificence of the ſovereign. His unworthy favourites, enriched by the boundleſs liberality of their maſter, uſurped with impunity the privilege of rapine and corruption. A ſecret but univerſal decay was felt in every part of the public adminiſtration, and the emperor himſelf, though he ſtill retained the obedience, gradually loſt the eſteem, of his ſubjects. The dreſs and manners, which, towards the decline of life, he choſe to affect, ſerved only to degrade him in the eyes of mankind. The Aſiatic pomp, which had been adopted by the pride of Diocletian, aſſumed an air of ſoftneſs and effeminacy in the perſon of Conſtantine. He is repreſented with falſe hair of various colours, laboriouſly arranged by the ſkilful artiſts of the times; a diadem of a new and more expenſive faſhion; a profuſion of gems and pearls, of collars and bracelets, and a variegated flowing robe of ſilk, moſt curiouſly embroidered with flowers of gold. In ſuch apparel, ſcarcely to be excuſed by the youth and folly of Elagabalus, we are at a loſs to diſcover the wiſdom of an aged monarch, and the ſimplicity of a Roman veteran. A mind thus relaxed by proſperity and indulgence, was incapable of riſing to that magnanimity which diſdains ſuſpicion, and dares to forgive. The deaths of Maximinian and Licinius may perhaps be juſtified by the maxims of policy, as they are taught in the ſchools of tyrants; but an impartial narrative of the executions, or rather murders, which ſullied the declining age of Conſtantine, will ſuggeſt to our moſt candid thoughts, the idea of a prince, who could ſacrifice without reluctance the laws of juſtice, and the feelings of nature, to the dictates either of his paſſions or of his intereſt.

An Account of the paſtoral Manners and of the Government of the Scythians *or* Tartars; *from the ſame Author.*

IN every age, the immenſe plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and ſhepherds, whoſe indolence refuſes to cultivate the earth, and whoſe reſtleſs ſpirit diſdains the confinement of a ſedentary life. In every age, the Scythians, and Tartars, have been renowned for their invincible courage, and rapid conqueſts. The thrones of Aſia have been repeatedly overturned by the ſhepherds of the North; and their arms have ſpread terror and devaſtation over the moſt fertile and warlike countries of Europe. On this occaſion, as well as on many others, the ſober hiſtorian is forcibly awakened from a pleaſing viſion; and is compelled, with ſome reluctance, to confeſs, that the paſtoral manners, which have been adorned with the faireſt attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illuſtrate this obſervation, I ſhall now proceed to conſider a nation of ſhepherds and of w r-

riors, in the three important articles of, I. Their diet; II. Their habitations; and, III. Their exerciſes. The narratives of antiquity are juſtified by the experience of modern times; and the banks of the Boryſthenes, of the Volga, or of the Selinga, will indifferently preſent the ſame uniform ſpectacle of ſimilar and native manners.

I. The corn, or even the rice, which conſtitutes the ordinary and wholeſome food of a civilized people, can be obtained only by the patient toil of the huſbandman. Some of the happy ſavages, who dwell between the tropics, are plentifully nouriſhed by the liberality of nature; but in the climates of the North, a nation of ſhepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds. The ſkilful practitioners of the medical art will determine (if they are able to determine) how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the uſe of animal, or of vegetable food; and whether the common aſſociation of carnivorous and cruel, deſerves to be conſidered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a ſalutary prejudice of humanity. Yet if it be true, that the ſentiment of compaſſion is imperceptibly weakened by the ſight and practice of domeſtic cruelty, we may obſerve that the horrid objects which are diſguiſed by the arts of European refinement, are exhibited in their naked and moſt diſguſting ſimplicity, in the tent of a Tartarian ſhepherd. The ox, or the ſheep, are ſlaughtered by the ſame hand from which they were accuſtomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are ſerved, with very little preparation, on the table of their unfeeling murderer. In the military profeſſion, and eſpecially in the conduct of a numerous army, the excluſive uſe of animal food appears to be productive of the moſt ſolid advantages. Corn is a bulky and periſhable commodity; and the large magazines, which are indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of our troops, muſt be ſlowly tranſported by the labour of men or horſes. But the flocks and herds, which accompany the march of the Tartars, afford a ſure and increaſing ſupply of fleſh and milk: in the far greater part of the uncultivated waſte, the vegetation of the graſs is quick and luxuriant; and there are few places ſo extremely barren, that the hardy cattle of the North cannot find ſome tolerable paſture. The ſupply is multiplied and prolonged, by the undiſtinguiſhing appetite, and patient abſtinence, of the Tartars. They indifferently feed on the fleſh of thoſe animals that have been killed for the table, or have died of diſeaſe. Horſe-fleſh, which in every age and country has been proſcribed by the civilized nations of Europe and Aſia, they devour with peculiar greedineſs; and this ſingular taſte facilitates the ſucceſs of their military operations. The active cavalry of Scythia is always followed, in their moſt diſtant and rapid incurſions, by an adequate number of ſpare horſes, who may be occaſionally uſed, either to redouble the ſpeed, or to ſatisfy the hunger of the Barbarians. Many are the reſources of courage and poverty. When the forage round a camp of

of Tartars is almoſt conſumed, they ſlaughter the greateſt part of their cattle, and preſerve the fleſh, either ſmoaked, or dried in the ſun. On the ſudden emergency of a haſty march, they provide themſelves with a ſufficient quantity of little balls of cheeſe, or rather of hard curd, which they occaſionally diſſolve in water; and this unſubſtantial diet will ſupport, for many days, the life, and even the ſpirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abſtinence, which the Stoic would approve, and the hermit might envy, is commonly ſucceeded by the moſt voracious indulgence of appetite. The wines of a happier climate are the moſt grateful preſent, or the moſt valuable commodity, that can be offered to the Tartars; and the only example of their induſtry ſeems to conſiſt in the art of extracting from mare's milk a fermented liquor, which poſſeſſes a very ſtrong power of intoxication. Like the animals of prey, the ſavages, both of the old and new world, experience the alternate viciſſitudes of famine and plenty; and their ſtomach is inured to ſuſtain, without much inconvenience, the oppoſite extremes of hunger and of intemperance.

II. In the ages of ruſtic and martial ſimplicity, a people of ſoldiers and huſbandmen are diſperſed over the face of an extenſive and cultivated country; and ſome time muſt elapſe before the warlike youth of Greece or Italy could be aſſembled under the ſame ſtandard, either to defend their own confines, or to invade the territories of the adjacent tribes. The progreſs of manufactures and commerce inſenſibly collects a large multitude within the walls of a city: but theſe citizens are no longer ſoldiers; and the arts which adorn and improve the ſtate of civil ſociety, corrupt the habits of the military life. The paſtoral manners of the Scythians ſeem to unite the different advantages of ſimplicity and refinement. The individuals of the ſame tribe are conſtantly aſſembled, but they are aſſembled in a camp; and the native ſpirit of theſe dauntleſs ſhepherds is animated by mutual ſupport and emulation. The houſes of the Tartars are no more than ſmall tents, of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation, for the promiſcuous youth of both ſexes. The palaces of the rich conſiſt of wooden huts of ſuch a ſize that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks and herds, after grazing all day in the adjacent paſtures, retire, on the approach of night, within the protection of the camp. The neceſſity of preventing the moſt miſchievous confuſion, in ſuch a perpetual concourſe of men and animals, muſt gradually introduce, in the diſtribution, the order, and the guard, of the encampment, the rudiments of the military art. As ſoon as the forage of a certain diſtrict is conſumed, the tribe, or rather army, of ſhepherds, makes a regular march to ſome freſh paſtures; and thus acquires, in the ordinary occupations of the paſtoral life, the practical knowledge of one of the moſt important and difficult operations of war. The choice of ſtations is regulated by

the difference of the ſeaſons: in the ſummer, the Tartars advance towards the North, and pitch their tents on the banks of a river, or, at leaſt, in the neighbourhood of a running ſtream. But in the winter they return to the South, and ſhelter their camp, behind ſome convenient eminence, againſt the winds, which are chilled in their paſſage over the bleak and icy regions of Siberia. Theſe manners are admirably adapted to diffuſe, among the wandering tribes, the ſpirit of emigration and conqueſt. The connection between the people and their territory is of ſo frail a texture, that it may be broken by the ſlighteſt accident. The camp, and not the ſoil, is the native country of the genuine Tartar. Within the precincts of that camp, his family, his companions, his property are always included; and, in the moſt diſtant marches, he is ſtill ſurrounded by the objects which are dear, or valuable, or familiar in his eyes. The thirſt of rapine, the fear, or the reſentment of injury, the impatience of ſervitude, have, in every age, been ſufficient cauſes to urge the tribes of Scythia boldly to advance into ſome unknown countries, where they might hope to find a more plentiful ſubſiſtence, or a leſs formidable enemy. The revolutions of the North have frequently determined the fate of the South; and in the conflict of hoſtile nations the victor and the vanquiſhed have alternately drove, and been driven, from the confines of China to thoſe of Germany. Theſe great emigrations, which have been ſometimes executed with almoſt incredible diligence, were rendered more eaſy by the peculiar nature of the climate. It is well known, that the cold of Tartary is much more ſevere than in the midſt of the temperate zone might reaſonably be expected: this uncommon rigour is attributed to the height of the plains, which riſe, eſpecially towards the Eaſt, more than half a mile above the level of the ſea; and to the quantity of ſalt-petre, with which the ſoil is deeply impregnated. In the winter-ſeaſon, the broad and rapid rivers, that diſcharge their waters into the Euxine, the Caſpian, or the Icy Sea, are ſtrongly frozen; the fields are covered with a bed of ſnow; and the fugitive, or victorious, tribes may ſecurely traverſe, with their families, their waggons, and their cattle, the ſmooth and hard ſurface of an immenſe plain.

III. The paſtoral life, compared with the labours of agriculture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleneſs; and as the moſt honourable ſhepherds of the Tartar race devolve on their captives the domeſtic management of the cattle; their own leiſure is ſeldom diſturbed by any ſervile and aſſiduous cares. But this leiſure, inſtead of being devoted to the ſoft enjoyments of love and harmony, is uſefully ſpent in the violent and ſanguinary exerciſe of the chace. The plains of Tartary are filled with a ſtrong and ſerviceable breed of horſes, which are eaſily trained for the purpoſes of war and hunting. The Scythians of every age have been celebrated as bold and ſkilful riders: and conſtant practice had ſeated them ſo firmly on horſeback, that they were ſuppoſed by ſtrangers to perform the ordinary duties of civil life, to eat,

eat, to drink, and even to ſleep, without diſmounting from their ſteeds. They excel in the dexterous management of the lance; the long Tartar bow is drawn with a nervous arm; and the weighty arrow is directed to its object with unerring aim, and irreſiſtible force. Theſe arrows are often pointed againſt the harmleſs animals of the deſert, which increaſe and multiply in the abſence of their moſt formidable enemy; the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the ſtag, the elk, and the antelope. The vigour and patience both of the men and horſes are continually exerciſed by the fatigues of the chace; and the plentiful ſupply of game contributes to the ſubſiſtence, and even luxury, of a Tartar camp. But the exploits of the hunters of Scythia are not confined to the deſtruction of timid or innoxious beaſts; they boldly encounter the angry wild boar, when he turns againſt his purſuers, excite the ſluggiſh courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tyger, as he ſlumbers in the thicket. Where there is danger there may be glory: and the mode of hunting, which opens the faireſt field to the exertions of valour, may juſtly be conſidered as the image, and as the ſchool, of war. The general hunting-matches, the pride and delight of the Tartar princes, compoſe an inſtructive exerciſe for their numerous cavalry. A circle is drawn, of many miles in circumference, to encompaſs the game of an extenſive diſtrict; and the troops that form the circle regularly advance towards a common centre; where the captive animals, ſurrounded on every ſide, are abandoned to the darts of the hunters. In this march, which frequently continues many days, the cavalry are obliged to climb the hills, to ſwim the rivers, and to wind through the vallies, without interrupting the preſcribed order of their gradual progreſs. They acquire the habit of directing their eye, and their ſteps, to a remote object; of preſerving their intervals; of ſuſpending, or accelerating their pace, according to the motions of the troops on their right and left; and of watching and repeating the ſignals of their leaders. Their leaders ſtudy, in this practical ſchool, the moſt important leſſon of the military art; the prompt and accurate judgment of ground, of diſtance, and of time. To employ againſt a human enemy the ſame patience and valour, the ſame ſkill and diſcipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the amuſements of the chace ſerve as a prelude to the conqueſt of an empire.

The political ſociety of the ancient Germans has the appearance of a voluntary alliance of independent warriors. The tribes of Scythia, diſtinguiſhed by the modern appellation of *Hords*, aſſume the form of a numerous and increaſing family; which, in the courſe of ſucceſſive generations, has been propagated from the ſame original ſtock. The meaneſt and moſt ignorant of the Tartars preſerve, with conſcious pride, the ineſtimable treaſure of their genealogy; and whatever diſtinctions of rank may have been introduced, by the unequal diſtribution of paſtoral wealth, they mutually reſpect themſelves, and each other, as the

deſcendants of the firſt founder of the tribe. The cuſtom, which ſtill prevails, of adopting the braveſt, and moſt faithful of the captives, may countenance the very probable ſuſpicion, that this extenſive conſanguinity is, in a great meaſure, legal and fictitious. But the uſeful prejudice, which has obtained the ſanction of time and opinion, produces the effects of truth; the haughty Barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood; and their chief, or *murſa*, as the repreſentative of their great father, exerciſes the authority of a judge, in peace, and of a leader, in war. In the original ſtate of the paſtoral world, each of the *murſas* (if we may continue to uſe a modern appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and ſeparate family; and the limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed, by ſuperior force, or mutual conſent. But the conſtant operation of various and permanent cauſes contributed to unite the vagrant Hords into national communities, under the command of a ſupreme head. The weak were deſirous of ſupport, and the ſtrong were ambitious of dominion; the power, which is the reſult of union, oppreſſed and collected the divided forces of the adjacent tribes; and, as the vanquiſhed were freely admitted to ſhare the advantages of victory, the moſt valiant chiefs haſtened to range themſelves, and their followers, under the formidable ſtandard of a confederate nation. The moſt ſucceſsful of the Tartar princes aſſumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the ſuperiority, either of merit, or of power. He was raiſed to the throne by the acclamations of his equals; and the title of *Khan* expreſſes, in the language of the North of Aſia, the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary ſucceſſion was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment all the Khans, who reign from Crimea to the wall of China, are the lineal deſcendants of the renowned Zingis. But, as it is the indiſpenſable duty of a Tartar ſovereign to lead his warlike ſubjects into the field, the claims of an infant are often diſregarded; and ſome royal kinſman, diſtinguiſhed by his age and valour, is entruſted with the ſword and ſceptre of his predeceſſor. Two diſtinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes, to ſupport the dignity of their national monarch, and of their peculiar chief; and each of thoſe contributions amounts to the tythe, both of their property, and of their ſpoil. A Tartar ſovereign enjoys the tenth part of the wealth of his people; and as his own domeſtic riches of flocks and herds increaſe in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the ruſtic ſplendour of his court, to reward the moſt deſerving, or the moſt favoured, of his followers, and to obtain, from the gentle influence of corruption, the obedience which might be ſometimes refuſed to the ſtern mandates of authority. The manners of his ſubjects, accuſtomed, like himſelf, to blood and rapine, might excuſe, in their eyes, ſuch partial acts of tyranny, as would excite the horror of a civilized people; but the power of a deſpot has never been acknowledged in the deſerts of Scythia.

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The immediate juriſdiction of the Khan is confined within the limits of his own tribe; and the exerciſe of his royal prerogative has been moderated by the ancient inſtitution of a national council. The Coroultai, or Diet, of the Tartars, was regularly held in the ſpring and autumn, in the midſt of a plain; where the princes of the reigning family, and the murſas of the reſpective tribes, may conveniently aſſemble on horſeback, with their martial and numerous trains; and the ambitious monarch, who reviewed the ſtrength, muſt conſult the inclination, of an armed people. The rudiments of a feudal government may be diſcovered in the conſtitution of the Scythian or Tartar nations; but the perpetual conflict of thoſe hoſtile nations has ſometimes terminated in the eſtabliſhment of a powerful and deſpotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute, and fortified by the arms, of dependent kings, has ſpread his conqueſts over Europe or Aſia: the ſucceſsful ſhepherds of the North have ſubmitted to the confinement of arts, of laws, and of cities; and the introduction of luxury, after deſtroying the freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of the throne.

An Account of the Life and literary Character of Henry Howard, *Earl of* Surrey; *extracted from* Warton's *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry.*

OUR communications and intercourſe with Italy, which began to prevail about the beginning of the ſixteenth century, not only introduced the ſtudies of claſſical literature into England, but gave a new turn to our vernacular poetry. At this period, Petrarch ſtill continued the moſt favourite poet of the Italians; and had eſtabliſhed a manner, which was univerſally adopted and imitated by his ingenious countrymen. In the mean time, the courts both of France and England were diſtinguiſhed for their elegance. Francis the firſt had changed the ſtate of letters in France, by mixing gallantry with learning, and by admitting the ladies to his court in company with the eccleſiaſtics. His carouſals were celebrated with a brilliancy and a feſtivity unknown to the ceremonious ſhews of former princes. Henry the eighth vied with Francis in theſe gaieties. His ambition, which could not bear a rival even in diverſions, was ſeconded by liberality of diſpoſition and a love of oſtentation. For Henry, with many boiſterous qualities, was magnificent and affable. Had he never murdered his wives, his politeneſs to the fair ſex would remain unimpeached. His martial ſports were unincumbered by the barbaric pomp of the antient chivalry, and ſoftened by the growing habits of more rational manners. He was attached to thoſe ſpectacles and public amuſements, in which beauty aſſumed a principal ſhare; and his frequent maſques and tournaments encouraged a high ſpirit of romantic courteſy. Poetry was the natural accompaniment of theſe refinements. Henry himſelf was a leader and a chief character in theſe pageantries, and at the ſame time a reader and a writer of verſes. The language and the manners of

Italy

Italy were eſteemed and ſtudied. The ſonnets of Petrarch were the great models of compoſition. They entered into the genius of the faſhionable manners: and in a court of ſuch a complexion, Petrarch of courſe became the popular poet. Henry Howard earl Surrey, with a miſtreſs perhaps as beautiful as Laura, and at leaſt with Petrarch's paſſion if not his taſte, led the way to great improvements in Engliſh poetry, by a happy imitation of Petrarch, and other Italian poets, who had been moſt ſucceſsful in painting the anxieties of love with pathos and propriety.

Lord Surrey's life throws ſo much light on the character and ſubjects of his poetry, that it is almoſt impoſſible to conſider the one, without exhibiting a few anecdotes of the other. He was the ſon and grandſon of two lords treaſurers dukes of Norfolk; and in his early childhood diſcovered the moſt promiſing marks of lively parts and an active mind.

While a boy, he was habituated to the modes of a court at Windſor-caſtle: where he reſided, yet under the care of proper inſtructors, in the quality of a companion to Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, a natural ſon of king Henry the eighth, and of the higheſt expectations.

This young nobleman, who alſo bore other titles and honours, was the child of Henry's affection: not ſo much on account of his hopeful abilities, as for a reaſon inſinuated by lord Herbert, and at which thoſe who know Henry's hiſtory and character will not be ſurprized, becauſe he equally and ſtrongly reſembled both his father and mother.

A friendſhip of the cloſeſt kind commencing between theſe two illuſtrious youths, about the year 1530, they were both removed to cardinal Wolſey's college at Oxford, then univerſally frequented, as well for the excellence as the novelty of its inſtitution; for it was one of the firſt ſeminaries of an Engliſh univerſity, that profeſſed to explode the pedantries of the old barbarous philoſophy, and to cultivate the graces of polite literature. Two years afterwards, for the purpoſe of acquiring every accompliſhment of an elegant education, the earl accompanied his noble friend and fellow-pupil into France, where they received king Henry, on his arrival at Calais to viſit Francis the firſt, with a moſt magnificent retinue. The friendſhip of theſe two young noblemen was ſoon ſtrengthened by a new tie; for Richmond married the lady Mary Howard, Surrey's ſiſter. Richmond, however, appears to have died in the year 1536, about the age of ſeventeen, having never cohabited with his wife. It was long before Surrey forgot the untimely loſs of this amiable youth, the friend and aſſociate of his childhood, and who nearly reſembled himſelf in genius, refinement of manners, and liberal acquiſitions.

It is not preciſely known at what period the earl of Surrey began his travels. They have the air of a romance. He made the tour of Europe in the true ſpirit of chivalry, and with the ideas of an Amadis; proclaiming the unparalleled charms of his miſtreſs, and prepared to defend the cauſe of her beauty with the weapons of knight-errantry. Nor was this adventu-

rous

rous journey performed without the intervention of an enchanter. The first city in Italy which he proposed to visit was Florence, the capital of Tuscany, and the original seat of the ancestors of his Geraldine*. In his way thither, he passed a few days at the emperor's court; where he became acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa, a celebrated adept in natural magic. This visionary philosopher shewed our hero, in a mirror of glass, a living image of Geraldine, reclining on a couch, sick, and reading one of his most tender sonnets by a waxen taper. His imagination, which wanted not the flattering representations and artificial incentives of illusion, was heated anew by this interesting and affecting spectacle. Inflamed with every enthusiasm of the most romantic passion, he hastened to Florence; and, on his arrival, immediately published a defiance against any person who could handle a lance and was in love, whether Christian, Jew, Turk, Saracen, or Cannibal, who should presume to dispute the superiority of Geraldine's beauty. As the lady was pretended to be of Tuscan extraction, the pride of the Florentines was flattered on this occasion: and the grand duke of Tuscany permitted a general and unmolested ingress into his dominions of the combatants of all countries, till this important trial should be decided. The challenge was accepted, and the earl victorious. The shield which he presented to the duke before the tournament began, is exhibited in Vertue's valuable plate of the Arundel family, and was actually in the possession of the late duke of Norfolk.

These heroic vanities did not, however, so totally engross the time which Surrey spent in Italy, as to alienate his mind from letters: he studied with the greatest success a critical knowledge of the Italian tongue, and, that he might give new lustre to the name of Geraldine, attained a just taste for the peculiar graces of the Italian poetry.

He was recalled to England for some idle reason by the king, much sooner than he expected: and he returned home, the most elegant traveller, the most polite lover, the most learned nobleman, and the most accomplished gentleman of his age. Dexterity in tilting, and gracefulness in managing a horse under arms, were excellencies now viewed with a critical eye, and practised with a high degree of emulation. In 1540 at a tournament held in the presence of the court at Westminster, and in which the principal of the nobility were engaged, Surrey was distinguished above the rest for his address in the use and exercise of arms. But his martial skill was not solely displayed in the parade and ostentation of these domestic combats. In 1542 he marched into Scotland, as a chief commander in his father's army, and was conspicuous for his conduct and bravery at the memorable battle of Flodden-field, where James the fourth of Scotland was killed. The next year, we find the career of his vic-

* Lady Elisabeth Fitzgerald, second daughter to Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare.

tories

tories impeded by an obſtacle which no valour could reſiſt. The cenſures of the church have humiliated the greateſt heroes: and he was impriſoned in Windſor-caſtle for eating fleſh in Lent. The prohibition had been renewed or ſtrengthened by a recent proclamation of the king. I mention this circumſtance, not only as it marks his character, impatient of any controul, and careleſs of very ſerious conſequences which often ariſe from a contempt of petty formalities, but as it gave occaſion to one of his moſt ſentimental and pathetic ſonnets. In 1544 he was field-marſhal of the Engliſh army in the expedition to Bologne, which he took. In that age, love and arms conſtantly went together: and it was amid the fatigues of this protracted campaign, that he compoſed his laſt ſonnet called the Fanſie of a wearied Lover.

But as Surrey's popularity increaſed, his intereſt declined with the king; whoſe caprices and jealouſies grew more violent with his years and infirmities. The brilliancy of Surrey's character, his celebrity in the military ſcience, his general abilities, his wit, learning, and affability, were viewed by Henry with diſguſt and ſuſpicion. It was in vain that he poſſeſſed every advantageous qualification, which could adorn the ſcholar, the courtier, and the ſoldier. In proportion as he was amiable in the eyes of the people, he became formidable to the king. His riſing reputation was miſconſtrued into a dangerous ambition, and gave birth to accuſations equally groundleſs and frivolous. He was ſuſpected of a deſign to marry the princeſs Mary; and, by that alliance, of approaching to a poſſibility of wearing the crown. It was inſinuated, that he converſed with foreigners, and held a correſpondence with cardinal Pole.

The addition of the eſchutcheon of Edward the Confeſſor to his own, although uſed by the family of Norfolk for many years, and juſtified by the authority of the heralds, was a ſufficient foundation for an impeachment of high treaſon. Theſe motives were privately aggravated by thoſe prejudices, with which Henry remembered the miſbehaviour of Catharine Howard, and which were extended to all that lady's relations. At length, the earl of Surrey fell a ſacrifice to the peeviſh injuſtice of a mercileſs and ungrateful maſter. Notwitſtanding his eloquent and maſculine defence, which even in the cauſe of guilt itſelf would have proved a powerful perſuaſive, he was condemned by the prepared ſuffrage of a ſervile and obſequious jury, and beheaded on Tower-hill in the year 1547. In the mean time we ſhould remember, that Surrey's public conduct was not on all occaſions quite unexceptionable. In the affair of Bologne he had made a falſe ſtep. This had offended the king. But Henry, when once offended, could never forgive. And when Hertford was ſent into France to take the command, he could not refrain from dropping ſome reproachful expreſſions againſt a meaſure which ſeemed to impeach his perſonal courage. Conſcious of his high birth and capacity, he was above the little attentions of caution and reſerve; and he too frequently neglected to conſult his own

own ſituation, and the king's temper. It was his misfortune to ſerve a monarch, whoſe reſentments, which were eaſily provoked, could only be ſatisfied by the moſt ſevere revenge. Henry brought thoſe men to the block, which other monarchs would have only diſgraced.

Among thoſe anecdotes of Surrey's life, I had almoſt forgot to mention what became of his amour with the fair Geraldine. We lament to find, that Surrey's devotion to this lady did not end in a wedding, and that all his gallantries and verſes availed ſo little! No memoirs of that incurious age have informed us, whether her beauty was equalled by her cruelty; or whether her ambition prevailed ſo far over her gratitude, as to tempt her to prefer the ſolid glories of a more ſplendid title and ample fortune, to the challenges and the compliments, of ſo magnanimous, ſo faithful, and ſo eloquent a lover. She appears, however, to have been afterwards the third wife of Edward Clinton, earl of Lincoln. Such alſo is the power of time and accident over amorous vows, that even Surrey himſelf outlived the violence of his paſſion. He married Frances, daughter of John earl of Oxford, by whom he left ſeveral children. One of his daughters, Jane counteſs of Weſtmoreland, was among the learned ladies of that age, and became famous for her knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages.

Surrey's poems were in high reputation with his cotemporaries, and for many years afterwards. He is thus characteriſed by the author of the old Arte of Engliſh Poeſie, whoſe opinion remained long as a rule of criticiſm. "In the latter end of the ſame kinges [Henry] raigne, ſpronge up a new company of courtly makers, of whom ſir Thomas Wyat the elder and Henry earle of Surrey were the two chieftaines, who having travelled into Italie, and there taſted the ſweete and ſtately meaſures and ſtyle of the Italian poeſie, as novices newly crept out of the ſchooles of Dante, Arioſto, and Petrarch, they greatly poliſhed our rude and homely manner of vulgar poeſie from that it had bene before, and for that cauſe may juſtly be ſayd the firſt reformers of our Engliſh meeter and ſtile." And again, towards the cloſe of the ſame chapter. "Henry earle of Surrey, and ſir Thomas Wyat, between whom I find very little difference, I repute them (as before) for the two chief lanternes of light to all others that have ſince employed their pennes upon Engliſh poeſie: their conceits were loftie, their ſtiles ſtately, their conveyance cleanly, their termes proper, their meetre ſweete and well-proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and ſtudiouſly their maiſter Francis Petrarcha." I forbear to recite the teſtimonies of Leland, Sydney, Tuberville, Churchyard, and Drayton. Nor have theſe pieces, although ſcarcely known at preſent, been without the panegyric of more recent times. Surrey is praiſed by Waller and Fenton; and he ſeems to have been a favourite with Pope. Pope, in Windſor-foreſt, having compared his patron lord Granville with Surrey, he was immediately reprinted, but without attracting many readers. It was vainly imagined, that all the world would

eagerly

eagerly wiſh to purchaſe the works of a neglected antient Engliſh poet, whom Pope had called *the Granville of a former age*. So rapid are the revolutions of our language, and ſuch the uncertainty of literary fame, that Philips, Milton's nephew, who wrote about the year 1674, has remarked, that in his time Surrey's poetry was antiquated and totally forgotten.

Character of Thomas Sackville, *the firſt Lord* Buckhurſt; *from the ſame Author.*

SACKVILLE was born at Buckhurſt, a principal ſeat of his antient and illuſtrious family in the pariſh of Withiam in Suſſex. His birth is placed, but with evident inaccuracy, under the year 1536. At leaſt it ſhould be placed ſix years before. Diſcovering a vigorous underſtanding in his childhood, from a domeſtic tuition he was removed, as it may reaſonably be conjectured, to Hart-hall, now Hertford-college, in Oxford. But he appears to have been a maſter of arts at Cambridge. At both univerſities he became celebrated as a Latin and Engliſh poet; and he carried his love of poetry, which he ſeems to have almoſt ſolely cultivated, to the Inner Temple. It was now faſhionable for every young man of fortune, before he began his travels, or was admitted into parliament, to be initiated in the ſtudy of the law. But inſtead of purſuing a ſcience, which could not be his profeſſion, and which was unaccommodated to the bias of his genius, he betrayed his predilection to a more pleaſing ſpecies of literature, by compoſing a tragedy for the entertainment and honour of his fellow ſtudents. His high birth, however, and ample patrimony, ſoon advanced him to more important ſituations and employments. His eminent accompliſhments and abilities having acquired the confidence and eſteem of queen Eliſabeth, the poet was ſoon loſt in the ſtateſman, and negotiations and embaſſies extinguiſhed the milder ambitions of the ingenuous muſe. Yet it ſhould be remembered, that he was uncorrupted amidſt the intrigues of an artful court, that in the character of a firſt miniſter he preſerved the integrity of a private man, and that his family refuſed the offer of an apology to his memory, when it was inſulted by the malicious inſinuations of a rival party. Nor is it foreign to our purpoſe to remark, that his original elegance and brilliancy of mind ſometimes broke forth, in the exerciſe of his more formal political functions. He was frequently diſguſted at the pedantry and official barbarity of ſtyle, with which the public letters and inſtruments were uſually framed; and Naunton relates, that his "ſecretaries had difficulty to pleaſe him, he was ſo *facete* and choice in his ſtyle." Even in the deciſions and pleadings of that rigid tribunal the ſtar-chamber, which was never eſteemed the ſchool of rhetoric, he practiſed and encouraged an unaccuſtomed ſtrain of eloquent and graceful oratory: on which account, ſays Lloyd, "ſo flowing was his invention, that he was called the ſtar-chamber bell." After he was made a peer by the title of lord Buckhurſt, and had ſucceeded to a moſt

a moſt extenſive inheritance, and was now diſcharging the buſineſs of an envoy to Paris, he found time to prefix a Latin epiſtle to Clerke's Latin tranſlation of Caſtilio's Courtier, printed at London in 1571, which is not an unworthy recommendation of a treatiſe remarkable for its polite Latinity. It was either becauſe his miſtreſs Eliſabeth paid a ſincere compliment to his ſingular learning and fidelity, or becauſe ſhe was willing to indulge an affected fit of indignation againſt the object of her capricious paſſion, that when Sackville, in 1591, was a candidate for the chancellorſhip of the univerſity of Oxford, ſhe condeſcended earneſtly to ſolicit the univerſity in his favour, and in oppoſition to his competitor the earl of Eſſex. At leaſt ſhe appears to have approved the choice, for her majeſty ſoon afterwards viſited Oxford, where ſhe was entertained by the new chancellor with ſplendid banquets and much ſolid erudition. It is neither my deſign nor my province, to develope the profound policy with which he conducted a peace with Spain, the addreſs with which he penetrated or baffled the machinations of Eſſex, and the circumſpection and ſucceſs with which he managed the treaſury of two opulent ſovereigns.

Character of the late Dr. Fothergill; *extracted from Dr.* Hird's *Affectionate Tribute to his Memory.*

IT muſt be admitted that no partiality of affection ſhould ſo warp the mind, as to influence its regard for truth. On common ſubjects, the world is indulgent enough to accept the embelliſhments which a warm imagination may add to a few plain facts, but the language of eulogy is always ſuſpected, and conſequently much more expoſed to the ſeverity of remark; yet if any ſubject that I am acquainted with will bear a more than ordinary warmth of expreſſion, it certainly may be indulged in a tribute to the memory of the late Dr. Fothergill.

The general voice has placed him amongſt the illuſtrious characters of the preſent age; but, what is more to his honour, it has placed him amongſt the beſt of men. May the memorial I am giving to the public preſerve his name unblemiſhed by miſrepreſentation, till ſome more equal pen ſhall hand it down to poſterity, as a bright example of what great uſefulneſs extraordinary talents may prove to ſociety, when under the direction of a good heart, fine feelings, and an enlarged philanthropy!

His underſtanding was of a manly, energetic caſt; it was penetrating, comprehenſive, and highly cultivated: there was a firm dignity in his character, which, though it could not bend to any thing unbecoming itſelf, yet was accompanied by a certain ſoftneſs and complacency of manners peculiarly conciliating. His heart was ſincere, friendly, compaſſionate, and liberal to exceſs. His hand was an unſparing diſtributor, and the bounties of it, leſt they might not reach the truly worthy, were, not unfrequently, diffuſed amongſt the impoſing and the ungrateful.

His practice as a phyſician was by

by no means confined to London and its environs, the place of his long and general reſidence. For ſome years paſt he made a point of retiring, during a few ſummer months, to his place in Cheſhire; a ſeat choſen by him as a ſequeſtered retreat from the labours and fatigue of his profeſſional attentions, to digeſt his thoughts, take poſſeſſion of himſelf, and invigorate his mind and body for his returning duties: but it too frequently happened, that what he had pleaſingly conceived as an aſylum from care and intruſion, proved not the retirement he was in purſuit of. Whereſoever he reſided, his name and character followed him, carrying along with them thoſe influences, which not only pervaded every quarter of this, and the neighbouring kingdom of Ireland, but a very conſiderable part of Europe and North America; from whence, in caſes that apparently would admit of the delay, he was frequently conſulted by letter and deſcription.

From this high rank in his profeſſion, and from the reſpectful manner in which he was always treated, it may very reaſonably be concluded that the pecuniary emoluments of his practice were large: and ſo they certainly were, to an uncommon degree; the produce of his annual practice being greater than has fallen to the lot of moſt phyſicians in this nation: and could the fees he rejected be added to the ſum, it would have increaſed to a ſurpriſing amount; but he was accuſtomed to make diſtinctions, which would not, I preſume at leaſt, enter into every mind.—Yet notwithſtanding all theſe ſources of affluence, ſo large and ſo numerous were the channels through which his bounties flowed, that they might be truly ſaid to be ſcarcely equal to the liberality of his heart.

There is a certain exquiſiteneſs of ſenſation in the tones of ſome minds, which, amidſt the various circumſtances of life, and the unavoidable evils attendant on humanity, is, indeed, a moſt painful ſpecies of pre-eminence: the mind of Dr. Fothergill was of this mould; it was ever in uniſon with the afflicted ſpirit in all ſituations, exciting him to acts of the moſt cordial friendlineſs.

In the diſtribution of his favours, he retreated as much as poſſible from the acknowledgments of thoſe he obliged. He knew the value of a grateful heart fully, for his own was grateful in the extreme; but he rather choſe that the objects of his kindneſs ſhould feel that active and eſſential gratitude which is better evinced by a proper uſe of favours, and a happy change in circumſtance and ſituation, than by any verbal expreſſion. In a few words, Dr. Fothergill's beneficences flowed from him with ſo graceful an eaſe, and ſo high a poliſh of addreſs, that no modeſt worth was wounded, nor the acuteneſs of diſtreſs increaſed, by the aukwardneſs of its acknowledgments.—His was not that drop-like bounty which pauſes in its progreſs; it was full, flowing, and benign.

Although it may be the general practice of phyſicians in other countries, as well as in this, to refuſe the fees of the inferior clergy, yet the conduct of Dr. Fothergill towards numbers of this claſs was diſtinguiſhed by ſomething more

more generous than mere forbearance; it was marked by extraordinary kindneſs.

He conſidered the inferior claſſes of clergymen as more particularly the objects of his liberality and attention; being brought up in that line of education, which, in the opinion of the world, precludes bodily labour, and to which the idea of the gentleman is annexed, without a competency to ſupport the character; to many of theſe, I am an evidence, he was a kind friend and a private benefactor; not only by his advice in perſonal diſtreſs, but by his purſe, on ſeverely trying occaſions.—Nay, ſo cordial was his humanity towards theſe, that on a friend's hinting to him whilſt he was in the country, that his favours were not marked by propriety of diſtinction (the gentleman from whom he refuſed his fee being placed in high rank in the church, with an independent fortune), he returned a ready explanation of his principle of action; "I had rather, ſaid the Doctor, return the fee of a gentleman with whoſe rank I am not perfectly acquainted, than run the riſk of taking it from a man, who ought, perhaps, to be the object of my bounty." Such was the noble ſtyle of this moſt excellent man's way of thinking.

The humane reader will feel the fineſt ſprings of his affections moved, by the following anecdote, given to me by a clergyman of high rank, who reveres the memory of Dr. Fothergill, and places his obligations to him, in a very trying ſeaſon, near to his heart.

A friend of his, a man of a worthy character, who has at this time an income of about one hundred pounds a year, church preferment, was, in the earlier part of his life, ſeated in London upon a curacy of fifty pounds per annum, with a wife and a numerous family.—An epidemical diſeaſe, which was at that time prevalent, ſeized upon his wife and five of his children: in this ſcene of diſtreſs he looked up to the Doctor for his aſſiſtance, but dared not apply to him, from a conſciouſneſs of his being unable to reward him for his attendance.—A friend who knew his ſituation, kindly offered to accompany him to the Doctor's, and give him his fee; they took the advantage of his hour of audience, and after a deſcription of the ſeveral caſes, the fee was offered, and rejected; but a note was taken of his place of reſidence. The Doctor called aſſiduouſly the next and every ſucceeding day, till his attendance was no longer neceſſary. The curate, anxious to return ſome grateful mark of the ſenſe he entertained of his ſervices, ſtrained every nerve to accompliſh it; but his aſtoniſhment was not to be deſcribed, when, inſtead of receiving the money he offered, with apologies for his ſituation, the Doctor put ten guineas into his hand, deſiring him to apply to him without diffidence in future difficulties.

Although amidſt the diffuſion of his favours he too frequently met with painful returns, yet he would never allow inſtances of this ſort to check the ardour of his mind in doing all the good he could to others; and even to thoſe who returned ingratitude for kindneſs, his charity continued ſtill patient, hoping all things. It was his common expreſſion, when he found his favours miſapplied, or

himſelf impoſed upon, "I had much rather that my favours ſhould fall upon many undeſerving objects, than that one truly deſerving ſhould eſcape my notice."

From the extenſiveneſs of his daily employments in London and its neighbourhood, to which muſt be added, the variety of his medical, philoſophical, literary, and friendly correſpondence, it may be a matter of ſurpriſe to many, how he could acquit himſelf of the number of his engagements; yet he underſtood ſo well the value of a moment, and the influence of order in the management of time, that he could generally ſettle his moſt intereſting concerns every evening, before he retired to reſt. His thoughts were ſo perfectly digeſted, his penetration was ſo quick, and his hand was ſo rapid in its obedience to the dictates of his mind, that what might have been to many able men a ſcene of inquietude, not to ſay of confuſion, was, in his hands, eaſy and familiar. In caſes of moment he was no procraſtinator.

In the practice of a phyſician, it is a happineſs to himſelf, and certainly a much greater to his patients, if he is in poſſeſſion of that native acumen or ſagaciouſneſs of mind, which, from the ſuperior importance of his art, ought to have a high place in the ſcale of character, could it be clearly aſcertained.—In every other art or ſcience it may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed by men of moderate abilities; but in medicine, its effects not being ſo obvious, popular impreſſion, or private influence, muſt neceſſarily be accepted as ſecurity for its exiſtence. It has ſo little dependance upon medical education, and profeſſional employment, that a man may have enjoyed all the advantages of the one, and all the emoluments of the other, yet neither he nor his patients may have felt the leaſt degree of its influence.—Education and employment are ordinary things: but this alone is the life of medical genius, and is truly extraordinary; it operates by quick diſcrimination in dubious caſes; it throws a clear light upon apparent difficulties; it fixes the judgment determinately upon the right object, and is practically illuſtrated by happy and unexpected events.—It was this ſpecies of penetration that principally diſtinguiſhed Dr. Fothergill as a medical man.

There was another advantage, of no ſmall moment, which his patients derived from his attendance; he knew how to unite the kindneſs of friendſhip with his profeſſional duties; and could enter into thoſe retreats of anxiety, from which flow an infinitude of bodily diſtreſſes, with an eye clearly diſcerning, yet incurious and benign.—A religious ſenſibility of ſpirit diſpoſed him to draw near the deep ſprings of affliction, and diffuſe the oil of peace over the troubled waters. There was a diſcretion in his ſympathy, that attached the confidence of his patients to an uncommon degree; and of what importance ſuch an acquiſition muſt be in the courſe of an extenſive practice, I leave to the judgment of every ſkilful practitioner.

A lady of my acquaintance, occaſionally expreſſing her high regard for the Doctor, and the ſatisfaction ſhe received from his attendance

attendance upon her on many occaſions, made uſe of the following pathetic language.—"He was indeed my warm friend and adviſer in my diſtreſs, as well as my phyſician.—He was, under Providence, the preſerver of my health, and the reſtorer of my peace in the ſevereſt conflicts of my life."

[Dr. Hird proceeds to ſpeak of him as an encourager of ſcience, as a patron of men of genius, and as a generous promoter of, and contributor to charities and works of public utility and convenience: in ſpeaking of Dr. Fothergill under this laſt head, he gives an account of his laudable inſtitution of the Foundling Hoſpital at Ackworth. The concluſion is as follows.]

The perſon of Dr. Fothergill was of a delicate, rather of an extenuated make: his features were all character; his eye had a peculiar brilliancy of expreſſion, yet it was not eaſy ſo to mark the leading trait, as to diſengage it from the united whole. He was remarkably active and alert, and, with a few exceptions, enjoyed a general good ſtate of health.

He had a peculiarity of addreſs and manner, reſulting from perſon, education, and principle; but it was ſo perfectly accompanied by the moſt engaging attentions, that he was the genuine polite man above all forms of breeding.—I knew him well, and I never knew a man who left ſuch pleaſing impreſſions on the minds of his patients.

His dreſs was remarkably neat, plain and decent, peculiarly becoming himſelf; a perfect tranſcript of the order, and, I may add, the neatneſs of his mind.—He thought it unworthy a man of ſenſe, and inconſiſtent with his character, to ſuffer himſelf to be led by the whim of faſhion, and become the ſlave of its caprices. But this impreſſion upon his underſtanding was much ſtrengthened by his firm attachment to his principles as a quaker, which led to that decent plainneſs and modeſty in dreſs, which may be preſumed to be one at leaſt amongſt the external evidences of a ſpirit elevated in its views above all tranſient and ſublunary things.

At his meals he was remarkably temperate; in the opinion of ſome, rather too abſtemious, eating ſparingly, but with a good reliſh, and rarely exceeding two glaſſes of wine at dinner or ſupper; yet by this uniform and ſteady temperance, he preſerved his mind vigorous and active, and his conſtitution equal to all his engagements.

His ideas of retreat from buſineſs were marked by a degree of dignity perfectly correſpondent with the reſt of his character. "I wiſh, ſaid he, as far as I ought to wiſh, to withdraw myſelf from my profeſſional labours in full poſſeſſion of my faculties, and, I may add, of my reputation; for I well know, from many an humiliating inſtance, how much the infirmities of age, or paralytic debility, to which we are all of us alike expoſed, may affect the remembrance of our beſt qualities."—He wiſhed to retire with the reſpect, rather than the compaſſion, of his friends.—It has pleaſed Providence to remove him from ſociety, after a few weeks' painful indiſpoſition, in the vigour

of his faculties, and in the luſtre of his reputation, having cloſed a life of uſefulneſs and honour, in the 69th year of his age, with expreſſions of a well-grounded aſſurance of an happy immortality.

In the language of his own eulogium on the memory of his friend Dr. Ruſſell, I ſhall conclude this imperfect tribute to the memory of my affectionate, ſteady, and I may add, my partial friend, Dr. Fothergill;—"animated by "his example, let us purſue the "arduous track of public virtue; "and having, like him, ſupported the dignity of our profeſ"ſion, by dealing with a li"beral hand to all the bleſſings "of health, to the utmoſt of our "abilities, and done honour to "our ſpecies, by the conſtant "exerciſe of uprightneſs, can"dour and benignity, may we "cloſe the ſcene in full poſſeſ"ſion of all that deſerves the name "of human felicity."

An Account of the Indians *of Porto de la Trinadad, in* 41 *N. Lat. on the N. W. Coaſt of America, from the Spaniſh Journal by* Don Franciſco Maurelle, *of a Voyage in* 1775, *to explore the Coaſt of America, Northward of California, tranſlated by the Hon.* Daines Barrington. *From* Barrington's Miſcellanies.

ON the 11th of June 1775, we had fixed every thing with regard to our anchorage, and we determined to take poſſeſſion of the country, upon the top of a high mountain, which lyes at the entrance of the port. For this purpoſe our crews divided into different parties, which were properly poſted, ſo that the reſt might proceed without any danger of an attack. We moreover placed centinels at a conſiderable diſtance to reconnoitre the paths uſed by the Indians, who poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe parts from which we had moſt to fear. With theſe precautions the crews marched in two bodies, who adored the holy croſs upon diſembarking, and when at the top of the mountain formed a ſquare, the centre of which became a chapel. Here the holy croſs was again raiſed, maſs celebrated with a ſermon, and poſſeſſion taken, with all the requiſites enjoined by our inſtructions. We alſo fired both our muſquetry and cannon, which naturally made the Indians ſuppoſe we were irreſiſtible. After they had recovered their fright however, and found that we had done them no harm, they viſited us again, and probably to examine more nearly what had occaſioned the tremendous noiſe which they had never heard before. As we thus took poſſeſſion on the day when holy mother church celebrates the feſtival of the moſt holy Trinity, we named the port accordingly.

The following days were taken up in procuring wood and water, whilſt the ſchooner was careened. We likewiſe cut ſome maſts for her.

We could not but particularly attend to all the actions of the Indians, their manner of living, habitations, garments, food, government, laws, language, and arms, as alſo their hunting and fiſheries. The diſtruſt indeed which we naturally entertained of theſe barbarians, made us endea-

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vour to get as great an inſight into all theſe as poſſible, yet we never obſerved any thing contrary to the moſt perfect friendſhip and confidence which they ſeemed to repoſe in us. I may add, that their intercourſe with us was not only kind but affectionate.

Their houſes were ſquare, and built with large beams, the roofs being no higher than the ſurface of the ground, for the doors to which they make uſe of a circular hole, juſt large enough for their bodies to paſs through. The floors of theſe huts are perfectly ſmooth and clean, with a ſquare hole two feet deep in the centre, in which they make their fire, and round which they are continually warming themſelves, on account of the great cold. Such habitations alſo ſecure them, when not employed out of doors, from the wind and noxious animals.

The men however do not wear any covering, except the cold is intenſe, when indeed they put upon their ſhoulders the ſkins of ſea-wolves, otters, deer, or other animals: many of them alſo have round their heads ſweet-ſmelling herbs. They likewiſe wear their hair either diſhevelled over their ſhoulders, or otherwiſe *in caſtanna*.

In the flaps of their ears they have rings like thoſe at the end of a muſket.

They bind their loins and legs quite down to the ankles, very cloſely with ſtrips of hide or thread.

They paint their face, and greater part of their body, regularly either with a black or blue colour.

Their arms are covered with circles of ſmall points in the ſame manner that common people in Spain often paint ſhips and anchors.

The women cover the tops of their heads with an ornament like the creſt of a helmet, and wear their hair in two treſſes, in which they ſtick many ſweet-ſmelling herbs. They alſo uſe the ſame rings in their caps (which are of bone) as the men are before deſcribed to do, and cover their bodies with the ſame ſkins, beſides which they more decently wear an apron of the ſame kind, about a foot wide, with ſome threads formed into a fringe. They likewiſe bind their legs in the ſame manner with the men.

The underlip of thoſe women is ſwelled out into three *faſcias*, or riſings, two of which iſſue from the corners of the mouth to the loweſt part of the beard, and the third from the higheſt point, and middle of that point to the lower, like the others, leaving between each a ſpace of clear fleſh, which is much larger in the young than in the older women, whoſe faces are generally covered with punctures, ſo as to be totally diſfigured.

On their necks they wear various fruits, inſtead of beads; ſome of theſe ornaments alſo conſiſt of the bones of animals, or ſhells from the ſea-coaſt.

This tribe of Indians is governed by a ruler, who directs where they ſhall go both to hunt and fiſh for what the community ſtands in need of. We alſo obſerved that one of theſe Indians always examined carefully the ſea-ſhore, when we went to our ſhips on the cloſe of twilight, the occaſion of

which probably was to take care that all their people ſhould return ſafe to their habitations about that time.

It ſhould ſeem that the authority of this ruler is confined to a particular village of theſe habitations, together with ſuch a diſtrict of country as may be ſuppoſed to belong to the inhabitants of ſuch a community, who ſometimes are at war with other villages, againſt whom they appeared to aſk our aſſiſtance, making us ſigns for that purpoſe. There are however many other villages which are friendly to each other, if not to theſe Indians; for on our firſt arrival more than 300 came down in different parties, with their women and children, who were not indeed permitted to enter the village of our Indians.

Whilſt this ſort of intercourſe continued between us, we obſerved an infant who could ſcarcely be a year old, ſhooting arrows from a bow proportioned to his ſize and ſtrength, and who hit one's hand at two or three yards diſtance, if it was held up for a mark.

We never obſerved that theſe Indians had any idols, or made ſacrifices: but as we found out that they had a plurality of wives, or women, at leaſt, we inferred, *with good reaſon, that they were perfect athieſts.*

Upon the death of one of theſe Indians they raiſed a ſort of funeral cry, and afterwards burned the body within the houſe of their ruler; but from this we could not pronounce they were idolators, becauſe the cry of lamentation might proceed from affliction, and the body might have been burnt, that the corpſe ſhould not be expoſed to wild beaſts; or perhaps this might have been done to avoid the ſtench of the deceaſed, when putrefaction might commence.

We were not able to underſtand one of their regulations, as they permitted our people to enter all their houſes, except that of their ruler; and yet when we had broken through this etiquette, we could not obſerve any thing different between the *palace*, and the other huts.

It was impoſſible for us to underſtand their language, for which reaſon we had no intercourſe but by ſigns, and therefore both parties often continued in a total ignorance of each other's meaning: we obſerved however that they pronounced our words with great eaſe.

Their arms are chiefly arrows pointed with flint, and ſome of them with copper or iron, which we underſtood were procured from the N. and one of them was thus marked C_{ur}. Theſe arrows are carried in quivers of wood or bone, and hang from their wriſt or neck.

But what they chiefly value is iron, and particularly knives or hoops of old barrels; they alſo readily barter for bugles; whilſt they rejected both proviſions or any article of dreſs. They pretended however that they ſometimes approved the former, in order to procure our eſteem; but ſoon after they had accepted any ſort of meat, we obſerved that they ſet it aſide, as of no value. At laſt indeed they took kindly to our biſcuits, and really eat them.

Amongſt theſe Indians there was one who had more familiar inter-

intercourſe with us than all the reſt, ſitting down with us in ſight of his countrymen.

They uſed tobacco, which they ſmoaked in ſmall wooden pipes in form of a trumpet, and procured from little gardens where they had planted it.

They chiefly hunt deer, cibulos, ſea-wolves, and otters, nor did we obſerve that they purſued any others. The only birds we met with on this part of the coaſt were daws, hawks, very ſmall paroquets, ducks, and gulls; there were alſo ſome parrots with red feet, bills, and breaſts, like lories both in their heads and flight.

The fiſh on that coaſt are chiefly ſardines, perjerey, and cod; of which they only bring home as much as will ſatisfy the wants of the day.

We tried to find if they had ever ſeen other ſtrangers, or ſhips, than our own, but though we took great pains to inform ourſelves on this head, we never could perfectly comprehend what they ſaid; upon the whole we conceived that we were the only foreigners who had ever viſited that part of the coaſt.

We likewiſe endeavoured to know from them whether they had any mines or precious ſtones; but in this we were likewiſe diſappointed.

What we ſaw of the country leaves us no doubt of its fertility, and that it is capable of producing all the plants of Europe. In moſt of the gullies of the hills there are rills of clear and cool water, the ſides of which are covered with herbs (as in the meadows of Europe) of both agreeable verdure and ſmell. Amongſt theſe were Caſtilian roſes, ſmallage, lilies, plantain, thiſtles, camomile, and many others. We likewiſe found ſtrawberries, raſpberies, blackberries, ſweet onions, and potatoes, all of which grew in conſiderable abundance, and particularly near the rills. Amongſt other plants we obſerved one which much reſembled parſley (though not in its ſmell), which the Indians bruiſed and ate, after mixing it with onions.

The hills were covered with very large, high and ſtrait pines, amongſt which I obſerved ſome of 120 feet high, and 4 in diameter towards the bottom.

All theſe pines are proper for maſts and ſhip-building.

The outline of the port is repreſented in Chart the 6th, which was drawn by D. Bruno Heceta, D. Juan Fr. de la Bodega, and myſelf. Though the port is there repreſented as open, yet it is to be underſtood that the harbour is well ſheltered from the S.W. W. and N.W. as alſo from the N. N.E. and E. *.

[This diſcovery was made by the ſchooner on the 9th of June.]

In the W. part there is a hill 50 fathoms high, joining to the continent on the N. ſide, where there is another riſing of 20, both of which afford protection not only from the winds, but the attack of an enemy.

At the entrance of the port is a ſmall iſland of conſiderable height, without a ſingle plant upon it; and on the ſides of the coaſt are high rocks, which are very convenient for diſembarking; goods

* Theſe charts, which amount to nine, have never been tranſmitted to England.

alſo may be ſhipped ſo near the hill, that a ladder may be uſed from the land to the veſſel; and near the ſand are many ſmall rocks, which ſecure the ſhip at anchor from the S.E. and S.W.

We compleated our watering very early from the number of rills which emptied themſelves into the harbour; we were likewiſe as ſoon ſupplied with wood.

We paid great attention to the tides, and found them to be as regular as in Europe.

We made repeated obſervations with regard to the latitude of this harbour, and found it was exactly 41 degrees and 7 minutes N. whilſt we ſuppoſed the longitude to be 19 degrees and 4 minutes W. of S. Blas.

We had thus thoroughly inveſtigated every thing which relates to this harbour, except the courſe of a river which came from the S.W. and which appeared whilſt we were at the top of the hill. We took therefore the boat on the 18th, and found that the mouth was wider than is neceſſary for the diſcharge of the water, which is loſt in the ſands on each ſide, ſo that we could not even enter it except at full tide. However we left our boat, and proceeded a league into the country, whilſt the river continued of the ſame width, viz. 20 feet, and about five deep.

On the banks of this river were larger timber trees than we had before ſeen, and we conceived that in land-floods the whole plain (which was more than a quarter of a league broad) muſt be frequently covered with water, as there were many places where it continued to ſtagnate.

We gave this river the name of *Pigeons*, becauſe at our firſt landing we ſaw large flocks of theſe, and other birds, ſome of which had pleaſing notes.

On the ſides of the mountains we found the ſame plants and fruits, as in the more immediate neighbourhood of Trinity-harbour.

An Account of John Law *and of the Miſſiſſipi Scheme, projected by him in* 1717—*from the private Life of* Lewis 15*th, tranſlated from the* French, by J. O. Juſtamond, *F. R. S.*

JOHN Law was a Scotchman, the ſon of a goldſmith of Edinburgh. Never did man poſſeſs, in ſo a perfect a degree, the power of calculating and combining; and he cultivated theſe talents, by following the bent of his inclination. He applied himſelf to every thing that related to banks, lotteries, and to the trading companies of London; he ſtudied the means of ſupporting them, of animating the hopes and confidence of the public, by keeping up their expectations, or by increaſing their zeal. He penetrated into the inmoſt ſecrets of theſe matters; and increaſed his ſtock of knowledge ſtill more, from the new company, eſtabliſhed by Harley Earl of Oxford, for paying off the national debt. Having afterwards obtained the employment of ſecretary to ſome agent of the reſident's in Holland, he made himſelf acquainted upon the ſpot with the famous bank of Amſterdam with its capital, its poduce, its reſources; with the demands individuals had upon it; with its variations, its intereſt; with the

mode

mode of lowering or raiſing its ſtock, in order to withdraw the capital, that it might be diſtributed and circulated; with the order that bank obſerved in its accounts and in its offices; and even with its expenditures and its form of adminiſtration. By dint of reflecting upon the information he had acquired, and of combining ſo many different ideas, he formed a ſyſtem which was admirable for its order, and the concatenation of the various operations which conſtituted it; a ſyſtem founded at leaſt as much upon the knowledge of the human heart, as upon the ſcience of numbers; but from which good faith, equity, and humanity, were totally baniſhed, to make way for perfidy, injuſtice, violence, and cruelty. And indeed the author of it was himſelf an unprincipled wretch, bound by no ties of morality or religion. Having ſlain or murdered a man, he was obliged to fly from Great Britain; he brought away with him another man's wife, with whom he lived many years as if ſhe had been his own. His avidity was inſatiable, and it was to gratify this paſſion, that all his extenſive combinations were made to concur. In that exhauſted ſtate to which the war had reduced all the European powers, he foreſaw that they would neceſſarily endeavour to reeſtabliſh their finances, and he conceived greater hopes of ſucceeding than ever, by the allurement of his ſyſtem, which was calculated to ſeduce any power that would not ſcruple to prefer the ſpedieſt method of exonerating itſelf, to that which was moſt honeſt. The object of his plan, therefore, was neither trade nor the facility of levying taxes without diminiſhing them, nor the retrenchment of expences, nor the cultivation of the ſoil, nor the conſumption of proviſions, nor even the circulation of the ſpecie. He had built up his ſyſtem with a view that a ſovereign ſhould pay his debts, not only without encroaching upon his profuſion or his luxury, but alſo by attracting to himſelf all the gold and ſilver of his ſubjects; and ſuch was to be the illuſion, that the ſubjects ſhould give it up voluntarily; nay more, ſhould be eager to bring it in, ſhould inſiſt upon its being received, ſhould conſider it as a favour to be preferred; and that when they were rouzed from this dream, if they ſhould find themſelves bereft of their property, they ſhould not be able to lay the blame on any thing but their own avidity. A project of a moſt alarming nature to the human mind, and which every other man, except this daring genius, would have rejected as a chimera, if it had ſuggeſted itſelf to him!

This ſyſtem conſiſted of a bank, the real capital of which was to be the revenues of the ſtate, and the accruing capital, ſome unknown kind of commerce. This benefit being calculated to keep pace with the imagination in its increaſe, was to be a wonderful ſpur to thoſe gameſters who wiſhed to partake of it, by means of ſhares, which were to be made out ſucceſſively, in proportion to the eagerneſs of the parties.

Theſe ſhares, in fact, which were at firſt few in number, could not fail of riſing to an enormous price on account of their ſcarcity, and

and the rapidity of the circulation; this would not only facilitate, but even neceſſitate the making of other ſhares, and at an advanced premium.

This new paper, bringing the old into diſcredit, would furniſh an excellent mode of diſtributing it; becauſe the old paper would be received at par, but always with a certain proportion of money.

In order to engage perſons to get rid of this old paper, the value of it was to be made uncertain by frequent fluctuations; thus the poſſeſſors of it would be apprehenſive that it might become of no value in their hands; when it ſhould be raiſed, one would readily convert it into ſhares, to ſecure the advantage; and when it ſhould be lowered, one would fear that it ſhould become lower ſtill.

The bank, on the contrary, were to make all their payments in bills, whoſe value being invariable, would keep up the confidence in them, and would render them more negotiable, and preferable to ſpecie.

The diſcredit brought upon money would lower the intereſt of it, and the prince was to avail himſelf of this reduction to make his loans, and thus diſcharge part of his debts without any diſburſement; for the individuals, not knowing what to do with it, would bring it back to him.

If the individuals wiſhed to lay out their money in more ſolid acquiſitions, lands, proviſions, and merchandize would increaſe, and conſequently ſo would the receipt of the taxes and the cuſtoms.

This phantom of fortune dazzling the eyes of every one, the ſeveral claſſes of citizens, in their eagerneſs for partaking of it, would intereſt themſelves in the keeping up of the bank ſo much the more; as a number of individuals either more fortunate or more dexterous, neceſſarily making enormous profits, would excite the general cupidity, nearly in the ſame manner as the higheſt prize in a lottery keeps up the hopes of the adventurers, of whom the greater part muſt nevertheleſs be loſers. Now, what ſort of competition would there not be in this inſtance, where every one would be certain of winning, by increaſing the dividends à propos?

Let this illuſion be kept up only for a few years, and the ſovereign will have paid off all his debts, and will have drawn into his coffers, the greateſt part of the ſpecie of his own, and even of other kingdoms.

Such were the axioms and the corollaries of Law's ſyſtem: an infernal theory, deduced certainly from facts, and which he had never ventured to conſider coolly in all its horror: let us ſay more, a theory that was not even to be conceived; but the regent and he, hurried away, in ſpite of themſelves by the rapid motion of this political machine, were obliged to yield to its impulſe, till it broke to pieces by its own efforts.

However this may be, the author of this plan, whether more or leſs digeſted with reſpect to its conſequences, perceiving that it could not be carried into execution in any ſtate except where the ſovereign enjoyed abſolute authority, conſidered France as the kingdom moſt fit for his deſign. Beſides, he knew the people; that they

they were fond of novelty, that they adopted it without conſideration, and gave themſelves up to it with a kind of frenzy. It has been aſſerted, that he firſt propoſed his ſyſtem to Lewis XIV. who, notwithſtanding his being in want of ſuch a ſcheme, upon the bare expoſition of it, rejected it with a kind of abhorrence. The author was not diſconcerted, but produced it again to the Duke of Orleans. That prince, more determined, more enterprizing, and certainly leſs ſcrupulous, conſidered it as very uſeful to his views; he was moreover preſſed by circumſtances; he wiſhed to avail himſelf of the ſhort time he had to govern, to remedy the evils of the ſtate, which required a neceſſary criſis. He therefore adopted this ſyſtem; he would not allow himſelf to think of the violent convulſion into which he was going to throw the ſtate, and flattered himſelf, that his genius would be able to put a ſtop to its effects, whenever they ſhould become too fatal. Nevertheleſs, as he was not the abſolute maſter, and that he was obliged to act with a great deal of caution, he adopted it only ſlowly, and by degrees.

At firſt he contented himſelf with permitting Law to eſtabliſh a bank, in order to accuſtom the people by degrees to ſuch a title, and to ſuch an eſtabliſhment. It was preſented under an appearance of public utility, and it would really have been attended with very great advantages, if it had been confined to the functions ſpecified in the edict which ſet it on foot.

The year following, in order to give this bank a credit, which was to be anſwerable to the more extenſive undertakings it was to embrace, a decree of council was iſſued, which ordered all thoſe who had the management of the royal treaſure, to receive and even to diſcharge the bills without diſcount. By this decree, full of artifice, under the appearance of ſimplicity, the bank was made the repoſitory of all the revenues of the king. This was the firſt ſtep towards that ideal fortune it was to make: it immediately fixed the intereſt at ſeven and a half per cent.

Some time after, a trading company was created, under the title of the *Weſtern* or *Miſſiſſipi Company*. Its object was the planting and culture of the French colonies of North America. The king gave to this company all the lands of Louiſiana, and permitted French, as well as foreigners, to be concerned in it, by taking ſhares of it, part of the value of which might be furniſhed in bills of ſtate, which loſt from fifty to ſixty per cent upon the ſpot. How was it poſſible to reſiſt ſuch a bait, more eſpecially as the country was repreſented as a Peru, more fertile in gold than that of the Spaniards! Even the parliament was taken in, and made no ſcruple of regiſtering. They yet ſaw nothing in this, but what might be uſeful to the ſtate.

In 1718 the bank made further advances. It was announced under the title of *Bank Royal*, by a declaration of his majeſty, which ſignified, that the king had reimburſed in money the capitals of thoſe perſons who had ſhares in the bank, which they had only paid

paid in bills of ſtate, and that theſe capitals had been converted into ſhares of the weſtern company; and in a word, that the king was become ſole proprietor of all the ſhares of the bank. Mr. Law was appointed director to it, under the authority of his majeſty and the orders of the regent.

An Account of the Chevalier d'Eon. *From the ſame.*

THIS Chevalier d'Eon, who has ſince been transformed into a woman, and who probably partakes of both ſexes, deſerves to be more particularly known. She relates her hiſtory in the following manner:—Born at Tonnerre, Mademoiſelle d'Eon, a lady according to her own confeſſion, was in the tendereſt age endowed with a prudence capable of ſeconding the political views of her parents, who made her paſs for a boy. She was ſent to Paris, and placed at the College Mazarin, where we may conceive how much diſguſt, labour, and fatigue, ſhe muſt have experienced, to go through the ſeveral exerciſes of body and mind, without betraying the ſecrets of her ſex, which was never ſuſpected. To the ſtudy of the belles lettres, ſucceeded that of the laws. She was received Doctor in Civil, then in Canon Law, and afterwards counſellor. Already known by ſeveral works, ſhe had an opportunity of introducing herſelf to the Prince of Conti, who honoured her family with a particular protection. Ruſſia was then at variance with France; it was an important matter to reconcile theſe two courts: a myſterious agent was wanted without a title, and yet capable of inſinuation, and of fulfilling the delicate commiſſion he was to be charged with. The Prince of Conti thought he had found in Mademoiſelle d'Eon all the neceſſary qualifications, and propoſed her to Lewis XV. who was fond of ſuch myſteries. He readily accepted the female negociator; who upon her approach to Peterſbourg, aſſumed the dreſs of her real ſex, and ſucceeded ſo well in her buſineſs, that his majeſty was pleaſed to ſend her a ſecond time into Ruſſia, with the Chevalier Douglas. She had then reſumed her manly dreſs, and went through this ſecond character with ſtill more fineſſe, ſince it is affirmed, that ſhe was not even diſcovered by the empreſs. The aim of her negotiations was, to determine Ruſſia to form an alliance with the Courts of Vienna and Verſailles, rather than with Pruſſia. When the treaty was ſigned, Mademoiſelle d'Eon was commiſſioned to carry the news to the king. She broke her leg upon the road. This accident, however, did not ſtop her, and ſhe arrived at Verſailles ſix-and-thirty hours before the courier who had been diſpatched from Vienna at the inſtant of her departure. The king, delighted, ordered his ſurgeon to take particular care of Mademoiſelle d'Eon, and gave her a lieutenancy of dragoons, which ſhe deſired. She ſerved in the laſt campaigns, then re-entered the career of politics, and was ſent ſecretary of an embaſſy to London, where ſhe made herſelf ſo agreeable to that court, that his Britannic majeſty, contrary to

cuſtom,

cuſtom, choſe her to carry to Verſailles, and to the Duke of Bedford his ambaſſador at Paris, the ratification of the treaty of peace concluded between the two nations. It was upon this occaſion, that the king gave her the croſs of Saint Louis. He had already beſtowed two penſions upon her. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that ſhe is the moſt extraordinary perſon of the age. We have ſeveral times ſeen women metamorphoſed into men, and doing their duty in the war; but we have ſeen no one who has united ſo many military, political, and literary talents.

Character of the French. *From* Sherlock's *Letters.*

"A Frenchman," ſays the Earl of Cheſterfield, "who, with a fund of learning, virtue, and good ſenſe, has the manners and good-breeding of his country, is the perfection of human nature." I am not an enemy to the French; but I do not think this aſſertion true. In my opinion, the following would have been juſter: *An Engliſhman, who joins manners and good-breeding to the ſolidity, energy, and greatneſs of mind, which characterize his country, is the perfection of human nature.* I do not mean to compliment. But ſentiments and actions are upon a more elevated ſcale here than can be found in any other nation in the world. There are no effects without cauſes; and the cauſes of this are very obvious. We paſs our youth with the Greeks and Romans. Their great examples expand our ſouls; the brightneſs of their actions, and the ſplendour of their principles, kindle the moſt noble paſſions in our minds; and, when we come to be men, the nature of our government feeds this flame, and we glow with a certain internal ardour, which occaſionally breaks out into action, and which is neither known nor comprehended but in the dominions of Britain.

I do juſtice here to my country; and my ſoul feels happy, that I am able to give her, with truth, a ſuperiority over the univerſe in genius and magnanimity. But if from this I ſhall be underſtood to think meanly of the French, becauſe they are the rivals and enemies of this nation, it would indeed be to miſinterpret me much. Though I do not think that people *equal* to this in *greatneſs*, I think them a very great people. And if the Engliſh are ſuperior to the French in all the more elevated qualities which dignify and ennoble humanity; ſo the French ſurpaſs the Engliſh in all the milder and gentler virtues, which grace and adorn it.

In England the French have few friends. But they have *one*; and *that* one am I. They could not, I acknowledge, have a feebler advocate; but while I have a tongue to ſpeak, or a pen to write, wherever I go I'll do them juſtice.

Let every man who *knows* that nation ſpeak of it as he found it; if he lived in their intimacy for years (as I did), and if he found them ill-natured, ill-mannered, treacherous, and cowardly, let him ſpeak his mind. I quarrel with no man who judges for himſelf, and who ſpeaks the truth.

But

But let the indulgence I grant, be granted to me again; and let me be permitted to tell the world, that, however other men may have found them, I found them good-humoured, good-natured, brave, poliſhed, frank and friendly.

They *were* my friends, faithful and juſt to me;
But Brutus ſays they are *perfidious*;
And Brutus is an honourable man.
I ſpeak not to diſprove what Brutus ſpoke;
But here I am *to ſpeak what I do know*.

I found them all animated with a deſire to pleaſe, and always ready to do me every ſervice in their power. I owe them a thouſand obligations. I had faults; they corrected them: I wanted knowledge; they informed me: I was rough; they ſoftened me: I was ſick; they viſited me: I was vain; they flattered me: I had need of counſel; they gave me the beſt advice: every man has need of agreeable company, and every man may be ſure to find it in France.

I could be laviſh in praiſe of this nation; but I am ſorry to ſay, that too many people here have prejudices againſt them, as ridiculous as they are ill-founded. They *deſpiſe* the French as if they were beings without either ſenſe or ſentiment; though their writings and actions ſhew they are full of both. Becauſe two ſtates have different intereſts, is *that* a reaſon that every individual belonging to thoſe ſtates ſhould promote, to the utmoſt of his abilities, the intereſt and glory of the country to which he belongs? It certainly is. And *therefore*, every Frenchman has the ſame merit in labouring with all his might for the deſtruction of the Britiſh fleet, that every Engliſhman has in exerting all *his* powers to annihilate the navy of France. If a blaſt of *my* breath could ſend all the ſhips ſhe has to the bottom of the ſea—Puff—They were ſunk, before you could finiſh this period. But is it a reaſon I ſhould hate or deſpiſe the French, becauſe I am naturally and neceſſarily the enemy of France?

The beſt way I think to judge this matter is to take two other rival nations; Auſtria and Pruſſia; Athens and Sparta. Here you are diſpaſſionate; your judgment will be juſt. Do you think it the duty of a liberal-minded Pruſſian to deſpiſe an Auſtrian? Or, ſhould a well-born Athenian deteſt a Lacedæmonian, becauſe he is equally animated by the ſame noble flame that warms himſelf, the love of his country? The nation which is able to rival another, proves herſelf worthy the admiration of that nation even by her rivality; and had I no other reaſon to conſider the French as a great people, beſide their being able to contend with England, that proof for *me* would be ſufficient.

But the French are perfidious *in politics*. I deny that they *can* be perfidious with the Engliſh. They may be treacherous, for aught I know, with the Auſtrians and the Spaniards. There they profeſs friendſhip. They are of the ſame religion, frequently intermarry, and have frequent alliances. With England, France has no connection. She may overreach her in politics; but ſhe never can deceive her by perfidy; becauſe ſhe is her uniform enemy. There is not an infant that does not

not know that France ever was, and ever will be, the enemy of England. The making a peace is not making a friendſhip; and the French will not be more the friends of England when this peace is made, than they were five years before the war began; or than they are now. The rivality between the two nations will laſt while the nations laſt. They are *littora litteribus contraria*, oppoſite in every thing. It is the duty of France to depreſs England as much as ſhe can. It is the duty of England to keep down France as much as is in her power. It is the duty of both to do juſtice to the other. This juſtice the French *do* render the Engliſh. I am ſorry I cannot ſay the Engliſh do the ſame by them. Every claſs of men in France praiſe the people of this country: ſome, the ſolidity of their underſtanding, and the extent of their genius; others, the energy and vigour of their character; many, their magnanimity and benevolence; and all, their courage and good faith. While here—but I bluſh for numbers, and am aſhamed to finiſh my period.

Character of the French *Ladies compared with that of the* Engliſh. *From the ſame.*

WOMEN are a ſubject upon which ſo much has been ſaid and written by ſo many men of abilities, that it is not eaſy to imagine a new light to ſhew them in; or to place them in an attitude, in which they have not been already placed. But, talking of a nation, if one did not ſay ſomething about ſo conſiderable a part of it, the ſubject muſt appear mutilated and imperfect.

As brevity is the ſoul of wit, I ſhall be brief; and I ſhall only touch on the principal points in which the women of France differ from thoſe of other countries.

When a French lady comes into a room, the firſt thing that ſtrikes you is, that ſhe walks better, holds herſelf better, has her head and feet better dreſſed, her cloaths better fancied, and better put on, than any woman you have ever ſeen.

When ſhe talks ſhe is the art of pleaſing perſonified. Her eyes, her lips, her words, her geſtures, are all prepoſſeſſing. Her language is the language of amiableneſs; her accents are the accents of grace. She embelliſhes a trifle; ſhe intereſts upon a nothing; ſhe ſoftens a contradiction; ſhe takes off the inſipidneſs of a compliment by turning it elegantly; and, when ſhe has a mind, ſhe ſharpens and poliſhes the point of an epigram better than all the women in the world.

Her eyes ſparkle with ſpirit; the moſt delightful ſallies flaſh from her fancy; in telling a ſtory, ſhe is inimitable; the motions of her body, and the accents of her tongue, are equally genteel and eaſy; an equable flow of ſoftened ſprightlineſs keeps her conſtantly good-humoured and chearful: and the only objects of her life are to pleaſe, and to be pleaſed.

Her vivacity may *ſometimes* approach to folly; but perhaps it is not in her moments of folly ſhe is leaſt intereſting and agreeable. Engliſh women have many points of ſuperiority over the French; the

the French are ſuperior to them in many others. I have mentioned ſome of theſe points in other places. Here I ſhall only ſay, there is a particular idea in which no woman in the world can compare with a French-woman; it is in the power of *intellectual irritation*. She will draw wit out of a fool. She ſtrikes with ſuch addreſs the cords of ſelf-love, that ſhe gives unexpected vigour and agility to fancy; and electrifies a body that appeared non-electric.

I have mentioned here the women of England; and I have done wrong. I did not intend it when I began the letter. They came into my mind as the *only* women in the world worthy of being compared with thoſe of France. To ſettle the reſpective claims of the fair ſex in thoſe two countries, requires an abler pen than mine. I ſhall not dare to examine it even in a ſingle point; nor preſume to determine whether, in the important article of beauty, form and colour are to be preferred to expreſſion and grace, or whether grace and expreſſion are to be conſidered as preferable to complexion and ſhape. I ſhall not examine whether the *piquant* of France is to be thought ſuperior to the *touchant* of England; or whether deep ſenſibility deſerves to be preferred to animation and wit. So important a ſubject requires a volume. I ſhall only venture to give a trait. If a goddeſs could be ſuppoſed to be formed, compounded of Juno and Minerva, that goddeſs would be the emblem of the women of this country. Venus, as ſhe is, with all her amiableneſſes and imperfections, may ſtand juſtly enough for an emblem of French women. I have decided the queſtion without intending it; for I have given the preference to the women of England,

One point I had forgotten; and it is a material one. It is not to be diſputed on; for what I am going to write is the opinion and ſentiment of the univerſe. The Engliſh women are the beſt wives under heaven—and ſhame be on the men who make them bad huſbands!

Character of the Italians. *From the ſame.*

MEDIOCRITY is rare here; every thing is in extremes. No where is ſo fine muſic to be heard; no where (except at the opera of Paris) are the ears ſo cruelly tortured: the eyes are charmed and tormented alternately by the moſt ſuperb and moſt deteſtable pictures and ſtatues. No citizens; an exceſſive luxury amongſt individuals; and the people in the moſt abject miſery. It is the ſame in regard to religion; you will ſee nothing but a blind ſuperſtition or determined atheiſts. But of all the extremes the moſt ſtriking are thoſe which are obſerved in the character of the nation. The Italian, in general, is exceedingly good, or wicked to a degree. There are excellent hearts in this country; but, like the great pictures, they are ſcarce. Men are born there with ſtrong paſſions, and, not receiving any education, it is not aſtoniſhing that they often commit great crimes. Under a cold exterior

terior they conceal burning hearts; and their exterior is cold only to conceal their hearts. Love, jealouſy, and revenge are their ruling paſſions; as they think only of the ſenſual part of love, and know well the conſtitutions of their women, and the wiles of their rivals, their jealouſy is always awake, and their revenge is implacable.

As to underſtanding, it is nearly the ſame; men of talents form the large claſs; there are few fools; and middling men are very rare. "Why then, you will aſk, do theſe men produce nothing excellent?" Becauſe they have ungoverned imaginations, and no philoſophy; and becauſe good taſte has not yet penetrated into their country. And why has not good taſte entered Italy? Becauſe Italy has neither a London nor a Paris; and becauſe ſhe never had a Lewis the fourteenth.

Travellers are often miſtaken in judging of the Italian, eſpecially the Neapolitan. They think he has no ſenſe, becauſe he wants ideas. A man can have but few ideas when he has never been out of his own country, and when he has read nothing; but examine the Neapolitan on all the ſubjects with which he is acquainted, and you will ſee whether he wants natural capacity. He reſembles the ſoil of his own country: a field well tilled in Naples produces the moſt plentiful crops; neglected, it yields but briars and thiſtles. It is the ſame with the genius of the inhabitants: cultivated, it is capable of every thing; untilled, it produces only folly and vice.

Sketch of the Life and Character of the famous Poet Lope de Vega; *from a Book entitled "Letters from an* Engliſh *Traveller in* Spain, *&c.*"

Madrid, *Auguſt* 15, 1778.

THOUGH I perfectly agree with you in opinion relating to our immortal Shakeſpeare, yet I cannot refrain from doing that juſtice to his contemporary Lope de Vega which his moſt extraordinary talents deſerve; I ſhall therefore attempt to give you the character of this great poet, which is no eaſy taſk when his amazing abilities are conſidered; however, I ſhall venture to proceed, as this will be the laſt letter I ſhall write to you from hence.

Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, born the 25th of November 1562, was the ſon of Felix Vega de Carpio, a gentleman of Madrid, who had the reputation of being a very good poet, a turn which he obſerved with rapture in his child from its infancy, and which the fond parent cheriſhed with the greateſt delight. At five years of age young Lope could read Spaniſh and Latin fluently, and even make verſes, which he exchanged with his ſchool-fellows for pictures and other trifles. His father, charmed with this ſurprizing dawn of genius, ſpared no pains to cultivate a darling plant, that ſeemed to encourage the moſt flattering expectations. At the age of twelve, Lope was maſter of the Latin tongue and the art of rhetoric; could dance and fence with eaſe and dexterity, and ſing with a tolerable taſte.—Endowed with theſe accompliſhments, he became

an orphan at his firſt entrance into the world, with every preſſure of diſtreſs, and was taken into the ſervice of the biſhop of Avila, in whoſe praiſe he wrote ſeveral paſtorals, and made his firſt dramatic eſſay, with a comedy entitled La Paſtoral de Jacinto. He ſoon after quitted his patron, went to the univerſity of Alcala, where he ſtudied philoſophy, and took a degree, then returned to Madrid, and became ſecretary to the duke of Alva, who entruſted him with his moſt weighty concerns. Encouraged by his new Mecænas, he again tuned his lyre, and ſung his praiſe in a poem entitled Arcadia. About this time he married Dona Iſabella de Urbina, a lady of faſhion, on account of whoſe gallantries he ſoon after fought a duel, and having grievouſly wounded his antagoniſt, fled to Valencia, where he lived ſome years; after which he returned again to Madrid, where loſing his wife, he felt himſelf animated with a military ardour, and repaired to Cadiz to embark on board the great armada, fitting out by Philip the ſecond, againſt Queen Elizabeth. In this fleet he ſailed for Liſbon in company with his brother, a lieutenant in the Spaniſh navy who loſt his life in that expedition. Our poet had his ſhare of the misfortunes of that diſappointed fleet, and appeared at Madrid without a ſingle friend, became ſecretary to the marquis of Malpica, and afterwards to the count of Lemos. Though his firſt marriage was ſo unſucceſsful, he was in hopes of being more fortunate in that ſtate with Dona Juana de Guardia, a lady of rank, whom he ſoon after loſt. Inconſolable at theſe repeated afflictions, he entered into the eccleſiaſtic ſtate, was ordained a prieſt, and appointed head chaplain to a congregation of prieſts at Madrid, though he ſtill courted the muſes, making this the chief relaxation that ſoftened his ſorrows He was now in the zenith of his poetic glory, and his reputation became ſo univerſal, that Pope Urban the eighth ſent him the degree of doctor in divinity, and the croſs of the order of Malta, added to a lucrative poſt in the apoſtolic exchequer, which Lope held to his death, which happened in his ſeventy-third year, to the great regret of the court, and every learned man in the kingdom. The duke of Seſa, who was his patron and executor, cauſed him to be interred at his own expence, with ſuch pomp and magnificence as had never been ſeen before for a private perſon; the duke invited all the grandees of the kingdom, who attended in perſon, in token of their concern at the loſs of ſo diſtinguiſhed a character. The funeral obſequies laſted three days, all the clergy of the king's chapel aſſiſted, three biſhops officiated pontifically, and three of the moſt eloquent orators exerted themſelves in praiſe of the deceaſed, adding new laurels to the fame of Lope de Vega, with whom, when living, many princes gloried in being acquainted. Pope Urban wrote him a letter in anſwer to a dedication of his poem in favour of Mary queen of Scots, entitled *Corona tragica de Maria Stuardo.* Cardinal Barbarini held a very intimate correſpondence with him, as did many

many other cardinals and noblemen, who courted his friendſhip. When he walked in the ſtreets he was gazed upon and followed as a prodigy; he was, moreover, loaded with preſents, and by the rapid ſale of his numerous works, ſoon amaſſed a conſiderable fortune, and acquired a capital of 150,000 ducats, beſides his annual income of fifteen hundred ducats, ariſing out of his benefices and employments; ſo great was the fertility of his genius, the amazing readineſs of his wit and rapidity of thought, added to his animated expreſſion, that perhaps there never was a poet in the world, either ancient or modern, that could be compared to him.—His lyric compoſitions and fugitive pieces, with his proſe eſſays, form a collection of fifty volumes, beſides his dramatic works, which make twenty-ſix volumes more; excluſive of four hundred ſcriptural dramatic pieces, called in Spain *Autos Sacramentales*, all which were ſucceſſively brought on the ſtage; and what is ſtill more extraordinary, ſpeaking of his printed works, in one of his paſtorals to Claudio, he ſays, they form the leaſt part of what ſtill remained in his cloſet. It appears from his own authority, that he uſed conſtantly to write five ſheets a day, which multiplied by the days of his life, would make 133,225 ſheets; then reckoning the number of verſes correſponding to each ſheet, it will appear that, excluſive of proſe, he wrote 21,316,000 verſes, an unheard of exertion and facility of verſification! Our author poſſeſſing an inexhauſtible fund, which, like the fire of Veſuvius, continually afforded new matter, and blazed out inceſſantly. So extraordinary was the rapidity of his genius, he would often finiſh a play in twenty-four hours, and ſome comedies in leſs than five hours, with as much correctneſs and elegance in his verſe, as the moſt laboured pieces of other writers of his time. Such was the contemporary of Sir Philip Sidney, Shakeſpeare, and Spenſer; in his *Laurel de Apollo* he has celebrated all the good poets of his time, but none were more univerſally praiſed from all parts than himſelf; his ſurpriſing faculties were ſuch, that in his dramatic pieces he broke through all rules of art, yet ſuch was his ſucceſs, that he was conſtantly the favourite of the public, and drew perpetual burſts of applauſe.—It was not his fault if his ſucceſſors had not his talents to conceal their defects, and only imitated his imperfections, rendering the Spaniſh drama inſupportable when deprived of the beauties of Lope: this was foreſeen by Cervantes, who reproaches our poet with deſtroying the rules of the drama, as laid down by the ancients, in order to court popular applauſe; to obtain which he loſt ſight of every idea of nature or good taſte, adding, that the probability of fable dwindled in his hands, and was wafted away by the enchanting magic of verſe; all unity of time and place was annihilated; his heroes came out of their cradles, and wandered from eaſt or weſt as lovers or combatants, put on the cowl of monks, died in cloiſters, and worked miracles on the ſtage. The ſcene is tranſported from Italy to Flanders, and as eaſily ſhifted from Valencia to Mexico. Footmen diſcourſe

like courtiers, princes like bullies, and ladies like chambermaids. The actors appear in legions, often ſeventy at a time, and cloſe with numerous proceſſions, which are ſtill kept up with us, as well as opening graves, and burying the dead, performing the moſt awful rites of mortality by way of amuſement, which for my part I muſt own makes my heart recoil at the diſmal ſight; nor can the moſt captivating language of Shakeſpeare overcome my feelings at this glaring indecorum.

So ſenſible was Lope of the wildneſs of his imagination, and how wantonly he ſported with the confidence of the public, that ſpeaking of himſelf, he acknowledges his fault in the follwing words:

Mas ninguno de todos Ilamar puedo
Mas barbaro que yo, pues contra el arte
Me atrevo a dar preceptos, y me dexo
Llevar de la vulgar corriente, a donde
Me llaman ignorante, Italia y Francia.

And again,

Y eſcrivo por el arte, que inventaron
Los que el vulgar aplauſo pretendieron
Porque como los paga el vulgo, es Juſto
Hablarle en necio, para darle guſto.

That is, "that he was ſenſible of the reproaches Italy and France would make him for breaking through all rules to pleaſe the ignorant public, but ſince it was they that paid for it, they had a right to be pleaſed in their own way."

I have now given you both ſides of the queſtion, reſpecting this great man; were I to ſpeak to you of his perſonal virtues, they are yet ſuperior to his literary talents. His benevolence and charity towards the indigent and diſtreſſed was ſo great, that he always extended his hand to the needy, inſomuch that, notwithſtanding his conſiderable fortune and income, not more than ſix thouſand ducats were found at his death.—O illuſtrious bard, if an Engliſhman is not capable of doing juſtice to thy poetical numbers, and the harmony of thy verſe, accept at leaſt of this tribute to the goodneſs of thy heart!

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

Natural Hiſtory and Deſcription of the Tyger-Cat of the Cape of Good Hope, *by* John Reinhold Forſter. *LL.D. F.R. and A.S. from Vol. 71ſt of the* Philoſophical Tranſactions.

FEW tribes of quadrupeds have in Africa more repreſentatives of their different ſpecies than that of the cat. The genus of antelopes may perhaps be excepted, ſince, to my knowledge, about twenty different ghazels and antelopes are to be met with in Africa; but no more than about eight or nine of the cat tribe have hitherto been diſcovered on that continent. However, I know about twenty-one different ſpecies of this great claſs; and, I ſuppoſe, theſe by no means exhauſt this numerous tribe.

The greater and more numerous the different genera of animals are, the more difficult it muſt be to the natural hiſtorian properly to arrange the whole of ſuch an extenſive diviſion of animals, eſpecially if they are not equally well known. To form new genera, in order to diſpoſe and arrange them under, is a remedy which increaſes the evil inſtead of curing it. The beſt method, therefore, which can be deviſed, is to make great diviſions in each genus, comprehending thoſe ſpecies which, on account of ſome common relation or character, have a great affinity to one another. The genus of cat, to which the animal belongs we are going to ſpeak of more at large, offers three very eaſy and natural ſubdiviſions. The firſt comprehends animals related to the cat tribe, with long hair or manes on their necks; ſecondly, ſuch as have remarkably long tails without any marks of a mane on their necks; laſtly, ſuch as have a bruſh of hair on the tips of their ears, and ſhorter tails than the ſecond ſubdiviſion. The firſt might be called in Latin *Feles jubatæ;* the ſecond ſubdiviſion ſhould be named *Ælures*; and the third and laſt, *Lynces.* To the firſt ſubdiviſion the lion and the hunting leopard or Indian chittah, belong. The ſecond ſubdiviſion conſiſts of the tyger, the panther, the leopard, the ounce, the puma, the jaguar-ete, the jaguara, the ocelot, the gingy of Congo, the Marakaya, the tyger-cat of the Cape or the 'nſuſſi of Congo, the Tibetan tyger-cat which I ſaw at Peterſburg, the common buſh-cat of the Cape; and, laſtly, the wild cat, and its domeſtic varieties.—To the third diviſion belong the lynx, the caracal, the ſerval, the bay lynx, and the ghaus of Profeſſor Guldenſtedt.

Since it is quite foreign to my purpoſe to ſpeak of thoſe ſpecies which are known already to the naturaliſts, I confine myſelf to that ſpecies only which hitherto has been imperfectly known to naturaliſts.

The firſt notice we had of the Cape cat is, in my opinion, to be met with in Labat's *Relation Hiſtorique de l'Ethiopie occidentale*, tom. I. p. 177. taken as is ſuppoſed from Father Carazzi. Labat mentions there the 'nſuſſi, a kind of wild cat of the ſize of a dog, with a coat as much ſtriped and varied as that of a tyger. Its appearance beſpeaks cruelty, and its eyes fierceneſs; but it is cowardly, and gets its prey only by cunning and inſidious arts. All theſe characters are perfectly applicable to the Cape cat, and it ſeems the animal is found in all parts of Africa, from Congo to the Cape of Good Hope, in an extent of country of about eleven degrees of latitude. Kolbe, in his *Preſent State of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. II. p. 127. (of the Engliſh edition) ſpeaks of a tyger buſh-cat, which he deſcribes as the largeſt of all the wild cats of the Cape countries, and is ſpotted ſomething like a tyger. A ſkin of this animal was ſeen by Mr. Pennant in a furrier's ſhop in London, who thought it came from the Cape of Good Hope; from this ſkin Mr. Pennant gave the firſt deſcription which could be of any utility to a natural hiſtorian. All the other authors mention this animal in a vague manner. When I and my ſon touched the ſecond time at the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1775, an animal of this ſpecies was offered me to purchaſe; but I refuſed buying it becauſe it had a broken leg, which made me apprehenſive of loſing it by death during the paſſage from the Cape to London. It was very gentle and tame. It was brought in a baſket to my apartment, where I kept it above four and twenty hours, which gave me the opportunity of deſcribing it, and of obſerving its manners and œconomy; as it did to my ſon that of making a very accurate drawing of it.

After a moſt minute examination, I found its manners and œconomy perfectly analogous to thoſe of our domeſtic cats. It ate freſh raw meat, and was very much attached to its feeders and benefactors: though it had broke the fore-leg by accident, it nevertheleſs was very eaſy. After it had been ſeveral times fed by me, it ſoon followed me like a tame favourite cat. It liked to be ſtroked and careſſed; it rubbed its head and back always againſt the perſon's clothes who fed it, and deſired to be made much of. It purred as our domeſtic cats do when they are pleaſed. It had been taken when quite young in the woods, and was not above eight or nine months old; I can, however, poſitively aver, having ſeen many ſkins of full-grown tyger-cats, that it had already very nearly, if not quite, attained its full-growth. I was told, that the tyger-cats live in mountainous and woody tracts, and that in their wild ſtate they are very great deſtroyers of hares, rabbits, yerbuas, young antelopes, lambkins, and of all the feathered tribe.

DESCRIPTIO

DESCRIPTIO FELIS CAPENSIS.

Felis cauda ſub-elongata, annulata; corpore fulvo, ſupra maculis virgatis infra orbicularibus, auriculis nigris, macula lunata alba.

'Nſuſſi. Labat Ethiopic. occident. tom. I. p. 177.

Tyger-Poſch katten. Kolbe Cape of Good Hope, vol. II. p. 127. (Engl. edit.)

Cape-cat. Pennant Syn. Quadrup. p. 181. (1ſt edit.)

Corpus magnitudine *Felis Cati ſylveſtris* vel paulo maju. In genere ſupra colore pallide fulvo, ſubtus e cinereo albo, maculis atris.

(*Pil.* apice pallide fulvi, baſi albi.)

Caput Roſtro magis acuto, quam F. Cati, albo; in labio ſuperiore prope angulum rictus macula orbiculata, nigra. *Nares* nudæ, atræ. *Myſtaces* plurium ordinum in labio ſuperiore et ſupra oculos validæ, albæ et fulvæ. *Oculi* figura fere trianguli ſphærici, latere anteriore perpendiculari; *Irides* flavæ. *Pupilla* orbicularis, diurna (nec ut in F. Cato perpendiculari rima lemniſcata.) *Lingua* retroſum aculeata. *Dentes* acuti ut in cogeneribus.

Linea albida utrinque naſo parallela, ad interiora oculorum latera. *Linea nigra* paullulum convergens a cantho anteriore oculorum deſcendit in naſum; *aliæ duæ nigræ* ſupra oculos infra convergentes, inque frontem aſcendentes; præterea in capite *puncta et lineolæ nigræ* plures ſparſæ.

Auriculæ amplæ, longitudine fere capitis, ovatæ, ſuberectæ, *intus* villoſæ, ochroleucæ; *extus* nigræ macula lunata, tranſverſa alba *Margo exterior* facculo membranaceo nudo lobato.

Corpus ovatum, elegans. *Lineæ atræ* longitudinales quatuor in cervice inter aurium baſes orſæ, in *Dorſo* interruptæ; *Superiora laterum* obtinent maculæ oblongæ, lineares, obliquæ *Inferiora laterum* maculis rotundis ſparſis. *Abdomen* e cinereo album, maculis rotundis parvis ſparſis, nigris.

Pedes omnes ſuperne ſubfaſciati, extremitatibus punctis numeroſis, nigris conſperſi. *Digiti* quinque felini. *Ungues* modici, retractiles, nigri.

Cauda attingit baſin tarſi annulis circiter octo vel decem nigris cincta.

MENSURÆ.

	Unciæ ped Angl.
Ab apice roſtri ad baſin caudæ	18
Cauda - - -	8
Caput longum - -	4
Auriculæ margine exteriore	3
Pedes anteriores a cubito -	7
Pedes poſtici (tarſi ſcilicet)	4½

An Account of the Ganges *and* Burrampooter *Rivers. By* James Rennell, *Eſq. F.R.S. communicated by* Joſeph Banks, *Eſq. P.R.S. from Vol. LXXI. of the* Philoſophical Tranſactions.

THE Ganges and Burrampooter rivers, together with their numerous branches and adjuncts, interſect the country of Bengal in ſuch a variety of directions, as to form the moſt complete and eaſy inland navigation that can be conceived. So equally and admirably diffuſed are thoſe

natural canals, over a country that approaches nearly to a perfect plane, that, after excepting the lands contiguous to Burdwan, Birboom, &c. (which all together do not conſtitute a ſixth part of Bengal) we may fairly pronounce, that every other part of the country has, even in the dry ſeaſon, ſome navigable ſtream within 25 miles at fartheſt, and more commonly within a third part of that diſtance.

It is ſuppoſed, that this inland navigation gives conſtant employment to 30,000 boatmen. Nor will it be wondered at, when it is known, that all the ſalt, and a large proportion of the food conſumed by ten millions of people, are conveyed by water within the kingdom of Bengal and its dependencies. To theſe muſt be added, the tranſport of the commercial exports and imports, probably to the amount of two millions ſterling per annum; the interchange of manufactures and products throughout the whole country; the fiſheries; and the article of travelling.

Theſe rivers, which a late ingenious gentleman aptly termed ſiſters and rivals (he might have ſaid *twin* ſiſters, from the contiguity of their ſprings), exactly reſemble each other in length of courſe; in bulk, until they approach the ſea; in the ſmoothneſs and colour of their waters; in the appearance of their borders and iſlands; and, finally, in the height to which their floods riſe with the periodical rains. Of the two, the Burrampooter is the largeſt; but the difference is not obvious to the eye. They are now well known to derive their ſources from the vaſt mountains of Thibet; from whence they proceed in oppoſite directions; the Ganges ſeeking the plains of Hindooſtan (or Indoſtan) by the weſt; and the Burrampooter by the eaſt; both purſuing the early part of their courſe through rugged vallies and defiles, and ſeldom viſiting the habitations of men. The Ganges, after wandering about 750 miles through theſe mountainous regions, iſſues forth a deity to the ſuperſtitious, yet gladdened, inhabitant of Hindooſtan. From Hurdwar (or Hurdoar) in latitude 30°, where it guſhes through an opening in the mountains, it flows with a ſmooth navigable ſtream through delightful plains during the remainder of its courſe to the ſea (which is about 1350 miles) diffuſing plenty immediately by means of its living productions; and ſecondarily by enriching the adjacent lands, and affording an eaſy means of tranſport for the productions of its borders. In a military view, it opens a communication between the different poſts, and ſerves in the capacity of a *military way* through the country; renders unneceſſary the forming of magazines; and infinitely ſurpaſſes the celebrated inland navigation of North America, where the *carrying places* not only obſtruct the progreſs of an army, but enable the adverſary to determine his place and mode of attack with certainty.

In its courſe through the plains, it receives eleven rivers, ſome of which are equal to the Rhine, and none ſmaller than the Thames, beſides as many others of leſſer note. It is owing to this vaſt influx

flux of ſtreams, that the Ganges exceeds the Nile ſo greatly in point of magnitude, whilſt the latter exceeds it in length of courſe by one-third. Indeed the Ganges is inferior in this laſt reſpect to many of the northern rivers of Aſia; though I am inclined to think that it diſcharges as much or more water than any of them, becauſe thoſe rivers do not lie within the limits of the periodical rains.

The bed of the Ganges is, as may be ſuppoſed, very unequal in point of width. From its firſt arrival in the plains at Hurdwar, to the conflux of the Jumnah (the firſt river of note that joins it) its bed is generally from a mile to a mile and a quarter wide; and, compared with the latter part of its courſe, tolerably ſtraight. From hence, downward, its courſe becomes more winding, and its bed conſequently wider, till, having alternately received the waters of the Gogra, Soane, and Gunduck, beſides many ſmaller ſtreams, its bed has attained its full width; although, during the remaining 600 miles of its courſe it receives many other principal ſtreams.—Within this ſpace it is, in the narroweſt parts of its bed, half a mile wide, and in the wideſt, three miles; and that, in places where no iſlands intervene. The ſtream within this bed is always either increaſing or decreaſing, according to the ſeaſon. When at its loweſt (which happens in April) the principal channel varies from 400 yards to a mile and a quarter; but is commonly about three quarters of a mile.

The Ganges is fordable in ſome places above the conflux of the Jumnah, but the navigation is never interrupted. Below that, the channel is of conſiderable depth, for the additional ſtreams bring a greater acceſſion of depth than width. At 500 miles from the ſea, the channel is thirty feet deep when the river is at its loweſt; and it continues at leaſt this depth to the ſea, where the ſudden expanſion of the ſtream deprives it of the force neceſſary to ſweep away the bars of ſand and mud thrown acroſs it by the ſtrong ſoutherly winds; ſo that the principal branch of the Ganges cannot be entered by large veſſels.

About 220 miles from the ſea (but 300 reckoning the windings of the river) commences the head of the Delta of the Ganges, which is conſiderably more than twice the area of that of the Nile. The two weſternmoſt branches, named the Coſſimbuzar and Jellinghy rivers, unite and form what is afterwards named the Hoogly River, which is the port of Calcutta, and the only branch of the Ganges that is commonly navigated by ſhips. The Coſſimbuzar River is almoſt dry from October to May; and the Jellinghy River (although a ſtream runs in it the whole year) is in ſome years unnavigable during two or three of the dryeſt months; ſo that the only ſubordinate branch of the Ganges, that is at all times navigable, is the Chundah River, which ſeparates at Moddapour, and terminates in the Hooringotta.

That part of the Delta bordering on the ſea, is compoſed of a labyrinth of rivers and creeks, all of which are ſalt, except thoſe that immediately communicate with the principal arm of the Ganges. This tract, known by the

the name of the Woods, or Sunderbunds, is in extent equal to the principality of Wales; and is ſo completely enveloped in woods, and infeſted with tygers, that if any attempts have ever been made to clear it (as is reported) they have hitherto miſcarried. Its numerous canals are ſo diſpoſed as to form a complete inland navigation throughout and acroſs the lower part of the Delta, without either the delay of going round the head of it, or the hazard of putting to ſea. Here ſalt, in quantities equal to the whole conſumption of Bengal and its dependencies, is made and tranſported with equal facility: and here alſo is found an inexhauſtible ſtore of timber for boat-building. The breadth of the lower part of this Delta is upwards of 180 miles; to which, if we add that of the two branches of the river that bound it, we ſhall have about 200 miles for the diſtance to which the Ganges expands its branches at its junction with the ſea.

It has been obſerved before, that the courſe of this river, from Hurdwar to the ſea, is through an uniform plain, or, at leaſt, what appears ſuch to the eye: for the declivity is much too ſmall to be perceptible. A ſection of the ground, parallel to one of its branches, in length 60 miles, was taken by order of Mr. Haſtings; and it was found to have about nine inches deſcent in each mile, reckoning in a ſtraight line, and allowance being made for the curvature of the earth. But the windings of the river were ſo great, as to reduce the declivity on which the water ran, to leſs than four inches per mile; and by a compariſon of the velocity of the ſtream at the place of experiment with that in other places, I have no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that its general deſcent exceeds it.

The medium rate of motion of the Ganges is leſs than three miles an hour in the dry months. In the wet ſeaſon, and during the draining off of the waters from the inundated lands, the current runs from five to ſix miles an hour; but there are inſtances of its running ſeven, and even eight miles, in particular ſituations, and under certain circumſtances. I have an experiment of my own on record, in which my boat was carried 56 miles in eight hours, and that againſt ſo ſtrong a wind, that the boat had evidently no progreſſive motion through the water.

When we conſider, that the velocity of the ſtream is three miles in one ſeaſon, and five or more in the other, on the ſame deſcent of four inches per mile; and, that the motion of the inundation is only half a mile per hour, on a much greater deſcent; no further proof is required how ſmall the proportion of velocity is, that the deſcent communicates. It is then, to the impetus originating at the ſpring head, or at the place where adventitious waters are poured in, and ſucceſſively communicated to every part of the ſtream, that we are principally to attribute the velocity, which is greater or leſſer, according to the quantity of water poured in.

In common, there is found on one ſide of the river an almoſt perpendicular bank, more or leſs elevated above the ſtream, according to the ſeaſon, and with deep water near it: and on the oppoſite ſide a bank,

bank, ſhelving away ſo gradually as to occaſion ſhallow water at ſome diſtance from the margin. This is more particularly the caſe in the moſt winding parts of the river, becauſe the very operation of winding produces the ſteep and ſhelving banks: for the current is always ſtrongeſt on the external ſide of the curve formed by the ſerpentine courſe of the river; and its continual action on the banks either undermines them, or waſhes them down. In places where the current is remarkably rapid, or the ſoil uncommonly looſe, ſuch tracts of land are ſwept away in the courſe of one ſeaſon, as would aſtoniſh thoſe who have not been eye-witneſſes to the magnitude and force of the mighty ſtreams occaſioned by the periodical rains of the tropical regions. This neceſſarily produces a gradual change in the courſe of the river; what is loſt on one ſide being gained on the other, by the mere operation of the ſtream; for the fallen pieces of the bank diſſolve quickly into muddy ſand, which is hurried away by the current along the border of the channel to the point from whence the river turns off to form the next reach, where the ſtream growing weak, it finds a reſting place, and helps to form a ſhelving bank, which commences at the point, and extends downwards, along the ſide of the ſucceeding reach.

To account for the ſlackneſs of the current at the point, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the ſtrongeſt part of it, inſtead of turning ſhort round the point, preſerves for ſome time the direction given it by the laſt ſteep bank, and is accordingly thrown obliquely acroſs the bed of the river to the bay on the oppoſite ſide, and purſues its courſe along it, till the intervention of another point again obliges it to change ſides.

In thoſe few parts of the river that are ſtraight, the banks undergo the leaſt alteration, as the current runs parallel to them; but the leaſt inflection of courſe has the effect of throwing the current againſt the bank; and if this happens in a part where the ſoil is compoſed of looſe ſand, it produces in time a ſerpentine winding.

It is evident, that the repeated additions made to the ſhelving bank before mentioned, become in time an encroachment on the channel of the river; and this is again counter balanced by the depredations made on the oppoſite ſteep bank, the fragments of which either bring about a repetition of the circumſtances above recited, or form a bank or ſhallow in the midſt of the channel. Thus a ſteep and a ſhelving bank are alternately formed in the crooked parts of the river (the ſteep one being the *indented* ſide; and the ſhelving one the *projecting*); and thus, a continual fluctuation of courſe is induced in all the winding parts of the river; each meander having a perpetual tendency to deviate more and more from the line of the general courſe of the river, by eating deeper into the bays, and at the ſame time adding to the points, till either the oppoſite bays meet, or the ſtream breaks through the narrow iſthmus, and reſtores a temporary ſtraightneſs to the channel.

Several of the windings of the Ganges and its branches are faſt approach-

approaching to this ſtate; and in others, it actually exiſts at preſent. The experience of theſe changes ſhould operate againſt attempting canals of any length, in the higher parts of the country; and I much doubt, if any in the lower parts would long continue navigable. During eleven years of my reſidence in Bengal, the outlet or head of the Jellinghy River was gradually removed three quarters of a mile farther down: and by two ſurveys of a part of the adjacent bank of the Ganges, taken about the diſtance of nine years from each other, it appeared that the breadth of an Engliſh mile and a half had been taken away. This is, however, the moſt rapid change that I have noticed; a mile in ten or twelve years being the uſual rate of encroachment, in places where the current ſtrikes with the greateſt force, namely, where two adjoining reaches approach neareſt to a right angle. In ſuch ſituations it not unfrequently excavates gulfs of conſiderable length within the bank. Theſe gulfs are in the direction of the ſtrongeſt parts of the ſtream; and are, in fact, the *young ſhoots* (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) which in time ſtrike out and become branches of the river; for we generally find them at thoſe turnings that have the ſmalleſt angles.

Two cauſes, widely different from each other, occaſion the meandering courſes of rivers; the one, the irregularity of the ground through which they run, which obliges them to wander in queſt of a declivity; the other, the looſeneſs of the ſoil, which yields to the friction of the border of the ſtream. The meanders in the firſt caſe, are, of courſe, as digreſſive and irregular as the ſurface they are projected on: but, in the latter, they are ſo far reducible to rule, that rivers of unequal bulk will, under ſimilar circumſtances, take a circuit to wind in, whoſe extent is in proportion to their reſpective breadths: for I have obſerved, that when a branch of the Ganges is fallen ſo low as to occupy only a part of its bed, it no longer continues in the line of its old courſe; but works itſelf a new channel, which winds from ſide to ſide acroſs the former one. I have obſerved too, that in two ſtreams, of equal ſize, that which has the ſloweſt current has alſo the ſmalleſt windings: for as theſe (in the preſent caſe) are ſolely owing to the depredations made on the banks by the force of the current; ſo the extent of theſe depredations, or, in other words, the dimenſions of the windings, will be determined by the degree of force acting on the banks.

The windings of the Ganges in the plains, are, doubtleſs, owing to the looſeneſs of the ſoil: and (I think) the proof of it is, that they are perpetually changing; which thoſe, originally induced by an inequality of ſurface, can ſeldom, or never do.

I can eaſily ſuppoſe, that if the Ganges was turned into a ſtraight canal, cut through the ground it now traverſes in the moſt winding parts of its courſe, its ſtraightneſs would be of ſhort duration. Some yielding part of the bank, or that which happened to be the moſt ſtrongly acted on, would firſt be corroded or diſſolved: thus a bay or cavity would be formed in the ſide of the bank. This begets an inflection

inflection of the current, which, falling obliquely on the side of the bay, corrodes it incessantly. When the current has passed the innermost part of the bay, it receives a new direction, and is thrown obliquely towards the opposite side of the canal, depositing in its way the matter excavated from the bay, and which begins to form a shallow or bank contiguous to the border of the canal. Here then is the origin of such windings as owe their existence to the nature of the soil The bay, so corroded, in time becomes large enough to give a new direction to the body of the canal: and the matter excavated from the bay is so disposed as to assist in throwing the current against the opposite bank, where a process similar to that I have been describing, will be begun.

The action of the current on the bank will also have the effect of deepening the border of the channel near it; and this again increases the velocity of the current in that part. Thus would the canal gradually take a new form, till it became what the river now is. Even when the windings have lessened the descent one half, we still find the current too powerful for the banks to withstand it.

There are not wanting instances of a total change of course in some of the Bengal rivers. The Cosa River (equal to the Rhine) once ran by Purneah, and joined the Ganges opposite Rajemal. Its junction is now 45 miles higher up. Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal, stood on the banks of the Ganges.

Appearances favour very strongly the opinion, that the Ganges had its former bed in the tract now occupied by the lakes and morasses, between Nattore and Jaffiergunge, striking out of its present course at Bauleah, and passing by Pootyah With an equal degree of probability (favoured by tradition) we may trace its supposed course by Decca, to a junction with the Burrampooter or Megna near Kringybazar; where the accumulation of two such mighty streams probably scooped out the present amazing bed of the Megna.

In tracing the sea coast of the Delta, we find no less than eight openings; each of which, without hesitation, one pronounces to have been in its time the principal mouth of the Ganges. Nor is the occasional deviation of the principal branch, probably, the only cause of fluctuation in the dimensions of the Delta. One observes, that the Deltas of capital rivers (the trophical ones particularly) encroach upon the sea. Now, is not this owing to the mud and sand brought down by the rivers, and gradually deposited, from the remotest ages down to the present time? The rivers, we know, are loaded with mud and sand at their entrance into the sea; and we also know, that the sea recovers its transparency at the distance of twenty leagues from the coast; which can only arise from the waters having precipitated their earthly particles within that space. The sand and mud banks at this time, extend twenty miles off some of the islands in the mouths of the Ganges and Burrampooter; and in many places rise within a few feet of the surface. Some future generation will probably see these banks rise above water, and succeeding

ceeding ones poſſeſs and cultivate them! Next to earthquakes, perhaps the floods of the tropical rivers produce the quickeſt alterations in the face of our globe. Extenſive iſlands are formed in the channel of the Ganges, during a period far ſhort of that of a man's life; ſo that the whole proceſs lies within the compaſs of his obſervation. Some of theſe iſlands, four or five miles in extent, are formed at the angular turnings of the river, and were originally large ſand banks thrown up round the points (in the manner before deſcribed), but afterwards inſulated by breaches of the river. Others are formed in the ſtraight parts of the river, and in the middle of the ſtream; and owe their origin to ſome obſtruction lurking at the bottom. Whether this be the fragments of the river bank: a large tree ſwept down from it; or a ſunken boat; it is ſufficient for a foundation: and a heap of ſand is quickly collected below it.—This accumulates amazingly faſt: in the courſe of a few years it peeps above water, and having now uſurped a conſiderable portion of the channel, the river borrows on each ſide to ſupply the deficiency in its bed; and in ſuch parts of the river we always find ſteep banks on both ſides. Each periodical flood brings an addition of matter to this growing iſland; increaſing it in height as well as extenſion, until its top is perfectly on a level with the banks that include it: and at that period of its growth it has mould enough on it for the purpoſes of cultivation, which is owing to the mud left on it when the waters ſubſide, and is indeed a part of the œconomy which nature obſerves in fertilizing the lands in general.

Whilſt the river is forming new iſlands in one part, it is ſweeping away old ones in other parts. In the progreſs of this deſtructive operation, we have opportunities of obſerving, by means of the ſections of the falling bank, the regular diſtribution of the ſeveral ſtrata of ſand and earths, lying above one another in the order in which they decreaſe in gravity. As they can only owe this diſpoſition to the agency of the ſtream that depoſited them, it would appear, that theſe ſubſtances are ſuſpended at different heights in the ſtream, according to their reſpective gravities. We never find a ſtratum of earth under one of ſand; for the muddy particles float neareſt the ſurface. I have counted ſeven diſtinct ſtrata in a ſection of one of theſe iſlands. Indeed, not only the iſlands, but moſt of the river banks wear the ſame appearance: for as the river is always changing its preſent bed, and verging towards the ſite of ſome former one now obliterated, this muſt neceſſarily be the caſe.

As a ſtrong preſumptive proof of the wandering of the Ganges from the one ſide of the Delta to the other, I muſt obſerve, that there is no appearance of *virgin* earth between the Tiperah hills on the eaſt, and the province of Burdwan on the weſt; nor on the north till we arrive at Decca and Bauleah. In all the ſections of the numerous creeks and rivers in the Delta, nothing appears but ſand and black mould in regular ſtrata, till we arrive at the clay that forms the lower part of their beds. There is not any ſubſtance ſo coarſe

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as gravel either in the Delta or nearer the ſea than 400 miles, where a rocky point, a part of the baſe of the neighbouring hills, projects into the river: but out of the vicinity of the great rivers the ſoil is either red, yellow, or of a deep brown.

I come now to the particulars of the annual ſwelling and overflowing of the Ganges.

It appears to owe its increaſe as much to the rain water that falls in the mountains contiguous to its ſource, and to the ſources of the great northern rivers that fall into it, as to that which falls in the plains of Hindooſtan; for it riſes fifteen feet and a half out of thirty-two (the ſum total of its riſing) by the latter end of June: and it is well known, that the rainy ſeaſon does not begin in moſt of the flat countries till about that time. In the mountains it begins early in April; and by the latter end of that month, when the rain water has reached Bengal, the rivers begin to riſe, but by very ſlow degrees; for the increaſe is only about an inch per day for the firſt fortnight. It then gradually augments to two and three inches before any quantity of rain falls in the flat countries; and when the rain becomes general, the increaſe on a medium is five inches per day. By the latter end of July all the lower parts of Bengal, contiguous to the Ganges and Burrampooter, are overflowed, and form an inundation of more than a hundred miles in width; nothing appearing but villages and trees, excepting very rarely the top of an elevated ſpot (the artificial mound of ſome deſerted village) appearing like an iſland.

The inundations in Bengal differ from thoſe in Egypt in this particular, that the Nile owes its floods *entirely* to the rain-water that falls in the mountains near its ſource; but the inundations in Bengal are as much occaſioned by the rain that falls there, as by the waters of the Ganges; and as a proof of it the lands in general are overflowed to a conſiderable height long before the bed of the river is filled. It muſt be remarked, that the ground adjacent to the river bank, to the extent of ſome miles, is conſiderably higher than the reſt of the country, and ſerves to ſeparate the waters of the inundation from thoſe of the river until it overflows. This high ground is in ſome ſeaſons covered a foot or more; but the height of the inundation within, varies, of courſe, according to the irregularities of the ground, and is in ſome places twelve feet.

Even when the inundation becomes general, the river ſtill ſhews itſelf, as well by the graſs and reeds on its banks, as by its rapid and muddy ſtream; for the water of the inundation acquires a blackiſh hue, by having been ſo long ſtagnant amongſt graſs and other vegetables: nor does it ever loſe this tinge, which is a proof of the predominancy of the rain water over that of the river; as the ſlow rate of motion of the inundation (which does not exceed half a mile per hour) is of the remarkable flatneſs of the country.

There are particular tracts of land, which, from the nature of their culture, and ſpecies of productions, require leſs moiſture than others; and yet, by the lowneſs of their ſituation, would remain

main too long inundated, were they not guarded by dikes or dams, from ſo copious an inundation as would otherwiſe happen from the great elevation of the ſurface of the river above them. Theſe dikes are kept up at an enormous expence; and yet do not always ſucceed, for want of tenacity in the ſoil of which they are compoſed.

During the ſwoln ſtate of the river, the tide totally loſes its effect of counteracting the ſtream; and in a great meaſure that of ebbing and flowing, except very near the ſea. It is not uncommon for a ſtrong wind, that blows up the river for any continuance, to ſwell the waters two feet above the ordinary level at that ſeaſon: and ſuch accidents have occaſioned the loſs of whole crops of rice. A very tragical event happened at Luckipour in 1763, by a ſtrong gale of wind conſpiring with a high ſpring tide, at a ſeaſon when the periodical flood was within a foot and a half of its higheſt pitch. It is ſaid that the waters roſe ſix feet above the ordinary level. Certain it is, that the inhabitants of a conſiderable diſtrict, with their houſes and cattle, were totally ſwept away; and, to aggravate their diſtreſs, it happened in a part of the country which ſcarce produces a ſingle tree for a drowning man to eſcape to.

Embarkations of every kind traverſe the inundation: thoſe bound upwards, availing themſelves of a direct courſe and ſtill water, at a ſeaſon when every ſtream ruſhes like a torrent. The wind too, which at this ſeaſon blows regularly from the ſouth-eaſt, favours their progreſs; inſomuch, that a voyage, which takes up nine or ten days by the courſe of the river when confined within its banks, is now effected in ſix. Huſbandry and grazing are both ſuſpended; and the peaſant traverſes in his boat, thoſe fields which in another ſeaſon he was wont to plow; happy that the elevated ſite of the river banks place the herbage they contain, within his reach, otherwiſe his cattle muſt periſh.

The following is a table of the gradual increaſe of the Ganges and its branches, according to obſervations made at Jellinghy and Dacca.

	At Jellinghy.		At Dacca.	
	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
In May it roſe -	6	0	2	4
June - - -	9	6	4	6
July - - -	12	6	5	6
In the 1ſt half of Aug.	4	0	1	11
	32	0	14	3

Theſe obſervations were made in a ſeaſon, when the waters roſe rather higher than uſual; ſo that we may take 31 feet for the medium of the increaſe.

The inundation is nearly at a ſtand for ſome days preceding the middle of Auguſt, when it begins to run off; for although great quantities of rain fall in the flat countries, during Auguſt and September, yet, by a partial ceſſation of the rains in the mountains, there happens a deficiency in the ſupplies neceſſary to keep up the inundation. The quantity of the daily decreaſe of the river is nearly in the following proportion: during the latter half of Auguſt, and all September, from three to four inches; from September to the

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end of November, it gradually leſſens from three inches, to an inch and a half; and from November to the latter end of April, it is only half an inch per day at a medium. Theſe proportions muſt be underſtood to relate to ſuch parts of the river as are removed from the influence of the tides; of which more will be ſaid by and by. The decreaſe of the inundation does not always keep pace with that of the river, by reaſon of the height of the banks; but after the beginning of October, when the rain has nearly ceaſed, the remainder of the inundation goes off quickly by evaporation, leaving the lands highly manured, and in a ſtate fit to receive the ſeed, after the ſimple operation of plowing.

There is a circumſtance attending the increaſe of the Ganges, and which, I believe, is little known or attended to; becauſe few people have made experiments on the heights to which the periodical flood riſes in different places. The circumſtance I allude to, is, the difference of the quantity of the increaſe (as expreſſed in the foregoing table) in places more or leſs remote from the ſea. It is a fact, confirmed by repeated experiments, that from about the place where the tide commences, to the ſea, the height of the periodical increaſe diminiſhes gradually, until it totally diſappears at the point of confluence. Indeed, this is perfectly conformable to the known laws of fluids: the ocean preſerves the ſame level at all ſeaſons (under ſimilar circumſtances of tide), and neceſſarily influences the level of all the waters that communicate with it, unleſs precipitated in the form of a cataract. Could we ſuppoſe, for a moment, that the increaſed column of water, of 31 feet perpendicular, was continued all the way to the ſea, by ſome preternatural agency: whenever that agency was removed, the head of the column would diffuſe itſelf over the ocean, and the remaining parts would follow, from as far back as the influence of the ocean extended; forming a ſlope, whoſe perpendicular height would be 31 feet. This is the preciſe ſtate in which we find it. At the point of junction with the ſea, the height is the ſame in both ſeaſons at equal times of the tide. At Luckipour there is a difference of about ſix feet between the heights in the different ſeaſons; at Dacca, and places adjacent, 14; and near Cuſtee, 31 feet. Here then is a regular ſlope; for the diſtances between the places bear a proportion to the reſpective heights. This ſlope muſt add to the rapidity of the ſtream; for, ſuppoſing the deſcent to have been originally four inches per mile, this will increaſe it to about five and a half. Cuſtee is about 240 miles from the ſea, by the courſe of the river; and the ſurface of the river there, during the dry ſeaſon, is about 80 feet above the level of the ſea at high water. Thus far does the ocean manifeſt its dominion in both ſeaſons: in the one by the ebbing and flowing of its tides; and in the other by depreſſing the periodical flood, till the ſurface of it coincides as nearly with its own, as the deſcent of the channel of the river will admit.

Similar circumſtances take place in the Jellinghy, Hoogly, and

Burrampooter Rivers; and, I ſuppoſe, in all others that are ſubject either to periodical or occaſional ſwellings.

Not only does the flood diminiſh near the ſea, but the river banks diminiſh in the ſame proportion; ſo that in the dry ſeaſon the height of the periodical flood may be known by that of the bank.

I am aware of an objection that may be made to the above ſolution; which is, that the lowneſs of the banks in places near the ſea, is the true reaſon why the floods do not attain ſo conſiderable a height, as in places farther removed from it, and where the banks are high; for that the river, wanting a bank to confine it, diffuſes itſelf over the ſurface of the country. In anſwer to this, I ſhall obſerve, that it is proved by experiment, that at any given time, the quantity of the increaſe in different places, bears a juſt proportion to the ſum total of the increaſe in each place reſpectively: or, in other words, that when the river has riſen three feet at Dacca, where the whole riſing is about 14 feet; it will have riſen upwards of ſix feet and a half at Cuſtee, where it riſes 31 feet in all.

The quantity of water diſcharged by the Ganges, in one ſecond of time, during the dry ſeaſon, is 80,000 cubic feet; but in the place where the experiment was made, the river, when full, has thrice the volume of water in it; and its motion is alſo accelerated in the proportion of 5 to 3: ſo that the quantity diſcharged in a ſecond at that ſeaſon is 405,000 cubic feet. If we take the medium the whole year through, it will be nearly 180,000 cubic feet in a ſecond.

THE Burrampooter, which has its ſource from the oppoſite ſide of the ſame mountains that give riſe to the Ganges, firſt takes it courſe eaſtward (or directly oppoſite to that of the Ganges) through the country of Thibet, where it is named Sanpoo or Zanciu, which bears the ſame interpretation as the Gonga of Hindooſtan: namely, the River. The courſe of it through Thibet, as given by Father Du Halde, and formed into a map by M. D'Anville, though ſufficiently exact for the purpoſes of general geography, is not particular enough to aſcertain the preciſe length of its courſe. After winding with a rapid current through Thibet, it waſhes the border of the territory of Laſſa (in which is the reſidence of the grand Lama), and then deviating from an eaſt to a ſouth-eaſt courſe, it approaches within 220 miles of Yunan, the weſternmoſt province of China. Here it appears, as if undetermined whether to attempt a paſſage to the ſea by the Gulf of Siam, or by that of Bengal; but ſeemingly determining on the latter, it turns ſuddenly to the weſt through Aſſam, and enters Bengal on the north-eaſt. I have not been able to learn the exact place where it changes its name; but as the people of Aſſam call it Burrampoot, it would appear, that it takes this name on its entering Aſſam. After its entry into Bengal, it makes a circuit round the weſtern point of the Garrow Mountains; and then,

altering

altering its courſe to ſouth, it meets the Ganges about 40 miles from the ſea.

Father Du Halde expreſſes his doubts concerning the courſe that the Sanpoo takes after leaving Thibet, and only ſuppoſes generally that it falls into the gulf of Bengal. M. D'Anville, his geographer, with great reaſon ſuppoſed the Sanpoo and Ava River to be the ſame: and in this he was juſtified by the information which his materials afforded him: for the Burrampooter was repreſented to him, as one of the inferior ſtreams that contributed its waters to the Ganges, and not as its equal or ſuperior; and this was ſufficient to direct his reſearches, after the mouth of the Sanpoo River, to ſome other quarter. The Ava River, as well from its bulk, as the bent of its courſe for ſome hundred miles above its mouth, appeared to him to be a continuation of the river in queſtion; and it was accordingly deſcribed as ſuch in his maps, the authority of which was juſtly eſteemed as deciſive; and, till the year 1765, the Burrampooter, as a capital river, was unknown in Europe.

On tracing this river in 1765, I was no leſs ſurpriſed, at finding it rather larger than the Ganges, than at its courſe previous to its entering Bengal. This I found to be from the eaſt; although all the former accounts repreſented it as from the north: and this unexpected diſcovery ſoon led to enquiries, which furniſhed me with an account of its general courſe to within a hundred miles of the place where Du Halde left the Sanpoo. I could no longer doubt, that the Burrampooter and Sanpoo were one and the ſame river: and to this was added the poſitive aſſurances of the Aſſamers, "That *their* river came from the Northweſt, through the Bootan mountains." And to place it beyond a doubt, that the Sanpoo River is not the ſame with the river of Ava, but that this laſt is the great Nou Kian of Yunan; I have in my poſſeſſion a manuſcript draught of the Ava River, to within 150 miles of the place where Du Halde leaves the Nou Kian, in its courſe towards Ava; together with very authentic information that this river (named Irabattey by the people of Ava) is navigable from the city of Ava into the province of Yunan in China.

The Burrampooter, during a courſe of 400 miles through Bengal, bears ſo intimate a reſemblance to the Ganges, except in one particular, that one deſcription may ſerve for both. The exception I mean, is, that during the laſt 60 miles before its junction with the Ganges, it forms a ſtream which is regularly from four to five miles wide, and but for its freſhneſs might paſs for an arm of the ſea. Common deſcription fails in an attempt to convey an adequate idea of the grandeur of this mgnificent object; for,

——Scarce the muſe
Dares ſtretch her wing o'er this enormous maſs
Of ruſhing water; to whoſe dread expanſe,
Continuous depth, and wond'rous length of courſe,
Our floods are rills——
Thus pouring on, it proudly ſeeks the deep,
Whoſe vanquiſh'd tide, recoiling from the ſhock,
Yields to this liquid weight.——

THOMSON'S SEASONS.

I have already endeavoured to account for the ſingular breadth of the Megna, by ſuppoſing that the Ganges once joined it where the Iſſamutty now does; and that their joint waters ſcooped out its preſent bed. The preſent junction of theſe two mighty rivers below Luckipour, produces a body of running freſh water, hardly to be equalled in the old hemiſphere, and, perhaps, not exceeded in the new. It now forms a gulf interſperſed with iſlands, ſome of which rival, in ſize and fertility, our Iſle of Wight. The water at ordinary times is hardly brackiſh at the extremities of theſe iſlands; and, in the rainy ſeaſon, the ſea (or at leaſt the ſurface of it) is perfectly freſh to the diſtance of many leagues out.

The *Bore* (which is known to be a ſudden and abrupt influx of the tide into a river or narrow ſtrait) prevails in the principal branches of the Ganges, and in the Megna; but the Hoogly River, and the paſſages between the iſlands and ſands ſituated in the gulf, formed by the confluence of the Ganges and Megna, are more ſubject to it than the other rivers. This may be owing partly, to their having greater embouchures, in proportion to their channels, than the others have, by which means a larger proportion of tide is forced through a paſſage comparatively ſmaller; and partly, to there being no capital openings near them, to draw of any conſiderable portion of the accumulating tide. In the Hoogly or Calcutta River, the *Bore* commences at Hoogly point (the place where the river firſt contracts itſelf), and is perceptible above Hoogly Town; and ſo quick is its motion, that it hardly employs four hours in travelling from one to the other, although the diſtance it near 70 miles. At Calcutta, it ſometimes occaſions an inſtantaneous riſe of five feet: and both here, and in every other part of its track, the boats, on its approach, immediately quit the ſhore, and make for ſafety to the middle of the river.

In the channels, between the iſlands in the mouth of the Megna, &c. the height of the *Bore* is ſaid to exceed twelve feet; and is ſo terrific in its appearance, and dangerous in its conſequences, that no boat will venture to paſs at ſpring tide. After the tide is fairly paſt the iſlands, no veſtige of a *Bore* is ſeen, which may be owing to the great width of the Megna, in compariſon with the paſſages between the iſlands; but the effects of it are viſible enough by the ſudden riſing of the tides.

Of the Air that has been ſuppoſed to come through the Pores of the Skin, and of the Effects of the Perſpiration of the Body; from Prieſtley's Experiments in Natural Philoſophy.

I HAVE ſometimes found it neceſſary, though it is by no means agreeable to me, to correct the miſtakes of others on the ſubject of which I am treating; and I muſt appropriate this ſection to that buſineſs.

It cannot be thought extraordinary, that when it has been imagined that air is extracted from the moſt compact bodies, as gold, by means of the air pump, it ſhould be thought to iſſue from the human

man ſkin. It was alſo very natural to imagine, that ſince *reſpiration* injures and phlogiſticates air, the *perſpiration* of the body, ſenſible and inſenſible, ſhould do the ſame; and they who ſuppoſe that phlogiſton converts common air into fixed air, muſt of courſe imagine, that the air contiguous to the ſkin is continually undergoing this change. Dr. Ingenhouſz aſſerts the former, and Mr. Cruikſhank, after Sig. Moſcati, the latter. On both theſe ſubjects I ſhall make ſome animadverſions, and likewiſe a few experiments that I think will be deemed concluſive, on the ſubject of perſpiration, and ſufficient to confirm what I have advanced with reſpect to it in my laſt volume.

Dr. Ingenhouſz not only ſuppoſes that air is continually iſſuing from the human ſkin; but he took pains to collect it, in a conſiderable variety of circumſtances, of which he has given a particular account, p. 129. This I took the liberty to tell him I had do doubt was a deception; the air that he found not having come from the *ſkin*, but from the water in which it was plunged: and both the quality of the air that he found, and the circumſtances in which he procured it, left me no doubt upon the ſubject. It was juſt that mixture of fixed air, and partially phlogiſticated air, that pump water, which he recommends for the purpoſe, generally abounds with. The bubbles of air riſing and ſwelling at the ſame part of the ſkin, is by no means any proof that the air came from the ſkin: for that is always the caſe with air iſſuing from water, the air bubbles never riſing within the water itſelf, but always from ſome other body immerſed in it. All the phænomena he has deſcribed may be ſeen with a piece of metal, or glaſs, plunged in water containing air, in an exhauſted receiver; in which caſe it is eaſily ſhewn, that the air does not come from the pores of the metal, or of the glaſs, but from the water itſelf: for if the water contain no air, and the ſurfaces of the metal and of the glaſs be carefully wiped, that appearance cannot be produced.

He ſays that water exhauſted of its air is not proper for this experiment, becauſe it readily abſorbs all the air as faſt as it iſſues from the ſkin. But if the experiment be made in water at all, this muſt be the only unexceptionable manner of making it; and water by no means abſorbs any kind of air ſo faſt as he deſcribes this to iſſue from the ſkin, and eſpecially ſuch a kind of air as he deſcribes, a great proportion of which is air partially phlogiſticated. It requires a long time before water, in a quieſcent ſtate, will take up any ſenſible quantity of ſuch air as this. Beſides, there is nothing that we know of the human frame, that would lead any perſon to ſuſpect that air ever iſſues from the ſkin. Where are the *air veſſels* for that purpoſe? and what is their origin, or connection with other parts of the ſyſtem? The preſent ſtate of anatomy indicates nothing on this ſubject.

To ſatisfy my friend, not myſelf, I told him I would make an experiment, which I did not doubt would convince him of his miſtake in this reſpect: I did it in the following manner: I boiled a quantity of rain water, in order

to expel from it all the air it might contain, and then ſat with my naked arm plunged in a veſſel filled with it, after carefully wiping off, under water, all the bubbles of air that adhered to it. But though I continued to ſit in this manner a full half hour, not a ſingle bubble of air made its appearance afterwards. I might have examined whether this water had contained any air, beſides what it might have been ſuppoſed to have imbibed from the atmoſphere in this interval; but I neglected to do it, and am very confident it was quite unneceſſary.

After this I need not ſay any thing to my friend's ingenious obſervations on the air which he took the pains to collect from the ſkins of old and young perſons, and his laudable endeavours to remove a popular prejudice concerning the unwholeſomeneſs of the former, and the wholeſomeneſs of the latter kind of air.

Mr. Cruikſhank's experiments, if they could be depended upon, would both prove that fixed air is compoſed of common air and phlogiſton, and that the perſpiration of animal bodies, in a healthy ſtate, has the ſame effect upon air that breathing it has, viz. phlogiſticating it, and making it noxious, which is contrary to the experiments of which I gave an account in my laſt publication; by which it appears that the air under my arm-pits, and near other parts of my body, was never leſs pure than the external air. The Abbé Fontano alſo told me, that he had always found the ſame reſult in experiments made upon himſelf. But Mr. Cruikſhank ſays (in the ſecond edition of his *Letter to Mr. Clare*, printed in Mr. Clare's Treatiſe on Abſceſſes) that, after he had confined his leg in a glaſs veſſel, ſo as to prevent all communication with the external air, lime water poured into it immediately afterwards, came out a little turbid. But this he would probably have found to be the caſe with a ſmall quantity of lime water poured into and out of any veſſel of the ſame ſize, on account of the great ſurface of the fluid that muſt, in thoſe circumſtances, have been expoſed to the common atmoſphere; in conſequence of which it is always known to attract fixed air.

However, partly to examine this matter more thoroughly, and with a variation that I had thought of, I repeated the experiments on my own perſpiration in various ways, and they all confirmed what I advanced before, viz. that the perſpirable matter has no ſuch effect upon the air, but leaves it as wholeſome, that is, as fit for reſpiration, as ever, judging by the teſt of nitrous air, which, however, Mr. Cruikſhank does not ſay that he ever applied in this caſe.

Purſuing his ſteps, I faſtened a moiſt ox's bladder, containing about a quart of air, cloſe about my ancle, ſo that my foot, clean waſhed and warm, as his was, was expoſed to it; and I ſat near the fire, ſo as to keep my foot properly warm a full hour. After this I carefully withdrew my foot from the bladder, without changing the air; and applying the teſt of nitrous air, the air in the bladder appeared to be of the ſame degree of purity with the external air; the meaſures of the teſt, applied

plied in the ſame manner to both, being 1.26. I alſo admitted part of this air to lime water, and obſerved that it did not make it in the ſmalleſt degree turbid.

Willing to give more time to this experiment, that the opportunity of this perſpiration phlogiſticating the air might be the greater, I once more faſtened the bladder about my foot, juſt before I went to bed, and ſlept with it all night, keeping myſelf ſufficiently warm, from eleven to half paſt ſix in the morning, when the bladder was quite dry. However, carefully moiſtening it, and eſpecially where it was faſtened to my ankle, I withdrew my foot, without changing the air, and immediately examined it. The quantity contained in the bladder was 40 ounce meaſures. It did not affect lime water, and with reſpect to purity was of the ſame ſtandard with common air; the meaſures of the teſt with the nitrous air I happened to make uſe of, being in both caſes 1.3.

I cannot therefore but ſee reaſon to conclude, as I did before, that it is only *reſpiration*, and not the *perſpiration* of the body, that injures common air.

Of the Reſpiration of Fiſhes; from the ſame.

I HAD formerly found that fiſhes injure the air contained in ſolution in the water in which they live, vol. III. p. 342; the water in which they had been confined appearing to contain air of a worſe quality, than it did before they were put into it. I had alſo before obſerved the effect of water impregnated with fixed air, and with nitrous air, on fiſhes put into it. I have ſince repeated all theſe experiments with an attention to more circumſtances; and they both confirm and extend my former general concluſions.

Having at hand ſome water from the Hot-well at Briſtol, which I had found to contain air in a ſtate of great purity, I completely filled a large phial with it, and I put into it a few very ſmall fiſhes, which I had provided for the purpoſe of theſe and other experiments. They were minows, and other ſmall fiſhes, about two inches in length. In this water they were confined, without any acceſs of common air, till they died.

After this I took equal quantities of the water in which the fiſhes had died, and of that out of which it had been taken, when they were confined in it; and I expelled from both all the air which they would yield. That from the water in which no fiſhes had been put, exceeded in quantity that from the water in which they had been confined in the proportion of three to two; and examining the quality of both theſe quantities of air, by the teſt of nitrous air, the former exceeded the latter in a ſtill greater proportion. The air from the water, in which no fiſhes had been confined, was about the ſtandard of common air, but that which had been contaminated by the reſpiration, as I may ſay, of the fiſhes, though not thoroughly phlogiſticated, was ſomething worſe than air in which a candle juſt goes out. I ſhould probably have found it ſtill worſe than this, if I had expelled and

examined the air immediately; but the water remained in an open veſſel all night before I made the experiment upon it.

From this experiment it may be concluded with certainty, that air contained in water, in an unelaſtic ſtate, is as neceſſary to the life of fiſhes, as air in an elaſtic ſtate is to that of land animals. It is not properly *water* that receives the phlogiſton diſcharged from the fiſhes, but the *air* that is incorporated with it. And this may poſſibly be the reaſon of the attraction which, in many of my experiments, there appears to be between phlogiſton and water; whereas it has been an opinion univerſally received among chemiſts, that water has no affinity whatever with phlogiſton.

From this experiment I had no doubt, but that putting fiſhes into water impregnated with air that was thoroughly phlogiſticated, would be injurious, if not fatal to them, as much as the ſame kind of air, in an elaſtic ſtate, is to land animals; and this was verified by the following experiments; from which, however, it appears that fiſhes, like inſects, and ſome other exanguious animals, can live a conſiderable time without any thing equivalent to reſpiration. What limits that time has, may in ſome meaſure appear from theſe obſervations.

I began with water that contained, as far as we are able to diſcover, no air at all. For it was rain water, that had been recently boiled a conſiderable time. The veſſel contained about three pints of it; and into this, without admitting any air at all, I put nine of the ſmall fiſhes above mentioned, and they lived in it between three and four hours. This experiment reſembles the putting of frogs and ſerpents into a vacuum, only that there was no expanſion of air contained in them to ſwell their bodies in this caſe.

Taking the ſame water, which, as I obſerved, contained little or no air, I made it imbibe as much as I could of a quantity that had been phlogiſticated with iron filings and brimſtone, ſix months before. Of this, however, the water would take but very little. Into a pint of this water, thus imperfectly impregnated, I put two of the fiſhes, and they lived in it near an hour. The reſult was the ſame when I impregnated an equal quantity of the ſame water with inflammable air. For in this caſe alſo the two fiſhes lived about an hour. This experiment reſembled the putting of mice, and other land animals, into phlogiſticated or inflammable air, which is known to be fatal to them, but more ſuddenly than this water was to the fiſhes, owing, I ſuppoſe, to its imperfect impregnation.

When I impregnated water with nitrous air on a former occaſion, I obſerved that fiſhes put into it were immediately ſeized with convulſions, and died preſently; juſt as they did in water impregnated with fixed air. But though at that time I took all the care I could to prevent the decompoſition of the nitrous air, that remained after the operation, filling the phial in which the proceſs was made with freſh water, by means of a funnel, &c. ſtill a decompoſition of ſome ſmall part of it would neceſſarily be made, before I could poſſible ſlip the funnel into the neck

neck of the phial. To prevent this, I now introduced the fiſhes into the veſſel in which I had impregnated the water while it remained inverted in the baſon, the remainder of the nitrous air not imbibed by the water ſtill reſting upon it. The phial I uſed contained ſomething more than a pint, and the nitrous air occupied about one fourth of it.

Into this veſſel, thus prepared, I introduced two of my ſmall fiſhes, and they continued very quiet, without being ſeized with any convulſions, ten minutes, or a quarter of an hour, before they died. The cauſe of the convulſions, therefore, in the former experiment, muſt have been, not the *nitrous air*, properly ſpeaking, but the *nitrous acid*, though in ſo very ſmall a quantity, diffuſed in the water, and acting like the fixed air (which is only another kind of acid) in the water impregnated with it. Whereas in this experiment the fiſhes were no otherwiſe affected than they were in the water impregnated with phlogiſticated or inflammable air, except that the water imbibed much more of the nitrous air, and on that account was ſooner fatal to them.

Of the Rein-Deer; from Barrington's *Miſcellanies.*

IT hath been a generally received opinion, that the rein-deer will not live for any time ſouth of Lapland, or that part of North America which, though of a more ſouthern latitude, equals Lapland in the rigour of its climate.

Queen Chriſtina of Sweden had procured five-and-twenty of theſe quadrupeds, which ſhe propoſed to ſend to Oliver Cromwell, and which might long ſince have proved the contrary, had they reached this country.

Whitelock was then ambaſſador from England at that court, and endeavoured to prevail upon four Laplanders who brought the reins as far as Stockholm, to attend them to England, which they refuſed to do, but ſaid they would take care of them during the winter. The Laplanders, however, were very negligent in their charge, for ſoon afterwards fifteen were killed by the wolves, and the remaining ten did not long ſurvive, the climate of Stockholm being conſidered as too warm.

Buffon (who is one of the lateſt naturaliſts that hath deſcribed the rein-deer) mentions, that three or four were not long ſince carried to Dantzic, where they ſoon died, as the temperature of the air was too mild for them; and in another part of the ſame article, he regrets the impoſſibility of ſeeing this quadruped alive in France, on which account he only engraves the ſkeleton, having procured a drawing from a ſpecimen in the Muſeum of the Royal Society. Pontoppidan alſo ſays, that it will always be a vain attempt to naturalize this animal in other countries, as no nouriſhment can be found any where elſe which will keep them alive, ſo that they have all periſhed.

Notwithſtanding, however, this moſt prevailing opinion, it is contradicted, by the fact of a buck rein-deer having lived near three years at Homerton (not far from Hackney),

Hackney), in the close of Mr. Heyde, a merchant, and which died only in 1773, very suddenly, having been the preceding day in perfect health. He was sent to England from Norway with a doe, which did not live more than a year; and Mr. Heyde hath this autumn [1773] received a male and female, which were in November last very healthy. Leemius observes, that in Finmark they are subject to the epilepsy.

Every written voyage to the higher northern latitudes makes mention of this very useful quadruped, whilst Scheffer, Buffon, Hoffberg, and Leemius, have given us its natural history.

Leemius is the last of these, who published at Copenhagen his account of Finmark Lapland in 1767, and resided in that country more than ten years; he is therefore more to be depended upon than any of the others, who it is believed, never saw the animal alive; at least the upper antlers, as engraved by Hoffberg, more resemble those of the elk than of the rein-deer. There is, however, a very good representation of the rein deer in Pennant's Synopsis of Quadrupeds.

As Leemius's work hath scarcely found its way yet into the more southern parts of Europe, I shall make some extracts from it, with regard to this animal, with which he had so frequent opportunities of being thoroughly acquainted.

It is agreed by all naturalists to be peculiar to the female rein-deer, that they should have horns as well as the male: Leemius however remarks, that this is not always the fact, some having none at all, as likewise that they lose them entirely after parturition.

The projecting brow antler also is not observed in any other species of deer, the use of which I should conceive to be a proper defence against that arch enemy the wolf; and Leemius accordingly mentions an instance of one rein having drove away two of these maroders. When the reins, however, use their antlers against their own species in the rutting time, the horns are frequently so entangled, that they cannot be separated but by the assistance of the rein herd.

If it be asked, why every species of deer hath not the same protection? the answer seems to be, that the swiftness of the other kinds enables them to escape their pursuer.

Though the northern naturalists speak of the expedition also, with which the rein-deer will draw the traineau; yet I beg leave to say, from having seen three of these animals, that they are rather of a make calculated for the collar, than for extraordinary swiftness; and I have little doubt but that they are the slowest of their whole genus, except the elk, whose antlers are also of a most peculiar form, as well as strength.

I should conceive likewise, that the elk makes use of these extraordinary horns to remove the thick underwood and briars in which this quadruped lives, not being so fleet as the rest of its genus are: the antlers therefore are excessively wide, as well as shallow, and the fagged terminations seem not improper to perform the office of a saw.

I know well that some naturalists,

iſts, not being able to find out the uſe of particular parts in ſeveral animals, have rather ridiculed the attempt to diſcover for what purpoſe they are deſigned: I am perſuaded, however, that this ariſes from ignorance of the habits of the animal (which is the intereſting part of natural hiſtory); nor is it leſs true, becauſe it hath been often advanced, *that nature does nothing in vain.*

Buffon makes but one article of the rein and elk; he alſo obſerves, that when the latitude begins to be too warm for the former, the elks are firſt to be diſcovered. North America furniſhes, however, an exception to this obſervation, becauſe reins are found in Newfoundland, 50° N. lat. and the Hudſon's-bay company have a noble ſpecimen of elk's horns in their hall, which was ſent them from their forts, ſome of which are nine degrees to the northward; at the ſame time that the ſituation is ſo much more inland, and conſequently from that circumſtance alſo the temperature more cold than might be expected, merely from the fort's being nine degrees nearer to the pole. On the other hand *Iſbrand Ides* met with a great many reins not far from Nezzinſkoi, which is only in N. lat. 50. at no great diſtance from the Eaſtern Ocean.

I ſhall now mention two or three particulars from Leemius, with regard to the rein, which have not been noticed by other naturaliſts.

They are extravagantly fond of human urine, and lick up the ſnow with the greateſt avidity when the upper part hath been ſtained by it; poſſibly, however, the opening the way to their favourite lichen may be in part the occaſion of their immediately finding out ſuch ſpots.

We have the ſame authority for their killing a vaſt number of mice, which are called in the Lapland language *Godde Saepaew*, and *Lemæner* in the Norwegian. As their make, however, is not deſcribed, and as I can find no names which bear the leaſt affinity in the Fauna Suecica, it is impoſſible to ſettle the ſpecies. Poſſibly alſo the reins only uſe this food when they can procure no other; it is for the ſame reaſon that the Lapland gulls are ſaid likewiſe to feed on mice, and the crows to tear the linen which is hung to dry. Leemius, in other parts of his work, mentions, that they devour the heads of theſe mice only, with the greateſt avidity; which alſo may ariſe from want of other food, as it is believed that no other quadruped (which chews the cud) deſtroys animals for the purpoſe of ſubſiſtence.

All deſcribers of the rein have taken notice of the cracking noiſe which they make when they move their legs, which Hoffberg attributes to the animals ſeparating and afterwards bringing together the diviſions of their hoof; but he does not aſſign the cauſe of the reins ſo doing, which I conceive to be the following:

The rein inhabits a country which is covered with ſnow for great part of the year; the hoof therefore of this quadruped is moſt admirably adapted to the ſurface which it is moſt commonly to tread.

The under part is entirely covered with hair, in the ſame manner

ner that the claw of the Ptarmigaw is with feathery briſtles, which is almoſt the only bird that can endure the rigour of the ſame climate.

The hoof, however, is not only thus protected; the ſame neceſſity which obliges the Laplanders to uſe ſnow ſhoes makes the extraordinary width of the rein's hoof to be equally convenient in paſſing over ſnow, as it prevents their ſinking too deep, which they would be ſubject to eternally, did the weight of their body reſt only on a ſmall point.

This quadruped hath therefore an inſtinct to uſe a hoof of ſuch a form in a ſtill more advantageous manner, by ſeparating it when the hoof is to touch the ground, ſo as to cover a larger ſurface of ſnow. The inſtant, however, the leg of the animal is raiſed, the width of the foot becomes inconvenient, eſpecially when it is going againſt the wind; the hoof, therefore, is then immediately contracted, and the colliſion of the parts occaſions the ſnapping, which is heard upon every motion of the rein.

Another reaſon, poſſibly, for this noiſe, may ariſe from Lapland's being not only covered with ſnow great part of the year, but alſo for ſome time under a perpetual night; the rein is a gregarious animal, and often obliged to go a great way for ſuſtenance, probably therefore the cracking which they perpetually make, may ſerve to keep them together when the weather is remarkably dark. Bells round ſheep are known to be very convenient for the ſame purpoſe, when they graze upon a wide extended down.

Leemius mentions another very ſingular circumſtance with regard to the Lapland wolves; which is, that, when they have killed the rein, they always place the carcaſe with the head towards the eaſt, and that the ſkeleton's are conſtantly found in ſuch poſition.—This fact, indeed, is ſo extraordinary, that it ſhould not be too lightly credited; animals, however, have undoubtedly their reaſon for chuſing or declining certain aſpects: the martin, for example, ſeldom builds its neſt againſt the ſouth.

Though I have ſtated ſo many particulars from this writer, not only becauſe he is the lateſt naturaliſt who hath deſcribed the rein, but becauſe he reſided ten years in Finmark; yet I cannot but take notice of one paſſage in his work, in which I conceive he muſt be entirely miſtaken.

Leemius affirms, in his ninth chapter, that the reins loſe their horns in the ſpring, which is not only contradicted by what Hoffberg and Buffon have advanced, but by the fact, for Mr. Heyde's buck dropt his horns for two ſucceſſive winters, but *reſumed them in the ſpring*. In one of theſe years they continued to be no more than ſtumps till the 30th of January, when they began to ſhoot; on the 24th of February they were five or ſix inches high, covered with a deep pile of velvet.

At the ſame time Leemius not only aſſerts this to happen otherwiſe, but the engravings which accompany his work repreſent the deer amongſt ſnow with their horns on.

In juſtice to Leemius, however, I ſhould add, that though Hoffberg

berg and Buffon take notice that the rein loſes his horns at the approach of winter, yet other naturaliſts have ſuppoſed that they were of uſe in removing the ſnow which covers the lichen they are ſaid to be ſo fond of, and which is utterly inconſiſtent with this quadruped being deprived of them during the winter. Leemius indeed expreſsly informs us, that they procure the lichen by means of their feet.

As I have very frequently viſited Mr. Heyde's rein, I ſhall now mention ſome few particulars I happened to obſerve myſelf with regard to this quadruped, which is ſo ſeldom to be ſeen to the ſouthward of the Baltic.

This animal was kept in a cloſe of about an acre, the graſs of which was rich; and he conſtantly fed upon it during the whole year, though he was much fonder of the lichen, which was ſent over from Norway: by holding a little of it in my hand, I could at any time bring him to me. No animal, indeed, could be better humoured, as he would even permit his antlers to be handled when the blood veſſels were moſt turgid. He likewiſe permitted me to meaſure his height, which was three feet two inches and a half, being in his ſixth year, and of full growth. Now Leemius obſerves, that the doe is not ſo large as the buck; and I have meaſured the ſpecimen of a doe-rein, lately ſent to the Royal Society from Hudſon's-bay, which is about three feet in height. I ſtate this compariſon, becauſe it makes me doubt with regard to the juſtneſs of an obſervation of M. de Buffon, who (in his article Rein-deer) ſuppoſes that all American animals are leſs than the ſame ſpecies in other parts of the globe. Mr. Pennant alſo takes notice, that the American elk is larger than the European.

I once ſaw this rein in Mr. Heyde's garden, where there was a conſiderable variety of flowering ſhrubs and foreſt-trees, all of which he browzed upon except the elder; he alſo drank a great deal of water out of a pond.

I have therefore little doubt but that this quadruped will live without the Lapland lichen, to which it only hath, perhaps, recourſe, becauſe there is in thoſe latitudes no other ſuſtenance during the winter.

I have, indeed, procured ſome of this lichen, which I have taſted, and conceive from thence it may be a nouriſhing food either to man or beaſt; it is, however, by no means peculiar to Lapland, as we have much of the ſame on our own heaths. In one reſpect, indeed, the rein fares better in England than in Lapland, as Hoffberg and all other naturaliſts ſpeak much of its ſuffering from an inſect, which they term the Oeſtrus Tarandi. We have, perhaps, the ſame gad-fly in England, but they are not ſo numerous, and Mr. Heyde's rein did not ſeem to feel much inconvenience from this perſecution.

Le Brun obſerves, that the rein carries his head ſo high, that the horns touch the back; and it is not therefore improbable that theſe antlers may be given them as a means of removing theſe very troubleſome inſects.

The ſame traveller takes notice, that the chiefs of the Samoieds have ſometimes ſix or eight of them

them to draw their traineaus, and that they never ſweat, notwithſtanding their being often much preſſed, but pant with their tongues out, juſt as grey-hounds do after a ſevere courſe.

Leemius alſo informs us, that after being hard driven they loſe their ſight frequently for three or four days.

I have before obſerved, that Mr. Heyde's buck rein was very good humoured; poſſibly, however, if he had been harneſſed, I ſhould not have found him ſo tractable, for on account of its greater docility, a gelt rein bears a much better price in Lapland; and another cauſe for the advanced value is, that the operation being performed but aukwardly, the owners frequently loſe them: for the ſame reaſon the poorer Laplanders only harneſs the doe.

Of the Bat, or Bere-Mouſe; from the ſame Author.

THE bat is ſo diſagreeable an animal, that we are generally deſirous of avoiding it rather than examining into its habits; the conſequence of which averſion is, that we are more ignorant with regard to its natural hiſtory, than perhaps of any other animal of the ſame ſize.

Hideous as it may appear to our eye, yet if we are to believe Johnſon (who is a writer of merit) there is a perpetual alliance between them and pigeons, inſomuch, that if the head of a bat is fixed upon the top of a pigeon-houſe, the pigeons will never leave it. I profeſs, however, that I cannot hear this animal hath any other friend or ally, and they muſt naturally be dreaded by moths or other inſects of the night, as much as hawks are the terror of our ſmaller birds; nature is one perpetual ſcene of warfare, for the ſake of food, and bats again become the prey of owls.

A friend of mine kept one for ten days, and was much amuſed with its manner of taking flies, on which it chiefly lived: Linnæus hath claſſed it with his primates, at the head of which ſtands *Man:* a more natural arrangement, perhaps, might have exalted this animal to the *order of angels*, as they are depicted with wings as well as teats.

I never met with any one who had taſted a bat: and, indeed, with us they are ſo diminutive, that the morſel ſhould be as delicate as it is ſmall. In the iſland of Mauritius, however, where they are very large, the ſeamen conſider them as dainties. "They are innumerable, and ſome as large as goſhawks, and the ſeamen caſe them as rabbits; they hang in ſwarms on the boughs of the trees, by claws fixed at the extreme part of their wings, and their monkey faces turned downwards." In the time of falconry they were given to hawks as a remedy for the falling ſickneſs.

From its likeneſs to a mouſe, the ſynonym is formed in many languages, the French terming it *chauve ſauris* and *ratpennade*. The Dutch, Vleermuys. The Germans, Fleder-mauſch. The Danes, Flaggermuus. The Swedes, Flader-mus. The Spaniards, *Mur-cielago*. As for our modern name of Bat, I do not know whence we apply it to this animal, but

but it was anciently called *rere-mouſe*, from the Anglo-Saxon hpeþemuþ. Our blaſoners alſo uſe this word. In the Greek and Latin, however, the name is taken from its appearing only during the night νυκτερις & veſpertilio.

"Seroque trahunt a veſpere nomen." Ov.

Different ſpecies, or varieties of bats, are found in moſt quarters both of the old and new world; but for an enumeration of theſe I ſhall refer to Mr. Pennant's moſt excellent Synopſis of Quadrupeds, and after obſerving, that ſome of thoſe in America are ſuppoſed to ſuck the blood of perſons aſleep, I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe of our own iſland.

That moſt able naturaliſt Mr. Ray takes notice of but one ſpecies, though Mr. Pennant conceives that we have four. Nothing can exceed both the diligence and accuracy of Ray, but the common averſion to theſe animals ſeems to have prevented both him and others from either catching or examining many ſpecies.

Having but two teats, it is ſuppoſed that they never produce more than two young ones, which, according to Pliny, they fly about with on their back.

If this is true at all, I ſhould ſuppoſe that it only takes place when the young are to be taught to fly, as they may be more eaſily launched from their parent's back into the air, than from any other place. They cannot riſe at all from the ground, according to Linnæus; and in this ſituation therefore they ſeem diveſted of every pretenſion to be deemed birds, if their being viviparous, and having no beaks, did not ſufficiently exclude them, as well as their want of feathers. As to their having wings, a flying fiſh, or the flying ſquirrel, might for the ſame reaſon be conſidered as birds.

But the moſt intereſting part in relation to this animal, is its ſtate of torpidity during the winter, to which it is induced probably from want of flying-inſects for its food, as ſeems to be the caſe with the ſwallow tribe.

In this part of the natural hiſtory of this animal, I am much indebted to the communication of a moſt ingenious correſpondent, who knows where to find them torpid at any time during the winter, and more particularly in a large cavern near Torbay.

The prevailing notion that they hang always in cluſters touching each other is not true, as this depends entirely upon their having a proper opportunity of adhering to the place from which they are ſuſpended; they ſometimes, therefore, are in contact, and often at conſiderable diſtances, but always fix themſelves by both their feet.

Martial ſays of the dormouſe, that it is fatter during its ſtate of torpidity than when it revives. I therefore begged to know from Mr. Corniſh, whether this was the caſe with bats during the winter, who informs me that the fact does not hold with regard to the one or the other, and that bats mute whilſt they are thus ſuſpended. Both dormice and bats loſe from five to ſeven grains in weight during a fortnight, whilſt in a ſtate of torpidity.

Bats on the whole fare better during a hard than a mild winter, for warm weather not only awakens them,

them, but promotes their power of digeſtion, whilſt at the ſame time they cannot procure the food of which they are in ſearch. This holds likewiſe with regard to bees, which are better preſerved in a dark room than if expoſed to the air whilſt torpid, becauſe ſometimes they are awakened by the mild temperature of the weather, when there are no flowers for their ſupport.

As bats mute whilſt torpid, there is alſo a circulation of the blood, for Mr. Corniſh having applied a thermometer to the body of one perfectly aſleep, which ſtood at 36, the heart beat 60 times in a minute; the ſame bat being awakened ſo as to fly weakly, the thermometer applied in the ſame manner roſe to 38, and the heart beat 100 times in a minute.

They have been, however, obſerved to continue in their torpid ſtate when the thermometer, placed in the air, hath been at 48, which is ten degrees warmer than the animal when awakened according to this experiment.

Moſt of the bats roufed by irritation have not ſurvived more than three days, but then it is ſtated that the weather became colder. Frequent attempts have been made to revive them after this ſeeming death, but they have all proved ineffectual.

Having deſired Mr. Corniſh to make ſome experiments with an air-pump on torpid bats, he informs me that his apparatus for that purpoſe is not ſo good as it ſhould be, but that he is of opinion, from ſome imperfect trials, that they are not ſo ſoon affected by want of air, as other animals, which do not ſleep during the winter.

That diſtinguiſhed anatomiſt Mr. John Hunter, having occaſion to diſſect bats during the winter, applied to me to procure him ſome from Devonſhire, knowing that I had a correſpondence with Mr. Corniſh, who could at any time reſort to their lurking places.

I accordingly requeſted Mr. Corniſh to ſend up a dozen of bats in their ſtate of torpidity, which he was ſo obliging as to do by the next conveyance; but though he had packed them with the greateſt care, they died, as Mr. Corniſh apprehended, before they reached London. The motion of the carriage probably occaſioned this diſappointment, as alſo that they did not hang in their uſual attitude, nor in the proper temperature of air. If they had continued to live, Mr. Corniſh informed me, that though one could perceive no motion in them, yet if placed in contact with a proper crevice, they would however fix themſelves by their claws.

Theſe bats were kept for ſome time by Mr. Hunter before he would abſolutely pronounce them to be dead, and afterwards, at Sir Aſhton Lever's, before they were *ſet up*; but though they never ſhewed any ſigns of life, yet their bodies did not putrify. The ſame thing I had occaſion to obſerve with regard to ſome torpid martins which were ſent to me from Somerſetſhire, and which I wiſhed Mr. Hunter to diſſect. Theſe birds alſo did not revive, but no ſigns of putrefaction appeared, though they were kept a conſiderable time.

And

And here it may be obſerved, that a moderate heat, ſuch as the boſom or hand, is the moſt likely to bring torpid animals to life, which are often killed by being placed too near the fire, from the common prejudice, that one cannot have too much of a good thing.

For a more immediate teſt of life in the animal, it will ſhrink either upon the touch, or holding a lighted candle near it.

On the Torpidity of the Swallow-Tribe when they diſappear. From the ſame Author.

IN the foregoing treatiſe upon the migration of birds, the appearance and diſappearance of the ſwallow-tribe hath neceſſarily been touched upon; but I think it better to reſerve, for a ſeparate diſſertation, what more particularly relates to their being during the winter in a ſtate of torpidity.

I have for many years attended carefully to the motions of theſe birds from the latter end of March to the latter end of April, at which time I have travelled into, or returned from, North Wales.

For the laſt twelve years the ſpring ſeaſons in that part of Great Britain have been generally dry, the eaſt winds prevailing during the month of April.

The conſequence hath been, that on my journey towards Wales, or upon my arrival in the principality, I have perhaps ſeen a ſtraggling ſwallow or ſwallows; but upon the weather growing more ſevere, they have diſappeared perhaps for a fortnight or more, ſo that I never have been able to procure any, though I have ſent people out with guns to ſhoot them. My inducement was to examine them upon their firſt appearance, and to ſee in what plight they might be, both as to caſe and plumage; as alſo what they might feed upon before many winged inſects are to be found.

Upon my return towards London I have commonly ſeen five or ſix ſkimming over the river Clwyd, near the gate of the town of Ruthin, which is called Porthydwr.

After this, it hath commonly happened, that I have not obſerved any of this tribe of birds but at the diſtance of 20, 30, or 40 miles, and this always depending upon the approach to rivers or ponds, ſo that I could be tolerably certain where I might expect to obſerve them.

Theſe circumſtances ſeem to me very deciſive, that ſwallows are concealed near the place where they begin to appear; and on firſt conſideration of theſe facts it may be perhaps inferred, that theſe birds are all to be found under the water; it muſt however be recollected, that they probably procure more food in ſuch ſituations when on the wing, whatever may have been their winter reſidence. By the latter end of April the ſwallow-tribe appears in numbers.

I ſhall now ſtate ſuch facts as I have myſelf obſerved, or received from ingenious correſpondents, in relation to each ſpecies of ſwallow, and without heſitation make my own inferences, leaving them to be corrected by thoſe who may be more fortunate in collecting more deciſive inſtances.

I ſhall begin with the *ſwallow*, as Mr. Pennant does in his Britiſh Zoology; and premiſe that I mean that ſpecies whoſe tail is moſt forked, and which is marked with a red ſpot on the forehead and chin.

This bird appears the firſt of its tribe, and (as I conceive at leaſt) hides itſelf under water during the winter, becauſe, in the few inſtances where the relater hath been able to particularize the ſpecies thus found, it hath happened to be a ſwallow.

There is ſcarcely a treatiſe on ornithology, written in the northern parts of Europe, which does not allude to the ſubmerſion of ſwallows during the winter, as a fact almoſt as well known as their peopling the air during the ſummer; and becauſe the name of Linnæus is reſpected by moſt of the incredulous on this head, I copy from him the following words in the deſcription of the bird.

"Hirundo [*Ruſtica*], habitat in Europæ domibus intra tectum, unaque cum *urbica* demergitur, vereque emergit."

It is alſo clear from the expreſſion of *demurgitur* (though perhaps not claſſical) that this naturaliſt conceived theſe birds hid themſelves under water during the winter; and it is to be obſerved, that he ſeems to have ſtated it after a proper examination, becauſe in the Fauna Suecica, publiſhed five years before, he omits the mention of this circumſtance.

As the inſtances of finding ſwallows under water are moſt common in the northern parts of Europe, I ſhall begin with the teſtimony of the inhabitants of that part of the globe.

Mr. Peter Brown, a Norwegian and ingenious painter, informs me, that from the age of 6 to 17, whilſt he was at ſchool near Sheen, he with his companions hath conſtantly found ſwallows in numbers torpid under the ice, which covered bogs, and that they have often revived upon being brought into a warm room.

Baron Rudbeck, a Swediſh gentleman, who was not long ſince in England, hath aſſured me that this fact was ſo well known in Sweden as to leave no doubt with any one.

Mr. Stephens, A. S. S. informs me, that when he was 14 years of age, a pond of his father's (who was vicar of Shrivenham in Berkſhire) was cleaned during the month of February, that he picked up himſelf a cluſter of three or four ſwallows (or martins) which were caked together in the mud, that the birds were carried into the kitchen, on which they ſoon afterwards flew about the room, in the preſence of his father, mother, and others, particularly the Rev. Dr. Pye. Mr. Stephens alſo told me that his father obſerved at the time, he had read of ſimilar inſtances in the northern writers. Though I have ſtated theſe birds to have been either ſwallows or martins, I rather ſuppoſe them to have been the former, from their being found under water.

The compilers of the Encyclopedie (art. Mort.) have inſerted the following obſervation and fact in relation to ſwallows diſcovered in the ſame ſituation:

"Pluſieurs oiſeaux paſſent auſſi-

tout

tout l'hyver ſous les eaux, telles ſont les *hirondelles*, qui loin d'aller ſuivant *l'erreur populairs fort accreditée*, dans les climats plus chauds, ſe precipitent au fond de la mer, des lacs, & des rivieres, &c."

It is there alſo ſtated, that Mr. Falconet, a phyſician, living at Paris, had ſeen in one of the provinces, "une maſſe de terre que les pecheurs avoient tirée de l'eau; apres avoir lávée & debrouillée, il appercut que ce n'etoit autre choſe qu'un amas d'hirondelles," which, on being brought to the fire, revived, the fiſhers declaring that this was not uncommon.

The late ingenious Mr. Stillingfleet informs us, that one ſwallow's being found at the bottom of a pond in winter, and brought to life by warmth, was atteſted to him by a gentleman of character.

Some years ago the moat of Aix-la-Chapelle was cleaned during the month of October, and the water let out for that purpoſe, when on the ſides of the moat, and much below the parts which had been covered with water, a great number of ſwallows were ſeen to all appearance dead, but their plumage not impaired.

Du Tertre mentions, that a Ruſſian of credit had told him, that, a piece of ice in a village of Muſcovy having been brought into a houſe with ſwallows in it, they all revived.

There are ſeveral reaſons why ſwallows ſhould not be frequently thus found; ponds are ſeldom cleaned in the winter, as it is ſuch cold work for the labourers, and the ſame inſtinct which prompts the bird thus to conceal itſelf, inſtructs it to chooſe ſuch a place of ſecurity, that common accidents will not diſcover it.

But the ſtrongeſt reaſon for ſuch accounts not being more numerous, is, that facts of this ſort are ſo little attended to; for though I was born within half a mile of the pond near Shrivenham, and have always had much curioſity with regard to the natural hiſtory of animals, yet I never heard a ſyllable about this very material and intereſting intelligence till very lately.

To theſe inſtances I muſt alſo add, that ſwallows may be conſtantly taken in the month of October, during the dark nights, whilſt they ſit on the willows in the Thames; and that one may almoſt inſtantaneouſly fill a large ſack with them, becauſe at this time they will not ſtir from the twigs, when you lay your hands upon them. This looks very much like their beginning to be torpid before they hide themſelves under the water.

A man near Brentford ſays, that he hath caught them in this ſtate in the eyt oppoſite to that town, even ſo late as November.

I ſhall conclude the proofs on this firſt head by the dignified teſtimony of Sigiſmond King of Poland, who affirmed, on his oath, to Cardinal Commendon, that he had frequently ſeen ſwallows which were found at the bottom of lakes.

I ſhall now proceed to the ſecond ſpecies of the ſwallow-tribe, called a *martin*, which hath no colours but black and white, hath a ſhorter tail than the preceding, and builds commonly under the eaves of houſes.

I may be miſtaken, but I ſhall

here again hazard a conjecture that this ſpecies does not hide itſelf under water during the winter, but rather in the crevices of rocks or other proper lurking places above ground, as moſt of thoſe which have been diſcovered in ſuch ſituations have been martins.

The inſtances of this ſort are ſo numerous from all parts, that to bring them within a moderate compaſs I muſt only ſelect a few of them; promiſing thoſe who are incredulous, that I can moſt readily furniſh many more than I ſhall now produce.

I ſhall begin with a letter dated at Towyn in Merionethſhire, dated March 22, 1773.

Extract from a letter relative to torpid Martins.

Towyn, Merionethſhire,
SIR, *March* 22, 1773.

I received yours; and according to your deſire I made as much enquiry as I could concerning the ſwallows. Richard Hugh, a boatman at Aberdyſyny, tells me, that he lived with Mr. Anwil about twenty years ago, when they were found by Mr. Anwil himſelf, who ordered him, with ſome others of his ſervants, to go along with him to ſee them; and the ſaid Richard Hugh really believes that there were ſome thouſands of them; and Mr. Anwil, with his own hand, put ſome of them into a part of the cliff which remained in the rock, they could at firſt ſcarcely perceive life in them, but ſoon they began to crawl a little, then they carried ſome into the houſe, and held them near the fire, when they became pretty lively. Richard Hugh cannot recollect who was the perſon that ſaw them beſide himſelf and Mr. Anwil, neither can he remember exactly what month it was; but he is ready to make oath, that it was a very uncommon time of year to ſee ſwallows, and to the beſt of his memory it was either the latter end of January or the beginning of February. I went to Mr. Griffith Evans at Tymaur, to aſk whether he had heard any thing of them; and he told me, that he now well remembers to have heard Mr. Anwil telling a deal about them, how remarkable it was to ſee them at ſuch time of the year, and he believes it was about twenty years ago; and Mr. Griffith Evans ſays he is poſitive that it is true. Alſo one Hugh Richard, a very credible old man in this town, ſays, that he really heard Mr. Anwil mentioning them.

I have another account of the ſame ſort with regard to ſwallows (or martins) being diſcovered, about 16 years ago, at Yew-Law Caſtle, near Hawarden, in Flintſhire.

I have received alſo the ſame kind of information relative to torpid ſwallows, in Caernarvonſhire, and Caſtleton in Derbyſhire

Sir William Bellers told the late Dr. Chauncey that he happened to ſtop at a fiſherman's houſe in Cornwall, whoſe net had been much torn by a large clod of earth, which, upon being examined, was very full of ſwallows, that awaked from their torpidity upon being brought near the fire. I ſhould rather ſuppoſe however that they were martins, from the circumſtance

cumſtance of their being found in a large clod of earth, which had probably dropt from the bank a little while before.

By a letter from Dr. Finley, Provoſt of the college of New-Jerſey, dated May 1, 1765, to the late Dr. Chandler, and ſoon afterwards communicated to the Royal Society, it appears that the ſame notion prevails in America, with regard at leaſt to ſome ſpecies of their ſwallows. Kalm alſo mentions their being found torpid in holes and clefts of rocks near Albany.

Dr. Pallas gives an account that on the 18th of March a ſwallow (perhaps martin) was brought to him, near Uſa, which had been found in a field, to all appearance lifeleſs, but having remained a quarter of an hour in a warm room, it flew about, and lived ſome days, till killed by accident.

Mr. Corniſh, an ingenious ſurgeon, who reſides at Totneſs in Devonſhire, was fiſhing in the river Dart, at the beginning of November, 1774, and on a very warm day obſerved ſeveral martins iſſuing from ſome large rocks, overgrown with ivy and thicket. On this appearance, at ſuch a time of the year, he deſiſted from his amuſement, that he might more attend to the motions of theſe birds, which had been brought out of their winter-quarters by the fineneſs of the weather, the ſun at that time ſhining ſtrong on the rocks. They continued to flit backwards and forwards for almoſt half an hour, keeping very near together, and never flying in a direct line, nor when at the farthest above an hundred yards diſtant from the rocks, cloſer to which they now as the ſun lowered, began to gather very faſt. Their numbers were then leſſened conſiderably, and in a very ſhort time they all returned to the fiſſures of the rocks, from whence they had been induced to venture out by the warmth of the evening. Mr. Corniſh concludes this account by aſſerting very poſitively, that there was not one ſwallow amongſt theſe martins.

The ſame ingenious naturaliſt afterwards mentions, that he hath ſeen martins at Totneſs in the months of December and January, though he never obſerved a ſwallow at that ſeaſon; in which fact he is confirmed by a perſon whoſe name is Didham, and who ſaw two martins on the 26th of December at a place called Syfferton.

I ſhall here ſubjoin other facts of the ſame kind, which I have received from the ſame good authority.

Mr. Manning a ſurgeon of reputation in Kingſbridge, when a boy, and in ſearch of ſparrows' neſts, on a headland called the Hope, pulled out from under the thatch of an uninhabited houſe great numbers of ſwallows (or martins) which he conſidered as dead, but they afterwards revived; and their number amounted to more than 40. Mr. Manning recollects the fact at preſent as if it had been more recent, and likewiſe remembers, that the plumage was in perfect order; which was the caſe alſo with ſome martins, which I received myſelf during the winter, from Cameron

in Somerſetſhire, in which there was not the leaſt mark of putrefaction.

Another perſon drew out a great number of martins from the wall of an old caſtle in Wales during winter, and the heat of his hands recovered ſome of them ſo as to fly.

Again, a plumber in Mr. Corniſh's neighbourhoood hath made a ſolemn depoſition, that being at work on the leads of Foraby-houſe (ſituated on the ſea-coaſt in Torbay) early in the ſpring, he found in ſome of the ciſterns ſeveral martins; that he at firſt believed them to be dead; but as they looked not at all decayed, he began to ſuppoſe they might be only aſleep, and that in conſequence of this idea, curioſity tempting him to hold one of them in his hand for a few minutes, the bird became ſtrong enough to fly two or three yards.

Kyrcher ſpeaks of a deep cavern high up the Teverone, which the mountaineers told him was never left by the ſwallows in winter.

The Rev. Dr. Boſworth obſerved five ſwallows (or martins) creep out of the wall of Merton college, Oxford, during the month of January, which returned again to their dormitories on the weather becoming colder.

Mr. Hooper, F. R. S. hath informed me, that martins were ſeen at Chriſtchurch in Hampſhire ſo late as Chriſtmas, in 1772, when the flies alſo began to be troubleſome. I ſhall here ſubjoin the words of a letter on this ſubject from an eye witneſs: "As my neighbours and ſelf were ſtanding in the churchyard, we told fourteen on the wing at one time, near the eaſt end of the church and could ſee others flying about over my houſe, and different parts of the town." Mr. Rickman went home, and immediately wrote the following memorandum in his almanack; "Dec. 9, 1772. This day a conſiderable number of martins or ſwallows were ſeen round the church. They were in indefinite numbers (as during the ſummer), and flew with as much velocity as at that time of the year. They decreaſed daily till the 23d of December, after which I have not heard of one being ſeen."

I have alſo received an account of two ſwallows or martins appearing on the 21ſt of December, in this ſame year, *viz.* 1772, at or near the town of Pool, in Dorſetſhire.

I am laſtly informed, by an intelligent ſervant of the Right Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, that being with his maſter at Lord Strafford's in Yorkſhire, ſeven or eight years ago, the latter end of October, a converſation began with the game-keeper about ſwallows croſſing the ſeas; which the game-keeper diſbelieved, becauſe he ſaid he could then carry any one to ſome neighbouring coalworks, where he was ſure of finding them by that time. On this many of the ſervants attended him to the coalpits, where ſeveral martins were obſerved in a torpid ſtate, but ſhewed motions of life upon their being brought near to the fire.

Moſt of theſe inſtances are ſo well atteſted, that I conceive it cannot be diſputed by any one, that martins at leaſt appear occaſionally throughout the winter, whenever the weather is remarkably

ably mild, and which agrees with what Sir William Hamilton hath informed me, in relation to his ſcarcely ever paſſing between Naples and Puzzuoli without ſeeing ſome of theſe birds, when the ſeaſon at that time of the year was temperate.

With regard to the third ſpecies of ſwallows, the ſand martin, I have never been able to collect a deciſive inſtance of their being obſerved at all during the winter, though poſſibly ſometimes not diſtinguiſhed from the more common martin; I will not therefore pretend to conjecture what may be their peculiar lurking places, though I conceive that they undoubtedly have ſuch. I have however been negatively informed that they are not found in the holes where they make their neſts. This bird is commonly ſo diſtant from the habitation of man, and is ſo much in the dark, that its habits are not eaſily attended to.

As for the fourth ſpecies, called the *ſwift*, which is well known by its ſuperior ſize, and being almoſt entirely black, Linnæus aſſerts, that it winters in the holes of churches.

I have however the following inſtance of their ſometimes chooſing other places of concealment.

The Rev. Mr. Williams, of Biſhop's Waltham in Hampſhire, found three ſwifts in the battlements of an old flint tower belonging to that town during the winter, which being brought into a warm room ſhewed ſigns of life, but afterwards hanging them up in a paper bag cloſe to the kitchen fire they were either ſtifled by the cloſeneſs of the bag, or killed by the too great heat. See alſo an inſtance of three ſwifts being found in an old oak during the winter, which on being laid before the fire, ſoon recovered ſtrength enough to fly about the room, though they died ſoon after. Ariſtotle indeed aſſerts, that in Greece the ſwift never diſappears, φαινεται δε μιν απας πασαν ωραν.

I ſhall now endeavour to corroborate theſe facts with regard to moſt of the ſpecies of ſwallows being obſerved during the winter either in a torpid ſtate, or on the wing, by ſome other proofs, which ſeem to make ſtrongly againſt the periodical migration of ſuch birds acroſs oceans.

They who maintain this opinion, always ſuppoſe that theſe birds paſs to the northward upon the approach of ſpring, in great flocks; of which however I have not been able to find any inſtance in what hath been printed on this ſubject, except what is ſtated in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, of a number having lighted upon the ſails of Sir Charles Wager's fleet in the Channel. I flatter myſelf alſo, that I have (in a previous eſſay) fully anſwered any inferences to be drawn from this relation in ſupport of migration; and muſt likewiſe repeat, that ſuch inſtances muſt happen as regularly as the return of the ſeaſons, did ſwallows then paſs to the northward.

But this is not all, as, if I can depend upon my own obſervations, as well as thoſe of others, ſwallows ſhould, according to this ſuppoſition, always firſt appear in flocks on the ſouthern coaſt of this iſland; whereas they are ſeen but in ſmall numbers, diſperſed

almoſt equally over all parts of it, and if any cold weather happens they then immediately diſappear, being obſerved in the ſame numbers again when the mild weather is more confirmed, and are afterwards joined by myriads from every lurking place and retreat.

All animals are endowed with a providential inſtinct to avoid what may be prejudicial to them, and therefore it ſhould ſeem that the ſwallow tribe would never leave the coaſt of Africa in their ſpring migration to the northward till a month later than they generally appear, as then there would be no occaſion for a ſudden retreat on the froſts, which are ſo frequently experienced in the early parts of our ſpring. Lying however in their torpid ſtate they cannot reſiſt the mild influence of the firſt genial weather, but know where to ſecure themſelves when it becomes ſevere.

That the ſwallow-tribe are concealed during the winter, not far from the place where they have been hatched, may be inferred from the following facts.

Mr. Stephens, F. S. A. hath informed me that martins continued to have a neſt for 16 years together in the hall of an old houſe which belongs to him at Camerton in Somerſetſhire, though the door was conſtantly ſhut during the night, and ſometimes for a few hours during day-light, when the parent birds muſt have been not a little impatient to feed their neſtlings.

The ſame fact hath been atteſted to me by Mr. Sanxay, with regard to the porch of a gentleman's houſe in Derbyſhire, though the birds did not continue to build for ſo many years as in the preceding inſtance.

The following fact relates to a ſwallow which built for two years together on the handles of a pair of garden ſheers, that were ſtuck up againſt the boards in an outhouſe; and, what is ſtranger ſtill, another bird of the ſame ſpecies made its neſt on the wings and body of an owl that happened by accident to hang dead, and dry, from the rafter of a barn. This owl with the neſt on its wings and eggs, was brought to Sir Aſhton Lever, who deſired the perſon that furniſhed him with this curioſity to fix a large ſhell where the body of the owl had hung. The perſon did as he was ordered, and the following year a neſt was made and eggs laid in the ſhell by a pair of ſwallows.

Now it is clear, from theſe well-atteſted inſtances, that both martins and ſwallows chooſe to build, for a ſucceſſion of years, in the ſame place, though an inconvenient one; and is it to be ſuppoſed that they conſtantly return to the ſame ſpot from the coaſt of Africa, rather than they ſhould be torpid during the winter, in no very diſtant place of concealment?

But they who maintain that ſwallows periodically leave Europe and proceed to Africa, rely much upon their being ſeen to congregate not long before they diſappear, which happens however with regard to many other birds, and the aſſemblage conſiſts of the firſt brood, who are left by their parents to ſhift for themſelves, ſwallows and martins uniting.

This therefore ſeems to ariſe from

from ſuch birds conſidering themſelves as rather in a defenceleſs ſtate, unleſs

Defendit numerus.

That this is the fact, particularly with the ſwallow tribe, appears by the repeated obſervations of that attentive and ingenious naturaliſt the Rev. Mr. White.

It is well known that the ſwallow and martin have two broods every year, and conſequently that their firſt neſtlings muſt be abandoned by the parents: how therefore are the produce of the firſt neſt to be conducted over the Atlantic from Great Britain and Ireland, to Africa?

How alſo can it be expected, that the ſecond brood, which I have known myſelf to be hatched in October, ſhould be equal to ſuch a paſſage, in which they have no inſects to feed upon, and in which they never ſeem to have been obſerved by any ſhip at a conſiderable diſtance from land, or by any perſon on ſhore, who can properly aſſert that they were bent on ſuch periodical migration?

I will here add an obſervation which relates to the ſwift only. This bird, by the length of its wings, is certainly better calculated for a long flight than any of the ſwallow tribe, and yet it is the lateſt comer, and diſappears the earlieſt of this whole genus, long before the inſects on which it feeds are wanting.

But this is not all. When this bird is firſt ſeen in the ſpring it is all over of a gloſſy dark ſoot colour (except their chins, which are white; but by being for a conſiderable time in the ſun and air, they become weather-beaten and bleached before they diſappear.

Now would not this alteration in the colour be occaſioned by their paſſage over the Atlantic, and do we not know that the quicker the motion is, and the longer continued without intermiſſion, the more our own ſkins and hair are changed; and are we not to ſuppoſe that the ſame effects will be produced on the feathers and hairs of other animals?

I will now beg leave to ſtate another objection to the migration of ſwallows from Europe to Africa, which is, that if this conjecture is true, the ſame thing muſt hold with regard to the northern and ſouthern parts of Aſia. On the contrary, I am informed, that ſwallows hide themſelves in the banks of the Ganges during what are called the winter months in that part of the world. Du Tertre likewiſe mentions, that the few ſwallows ſeen in the Caribbee Iſlands are only obſerved in the ſummer, as in France.

Now we are aſſured, by Dr. Pallas, that they have not only ſwallows in Ruſſia and Siberia, but that on the banks of the Okka, which empties itſelf into the Wolga, in N. Lat. 57, on froſt taking place about the 4th of Auguſt, they diſappeared for that year.

Theſe birds therefore ſhould, according to the hypotheſis of migration, have been paſſing to the more ſouthern parts of Aſia, but I do not find it obſerved by any Aſiatic traveller that they have the

the ſame ſpecies of hirundines with us, or that they are only ſeen in thoſe parts during our winter.

Between what hath been advanced in the preceding and preſent diſſertations, the arguments againſt the periodical migration of ſwallows have filled many pages, and it may be right to bring them to a concluſion, by anſwering an objection which is much relied upon by thoſe who maintain the contrary opinion.

It is frequently aſked by theſe, where and when the ſwallow moults, if this does not happen in parts of the globe to the ſouthward of Europe?

To this I do not pretend to anſwer by informing them where or when theſe birds change their feathers; but I may equally aſk the queſtion with regard to nine of the birds out of ten which have been deſcribed by naturaliſts, becauſe we are entirely uninformed about this matter, except in relation to thoſe which we uſually eat, or keep in cages.

It is true, that moſt, if not all of theſe, commonly moult with great regularity; but it is alſo known that there are often exceptions to every general obſervation or rule; nor do I ſee why it is more neceſſary that every bird ſhould moult, than that every fiſh ſhould not have wings, which would have been moſt confidently maintained by the old naturaliſts who were unacquainted with the flying fiſh.

Again, it is part of the known definition of a bird to be an animal covered with feathers, and yet thoſe of the caſſowary and the ſilky fowl of the Eaſt Indies rather reſemble hairs than plumage; and this is the caſe ſo ſtrongly with the latter, that it hath given occaſion to the impoſition at Bruſſels, where they are ſhewn as the mixed breed of a fowl and rabbit.

I therefore do not conceive it to be abſolutely neceſſary that this tribe of birds ſhould change their feathers at all, or perhaps they may do ſo only the ſecond or third year, and at a time different from that in which other birds moult.

But I will now aſk the direct queſtion of the partiſans of migration, whether the feathers are renewed whilſt the ſwallow-tribe are in Africa during the winter?

Now in all the birds which we are well acquainted with, moulting begins in the autumn; and therefore if ſwallows drop their plumage in Africa during the winter, it is nearly as much contrary to what happens in relation to the change of feathers in other birds, as the not being liable to any change at all.

It is not alſo abſolutely impoſſible that theſe birds may moult during the time of their concealment, to which the fact already mentioned of the ſwift's plumage being moſt bright and gloſſy, when it firſt appears in the ſpring, ſeems to give ſome countenance, and Ariſtotle aſſerts, that this happens to the τρυγων (commonly rendered the turtle-dove) whilſt it is hid.

How little do we know, with accuracy, in relation to the renewal of our own hair; which I rather believe to be brought about by ſuch degrees as to be almoſt imperceptible; nor are the hair-cutters, or friſeurs, perhaps capable of

of giving us any material information on this head.

Whatever weight, however, these answers may be thought to carry with them, it is as much incumbent upon those who maintain the migration of swallows from Europe to Africa, to inform us where and when they moult, as it is upon those who deny that they pass from one continent to another.

An Account of the Island of Corsica; *from the Appendix to the private Life of* Lewis XV. *Translated from the* French *by* J. O. Justamond, *F. R. S.*

THE island of Corsica is situated in the Mediterranean, between 39 and 42 degrees latitude, lying between the island of Sardinia to the south, and the coasts of Italy to the north. Its greatest length is from *Capo Bonifacio* to the south, as far as *Capo Corso* to the north; this makes 160 Italian leagues. Its breadth comprehends 75 of the same leagues, from *Capo Galien* to the west, as far as the lake Urbino to the east; its whole circumference is reckoned to amount to 225 Italian leagues.

This island is divided in ten jurisdictions, and four fiefs, composing 68 *pieves*.

By *pieves* we are to understand a certain number of leagues included under the same administration, although they are dependent on several parishes which compose each jurisdiction.

Of these ten jurisdictions, six are on this side the mountains; these are *Capo Corso, Balagna, Calvi, Bastia, Corto, Alleria;* and three fiefs, namely, *Nouza, Brando,* and *Canary.*

The other four jurisdictions are situated beyond the mountains; they are *Vico, Ajaccio, Sartene, Bonifacio,* and the fief of *Istria.*

There are five bishoprics in this island, *Mariana, Nebbio, Alleria, Ajaccio,* and *Sagorne.*

The interior part of the lands is covered with mountains, several of which are planted with olive and chesnut trees, and furnish pasture for the flocks; between these heights there are many fertile plains; they abound in vines, orange, bergamot, citron, olive, and several other fruit trees. Upon the highest of these mountains, which is called *Gradanio,* are the lake of *Cremo* and of *Dino,* at no great distance from each other. From the first, issue the rivers of *Liamono* and *Tarignano,* one of which flows towards the west, and the other in a contrary direction; that of *Gaulo,* issues from the lake *Dino,* and discharges itself into the sea near *Mariana.* Beside these three rivers, the most considerable in the island, and which, with some expence, might be rendered navigable, there are several others; these are only small streams, intersecting almost all the plains, and which would render them still more fertile, if their channels were multiplied.

The little province of *Balagna* is in every respect the most abundant of Corsica; that of *Capo Corso,* although the most exposed, is very near as good; and all, or almost all of them, require only the labour of the cultivator.

As for the productions, besides the vines I have mentioned, which yield a white and red wine, that might

might with care be made comparable to the wines of *Candia*, *Cyprus*, *Syracuſe*, and *Malaga*; corn might alſo be produced there in great plenty, if the territory were fertilized in a ſmall degree; and, notwithſtanding the idleneſs of the inhabitants, nature, in ſome meaſure too luxuriant, ſometimes deceives their indolence, and preſents them with a very abundant harveſt. There is no want of cattle; birds of all kinds are to be ſeen here, and quantities of game, eſpecially the red-legged partridge. During the winter a ſufficient quantity of them are caught with a net, to furniſh ſeveral towns in Italy. This ſeaſon likewiſe produces a quantity of blackbirds, which are in no eſtimation any where elſe, but are here very delicate, and much ſought after.

There is therefore nothing wanting in Corſica, with reſpect to eatables, except good cooks to dreſs all theſe proviſions. But, independent of the articles of primary neceſſity, the arts and commerce would alſo find opportunities to exert themſelves.

There are in this country ſeveral baths, as well hot as cold; mineral waters, ſerviceable in all kinds of diſeaſes; olive-trees, which would furniſh a conſiderable oil trade, and fit to ſupply France; mulberry-trees and ſilk worms, which, with induſtry and activity, would enable us to do without the ſilks of Italy; timber for maſts, and ſhip-building, which would indemnify us for the loſs of that of Canada; gold, ſilver, copper, and iron mines; quarries of marble and porphyry; a cryſtal of the greateſt beauty, by the diverſity of its colours, and which is formed in the mountain of *Bornano*.

In general, the climate of the iſland is the fineſt in the world. The ſky is never darkened two days together. There is ſcarce any winter: the heats of the ſummer are moderated in the mountains by the north winds; they are more violent in the towns of *Baſtia*, *St. Fiorenzo*, *la Gagliola*, *Calvi*, and *Ajaccio*. The illneſſes to which the troops are ſubject, are attributed to the heat of the air; and I believe they proceed rather from want of good water, which thoſe places are very deficient in during the ſummer, but which might be eaſily brought down from the mountains.

From this ſhort account, Sir, you will readily judge of the truth of my ſpeculations. I will not diſſemble, that theſe advantages are counterbalanced by the enormous expences which muſt be incurred in that iſland, to ſecure it from the inſults, not only of the natural inhabitants, whom I ſuppoſe to be ſubdued, but of foreigners. The extent of its coaſt, and the facility of landing in ſeveral places, would require labours, the calculation of which is alarming. Moſt of the towns are diſmantled, or very imperfectly fortified; the ports either filled up or in bad condition. *Corto*, formerly the capital of the iſland, and which ſtands almoſt in the center of it, at preſent reſembles more a village than a city. *Baſtia* is the moſt remarkable town: ſeveral works have already begun to be erected there; but the port, in which frigates and armed barks cannot enter, ought to be cleared. On returning to the weſtern coaſt,

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we find *Fiorenzo*, a town in the moſt ruinous condition. Its gulph is immenſe, and might contain a prodigious number of ſhips; it is more than a league over, and runs three leagues deep into the lands. It is bordered with high mountains, which ſhelter it from all kinds of winds except the north-eaſt. The harbour is filled with rocks near the ſurface of the water, which only admit boats to land. We meet next with *la Gagliola*, which has a bad road, where none but tartans and feluccas can land: after this comes *Cavi*, the port of which, though very large, can only receive frigates of a moderate ſize: the port of *Ajaccio* is more convenient, and deeper: ſhips may caſt anchor there in the midſt of the baſon. *Bonifacio* terminates the point of the weſtern coaſt, where there is a little port, good and ſecure. At the eaſtern coaſt we find *Porto Vecchio*, the moſt beautiful port of the Mediterranean; the largeſt ſhips can enter it; but an unwholeſome air prevails in the city, which has occaſioned it to be quite deſerted, ſince which it has not been poſſible to repeople it. Along this coaſt, as far as Baſtia, which terminates it, we find nothing more than *Alleria*, almoſt deſtroyed.

You may conceive, Sir, how much money it would abſorb to render ſo many towns and ports, all eſſential ones, of any uſe; and at which, with more or leſs danger, a foreign enemy might land, and convey ſuccours to the revolted natives.

The villages are infinitely more valuable than the towns; they are almoſt all built upon little mountains, and in ſituations fortified by nature; all the houſes are furniſhed with battlements, arched ways, and terraces, and, being contiguous, flank and defend each other; ſo that each of theſe places would ſeem to require a ſiege, of which we have had a ſmall ſpecimen in the villages of *Barbagio*, and of *Patrimonio*.

Another unavoidable expence, which would likewiſe be enormous, is that of the roads; which it would be neceſſary to open throughout the whole iſland: in a word, our engineers, upon a groſs calculation, reckon that two hundred millions muſt be ſacrificed to put the iſland of Corſica in the moſt flouriſhing ſituation. There is no doubt but that it would one day repay the expences with intereſt; but are we able to form ſuch projects at this period? This is a matter that muſt be referred to our good and wiſe miniſters; it is certain that every thing announces the deſign of preſerving this country, by the troops which arrive here every day, and by the eſtabliſhments of all kinds that are forming, as well maritime, as military, and municipal.

The magiſtracy will find employment enough here. In 1739, at the time of the firſt reduction of this iſland by the late Marſhal Maillebois, there were already reckoned 28,000 aſſaſſinations committed with impunity. You may judge how many have happened ſince that period. It is true that Paoli has eſtabliſhed a kind of judicature among his people, but he is not powerful enough to be able to exert it with all the rigour which the ferocity of this people would require. Accordingly, population

pulation diminiſhes here daily. At that time the number of inhabitants amounted to 116,000 men; but at preſent we ſhould not certainly find an equal number there. It would be neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh harmony in all the orders of the ſtate, confounded together. The right of nobility has been taken away by the Genoeſe from the moſt ancient families, ſo that there is now ſcarce any difference between thoſe who have formerly been gentlemen, and the peaſants. There were no more offices, no kind of education for children; and the republic would not admit them to any eccleſiaſtical or military dignities. Their new chief has repaired all theſe diſorders as well as he was able, that is to ſay, he has prevented them from increaſing as much as they otherwiſe would. His precarious authority, ever tottering—his life even every inſtant in danger—have not permitted him to do all the good he wiſhed, and of which his genius and wiſdom rendered him capable.

As for the reſt, you may eaſily conceive, Sir, by this account, from whence ariſes the invincible hatred of the Corſicans againſt the republic: the latter ſeems to have exerted every effort to deſtroy theſe people; they had even forbidden them every kind of trade: annually ſeized upon their oils and other commodities at a very low price, and made them pay very dear for ſalt, iron, copper, and the other articles they might want. In a word, they were treated more like ſavages, whom it was intended to exterminate, than like ſubjects who were to be protected. It is to be hoped that our character of mildneſs, the wiſdom of our government, and the goodneſs of our laws, will repair ſo many evils, and will make the new kingdom of Corſica ſenſible of the happineſs of living under the dominion of *Lewis the well-beloved*.

The Prefatory Introduction to Scheele's *Chemical Obſervations and Experiments on Air, and Fire. Written by Sir* Torbern Bergman *(Knight of the Order of* Waſa, *Profeſſor of Chemiſtry in the Univerſity of* Upſal, *F. R. S. &c. &c.)*

THE ſcience of nature ſeems to have three degrees. The firſt fixes our attention to the *outſides*, and teaches us to collect external characters, in order to enable us to diſtinguiſh various natural bodies; and this is the proper object of natural hiſtory. If we penetrate ſtill deeper by our contemplation, and examine the *general qualities* of matter (its extenſion, impenetrability and *vis inertiæ*) in regard to its peculiar relations; it is that which is commonly called natural philoſophy *(Phyſica)*. But chemiſtry is the *innermoſt part*, ſince it examines the material elements, their mixtures, and proportions to one another. The firſt teaches us the elementary rudiments, the alphabet of the great book of nature; the ſecond inſtructs in ſpelling; and the third, to read diſtinctly. The two firſt therefore are no more than ſubſidiary ſciences, which conduct us to the laſt, as the proper great object.

Since all ſingle qualities of bodies

bodies depend upon their ſtructure and compoſition; it follows neceſſarily, that all our occupations with material and corporeal ſubſtances, never can obtain any degree of perfection, without the aſſiſtance of natural philoſophy. And ſince commonly the proper intention of our occupations is directed either to our health, the neceſſaries of life, or our comfort, three different claſſes of practical ſciences are from thence derived, medicine, huſbandry, and the arts. We ſhall in the moſt conciſe manner conſider the connection of chemiſtry with each of them.

In the times when chemiſtry was chiefly founded on various nonſenſical hypotheſes, and was nevertheleſs applied with a blind zeal and the moſt perfect confidence not only to the cure of all infirmities and diſeaſes, but even to the obtaining of immortality itſelf; then it could be productive of nothing but detriment and miſchief in the ſcience of phyſic.

We have no knowledge of bodies *a priori:* every intelligence about them, muſt be acquired by proper obſervations and experiments. But to diſcover and purſue ſuch experiments as really illuſtrate the point we are in ſearch of, requires not only ſkill, and a peculiar application, but alſo the moſt impartial love of truth; in order not to be enſnared by the pleaſing deſire of drawing general concluſions from a few *data* of precarious certainty. It leſſens no doubt our trouble, and flatters our vanity, to be able to diſcloſe in a moment the whole courſe of nature. Man is beſides naturally indolent, and much inclined to be captivated by imagination more than by reality. The confeſſion, therefore, that we really know no more than what we know, is even in our days, when the experimental method is conſidered as the only right and true method, very difficult and humiliating: but ſince all ſciences have their roads of error, their abuſes and follies (which unfortunately always ſeduce the greater part of mankind), it is chiefly owing to this precipitation and fancy, that ſuch monſters are produced.

Every thing going forward in our body, is done either in a *mechanical* or in a *chemical* way; ſince the operations of the immaterial ſoul having nothing to do with it. Our food is diſſolved and changed on its road in paſſing from the mouth through the ſtomach, entrails, and other inteſtines, by means of the *ſaliva*, the *liquor gaſtricus*, the gall, the chyle, &c. ſo that in ſeveral places various matters are prepared, all of which are neceſſary for the increaſe and ſupport of the machine! The lungs moreover add by their conſtant motion, various ſubtle particles by means of the abſorbing veſſels, and again by the *exhaling veſſels*, carry off others. The leaſt irregularity in all theſe natural functions, lays of courſe the foundation for many infirmities and diſeaſes. Theſe ought to be prevented or cured by ſuch medicines as have nothing noxious in other reſpects capable of obſtructing the main tendency, and which contain nothing ſuperfluous; for if they were even in themſelves harmleſs, they might however become hurtful by their quantity. It is therefore no doubt

doubt a great advantage, to be able to concentrate the powers of ſeveral ounces into a few grains.

Did we exactly know, after chemical principles, the natural functions going forward in the body, the cauſes of diſeaſes, and the effects of medicines; chemiſtry would moſt certainly operate miracles.

But I foreſee already what may be objected to this aſſertion with ſome reaſon, viz. "Though ſuch knowledge would be a moſt excellent thing, it would however be rather the object of wiſhes than ſuch as might be ſuppoſed or hoped for: in the human body every operation goes forward very ſecretly; nor is there any glaſs window to admit the reſearches of the inquiſitive: it is by no means right to play with the lives of men, and it would be highly unjuſtifiable to endanger them by uncertain experiments, &c." I reply, this is perfectly right; at the ſame time it by no means juſtifies us in neglecting the right means of obtaining information; and ſtill leſs in treating them with contempt. Whatſoever is difficult, is not therefore impoſſible always. The more inveſtigation and trouble an invention coſts, the more honour may be obtained by it; eſpecially if it has for its object, health, the moſt precious enjoyment a man can be bleſſed with. If a man be only poſſeſſed of a truly fundamental knowledge, many things may be diſcovered without the leaſt danger. Higher chemiſtry has diſcovered many and various new manipulations, and by recalling to our minds one or the other inſtance, we ſhall be enabled to judge what more may with reaſon be expected.

Several kinds of diſeaſes ſpread devaſtation over extenſive countries, over people of all ranks and denominations; without being however infectious in themſelves. Theſe cannot, properly ſpeaking, be derived from the mode of living; which in thoſe who are attacked with the evil, is widely different; there muſt therefore exiſt a general cauſe, which affects equally the richer and the poorer. The *atmoſphere* is the ſame for all; during ſeveral years its weight and temperature have been obſerved; and this has furniſhed ſeveral explications, which however are not ſatisfactory for the explanation of all its phænomena. Its conſtituent parts therefore ought to be better known. The vapours and heterogeneous particles are different in regard to quantity, as well as to quality. Beſides chemiſtry teaches us, that this elaſtic fluid ſurrounding our globe, is at all times, and every where, a compound of three very different ſubſtances, *viz.* of good air, foul air, and aërial acid. The *firſt* is called by Dr. Prieſtley, if not wrongly, however ſomewhat improperly, *phlogiſticated air*. Mr. *Scheele* calls it with more reaſon *empyreal air* (fire air), ſince this alone gives life to fire, when the other two kinds of air extinguiſh the flame of a candle or fire. The laſt kind is commonly called *fixed air*: but I flatter myſelf to have ſatisfactorily proved by experiments, that it is a peculiar acid. The nature of the *firſt* kind, has as yet been very little inveſtigated; however by analogy it ſeems to be hardly any thing but

but good air, which is corrupted either by a ſuperfluity of inflammable ſubſtance, or perhaps by a want of it. It will however be ſtill difficult to decide which of the two above propoſitions is the true one.—Of theſe three diviſions, the aërial acid always bears the leaſt proportion, and ſcarcely makes the fifteenth part of the bulk of the atmoſphere, at leaſt on the ſurface of our globe: the foul air is always in the greateſt proportion; and by far more, than the pure or good air.

The various effects of each of theſe three ſubſtances upon animal bodies, are ſtill involved in impenetrable darkneſs. The good air fit for reſpiration, ought however to be excellent in its operations, ſince without it, it is impoſſible to live. It has been believed, that it contained an indiſpenſably neceſſary vivifying food; which never has been proved, at leaſt it ſeems not to be of an *electric* nature. It might perhaps ſoon be poſſible to decide by experiments, whether this good air carries off noxious, eſpecially phlogiſtic particles; ſince the air which has been expired from the lungs, is unfit for reſpiration, and is ſimilar to that which has been phlogiſticated. We ſhall then likewiſe be informed, whether that which makes the greater part of the atmoſphere, if it be inſpired by itſelf, becomes fatal, for the reaſon that it has been previouſly ſaturated with heterogeneous bodies, and is thence incapaciated for carrying off any particles from the lungs. Perhaps the aërial acid becomes an unfit vehicle for theſe articles, and is itſelf originally formed without them; however it is not yet aſcertained in what manner this air acts; but thus much is certain, that it deſtroys all irritability I have, from animals killed by it, before they were grown cold, extracted the heart, in which it was impoſſible to raiſe the leaſt irritability, either with the moſt powerful *menſtrua*, or the fire, or ſcalpels. If muſcular fibres were the chief cauſe of the motion of the lungs, it would not be difficult to find out the ultimate cauſe of death; but ſince its ſtructure is formed of quite different ſubſtances, the greateſt difficulties preſent themſelves. By experiments however it might be eaſy to aſcertain, whether the aërial acid and foul air act in the ſame manner. It would therefore be neceſſary to inveſtigate, whether irritability (by all appearance ſo very neceſſary for the whole œconomy of animal bodies) is not likewiſe deſtroyed in ſuch animals as have been ſuffocated and killed inſtantaneouſly by that air, which had been corrupted by reſpiration, fire, or other means. Since the air returning from the lungs, by expiration, is always blended with aërial acid; it would be neceſſary, in order to avoid all ambiguity, entirely to free the foul air of the aërial acid by means of lime-water, before any experiments were made with it. I hope ſoon to have an opportunity of making them. If then, contrary to expectation, the reſult ſhews, that they both act in the ſame manner, it would ſeemingly follow from thence, that theſe two fluids, ſo very diſtinct in their nature, act however by the ſame common unfitneſs, either

for carrying off from the lungs the noxious particles, or introducing into them a vivifying *pabulum*. But, however noxious aërial acid is for ſound lungs, it is nevertheleſs of great utility in the *primæ viæ*. Purulent lungs not only bear aërial acid, but they are even cured by it: and no ſooner is the cure performed, than its inhalation becomes again dangerous. But though there be ever ſo much left for inveſtigation, we may apply that for uſe which has already been diſcovered. It is for inſtance well known, that the air of the atmoſphere may be examined in regard to its fitneſs for reſpiration; a diſcovery which bids fair to yield, in a very ſhort time, the moſt important illuſtrations. If ſuch obſervations were made at the ſame time in dwelling-rooms, infirmaries, and the open air, and were continued with ſome degree of accuracy, we ſhould certainly diſcover the cauſes of many phænomena, which hitherto have remained inexplicable. Thus much we know already; that wounds and ulcers are with difficulty kept from going into mortification in corrupted, foul air; whereas, on the other ſide, the immenſely acute pains accompanying the cancer (that dreadful ailment) are in a few days not only mitigated and aſſwaged by the external uſe of aërial acid, but the loathſome aperture is alſo conſiderably diminiſhed. The compaſs of a preface not only prevents me from entering into a fuller diſcuſſion of this important ſubject, but alſo from producing more inſtances of its utility; I cannot help however mentioning in a few words only, that the obſervations on aërial acid have already ſpread a new light on the method of aſſaying and imitating, by art, medicated waters; and on their application and uſe in the cure of the ſcurvy, and other internal putrid diſeaſes. The true analyſis of the calculi from the kidneys and bladder, has enabled us to judge with preciſion of the beſt remedies againſt the gravel. The diſcovery of the inner conſtitution of arſenic, made us better acquainted with the manner by which its dreadful effects are produced; and thereby the beſt means were pointed out, both to extinguiſh its poiſonous quality, and likewiſe to mitigate and direct its effect for better purpoſes. —How ſimplified are at preſent many compounded remedies; and how ſafe and little perilous, are many preparations of the moſt acrid and corroſive ſubſtances? How many abſurd mixtures, decompounding and counteracting themſelves, have not of late been rejected? How many falſe theories of diſeaſes, and their cauſes, are there not daily expoſed, and ſhewn to be without any foundation, by means of chemiſtry? Sugar was ſaid to contain lime, in order to account for certain effects aſcribed to ſugar; though it contains not an atom of it. The calculi of the kidneys and the bladder were ſaid to be calcareous; though they contain at the moſt only one half of calcareous ſubſtance. And ſo in many more inſtances, which it would be too tedious to enumerate. Laſtly, how would it be poſſible to diſcover and to ſubject to controul the various *noſtrums*, quack-medicines, cheats, neglects, and other monſters of the

the medical ſcience, without the application of a chemical analyſis? The muſes are not without reaſon thought to be ſiſters; and they are a moſt excellent emblem of that harmonic union, by which all the ſciences mutually aſſiſt one another; and without which they never can attain any degree of perfection.

Next to health, there is nothing more preſſing and neceſſary than *common food*. In order to convince us of the utility produced by chemiſtry in regard to the neceſſaries of life, we ſhall only take a view of *agriculture*, that moſt antient and noble occupation. —If we conſult *Columella*, and many of the moſt antient writers on huſbandry, we find to our humiliation and ſhame, that they were as well inſtructed as us, if not better; though in later times ſo much pains have been taken, ſo many encouragements have been given, and ſo many rewards have been diſtributed. This ought to be conſidered in the following manner: The great Lord of nature has ſo bountifully taken care of us, that corn grows without any great care and knowledge. The improvements which this art in general is capable of from experience and collected experiments, are likewiſe ſoon enough acquired; and in this ſtate it remains till the ſcience of nature throws a new light upon it. They are two very diſtinct things, to raiſe corn on a certain piece of ground, and to raiſe as much corn as will poſſibly grow there: —The laſt deſideratum is not always obtained by ploughing, ditching and manuring; for beſides theſe mechanical operations, there are two things more required: ſuch a mixture as will afford to the vegetables not only proper nouriſhment; but alſo ſuch a one as keeps humidity as long as the uſual drought makes it requiſite; for nothing grows, even in the moſt exquiſite ſoil, without water. The beſt compound, therefore, ought to be adapted to the nature of the ſoil, the expoſure, the climate, and the common temperature of the weather; as I have proved more at large in another place. In the mean time it will be eaſily found, that chemiſtry is of the ſame importance to agriculture, and all the more particular branches of rural œconomy, that aſtronomy is to navigation.

The arts and mechanical trades, are occupied with the melioration of raw materials. One part of them, from beginning to end, is a ſeries of chemical operations; others are more mechanical; however there is hardly one of them which contains not one or more problems whoſe more perfect ſolution depends upon chemiſtry only. What a number of years muſt have elapſed before they arrived by chance only, or by unpremeditated experiments, to their preſent perfection; or before they learned to avoid all occurring inconveniences. A perfect knowledge of the raw materials, often furniſhes the beſt inſtructions, in a direct way. And it has been hitherto a great misfortune, that the practical part of the arts has been kept very ſecret: but ſince the French Academy of Sciences has begun to remove this obſtable, we have the moſt certain expectations of their

quick and amazing progreſs, by the aſſiſtance of the ſcience of nature. Without the knowledge of the true cauſes and their connections, it is impoſſible either to obviate or to remove all the obſtacles ariſing from chance or accidental circumſtances.

From what has been ſaid in a few words, it muſt evidently appear, that chemiſtry, in a peculiar manner, throws a great light on all mechanical trades, concerned with corporeal ſubſtances; however the property of the ſubject itſelf ſeems to preſcribe limits to this ſcience. The quality of our ſenſes, even when aſſiſted and improved by art, will not let us penetrate farther than to a certain point. The ſubtleneſs of our inſtruments is inſufficient, and the beſt become at laſt uſeleſs. All theſe difficulties are ſtill more increaſed, from the moſt ſubtle particles which cannot well fall under the examination of our bare ſenſes, having not only the greateſt adheſion, and conſequently exerciſing the greateſt reſiſtance to the attempts of dividing them, but alſo affording the moſt effectual and active means for this end. How imperfect therefore, muſt be our moſt perfect knowledge of the myſteries of nature?

This is all perfectly right; and the pretenſion is ſupremely ſilly, to be able at a future period to inveſtigate the firſt powers, which the Creator has eſtabliſhed at the creation and for the preſervation of the material world. Such a ſcience is too abſtruſe, and reaches beyond our attainment; it is reſerved for the power of the Creator, and not for that of a creature. But it by no means follows, that chemiſtry ſhould not be able to diſcloſe to our eyes many a ſcene of wonders. Could we only diſcover with certainty, the elementary principles of bodies (principia proxima) together with their connections and proportions, chemiſtry would be able to do great things.

From the moſt early periods, certain ſubſtances were thought to be ſo ſimple, that art gave up all hopes of analyſing them any further, and theſe were therefore conſidered as the *ſtamina prima*. Such are more eſpecially the four Ariſtotelic elements, earth, water, air, and fire: to diſcover the compoſition of which is the buſineſs of higher and more refined chemiſtry. Let us therefore examine, whether all hopes are entirely loſt of diſcovering any thing here.—Earth is the fixed principle, which remains after the fire has exerted its deſtroying power againſt a body, and which is not ſoluble in water in the common way. This is the coarſeſt of all the four common elements, and makes but a ſmall part of the bodies. Whatever analyſis has hitherto been able to eſtabliſh with certainty, may be reduced to this; that earth (which after all proves to be of different ſubſtances) is by no means the ſame matter, nor homogeneous, but a compound of ſeveral; and is found to be more or leſs of a ſaline nature, at leaſt it is ſo on the ſurface of our globe, in its moſt pure ſtate. There have been found ſix different ſpecies; having all quite different properties, and which hitherto have neither been decompounded into more ſimple, nor been changed into another; viz. 1. The *earth of*

of the ponderous ſpar; 2. *calcareous earth*; 3. *magneſia*; 4. *clay*; 5. *ſiliceous earth*; and 6. *earth of gems*. I have in another place mentioned the characteriſtics of them. Whether theſe, which till a further inveſtigation may be called *primitive earths*, are really different, or only varieties of the ſame, I cannot tell; the laſt opinion ſeems to be the moſt ſimple. I have however before obſerved the dangerous error of limiting the order of nature to our confined ideas. The concluſion ought not to be formed before the premiſes are aſcertained by experiments. Patience and aſſiduous application may perhaps in future times make diſcoveries; ſince we have at leaſt ſome conſiderable number of notions about their properties, by which a great deal is already gained. But ſince the acid of fluor and water, meeting one another in the form of vapours, coagulate into ſiliceous earth; and acid of arſenic with phlogiſton coagulate into ſolid white arſenic; there is ſome indication that terreous ſubſtances, as well as metallic calces, may be conſidered in their firſt principles as acids; which in the firſt caſe are become fixed by water, and in the laſt by phlogiſton. Thus much at leaſt is certain, that nature has indicated itſelf to be poſſeſſed of an abundance and variety of acids; and that it particularly employs them in its various operations.

Water is ſtill more ſubtle, and with more difficulty decompounded. Upon more accurate examination we find, that the experiments according to which it was imagined, that water could be changed into earth, do by no means prove that which in the beginning had been ſuſpected of them. It is generally known, that heat cauſes peculiar changes in water. The particles of water ſtrongly attract the particles of heat; and after they have been charged with, or enveloped by a certain quantity of them, this compounded matter becomes ſo eaſily moveable, that its ſurface endeavours conſtantly to form a horizontal line; it has a great ſimilarity with a ſubtle earth melted by fire. If you diminiſh the heat, by which operation the ſurface of the particles either come in contact, and by their friction hinder this reciprocal motion, or the elaſticity and power of repulſion is ſufficiently diminiſhed by the ſeparation of one of theſe elementary principles, then the maſs becomes indurated and ice is formed. It is not yet determined, which of theſe cauſes is here prevalent. If ice is to be melted, a quantity of the employed heat is loſt, amounting to very near 72° of our thermometers, and forms a kind of ſaturation; ſo that its effect is concealed by its union with the ice, almoſt in the ſame manner as if an acid were hindered from exerciſing its characteriſtic properties by a ſaturation with alkalies. The ſame takes place with quicklime: it contains heat, which is inactive till a ſtronger elective attraction ſets free and expels it. By the abſorption of 72° of heat, ice is made fluid; that which it receives beyond it is ſuperfluous; which may be eaſily obſerved, in the ſame manner as in adding an acid to a neutral ſalt: the water expands, grows warmer, more ſub-

tle, more penetrating, moveable, and light. If the quantity of heat is accumulated till it becomes equal to 100°, it is diſſolved into elaſtic vapours; ſome of which are already generated before the degree of heat is equal to 100°; but ſo much the leſs, the leſs the quantity of heat exceeds the abovementioned degree of ſaturation.——In the very moment they are ſeparated from the maſs it cools; for all evaporation generates cold. Does this cold ariſe becauſe the increaſed volume requires more to its ſaturation, and can in conſequence of its effect, fix more heat than before? Or is the heat (which was united to the water and was increaſed to a certain degree) now enabled to conſolidate itſelf cloſer and in greater abundance, and to carry off in conſequence that part of the water which is neareſt at hand? —This is what experiments have taught us of the compoſition of water; plainly demonſtrating that it by no means ought to be conſidered as a ſimple ſubſtance.

I have before mentioned ſomething about air, and proved, that the ſubſtance commonly called by that name, is by no means a ſimple and homogeneous body. I need not likewiſe be prolix on this, and the thus called fourth element or fire; ſince theſe two are the objects of the following performance;—whoſe author, Mr. Scheele, has great merit in chemiſtry by ſeveral important diſcoveries; all his inquiries ſhewing not only his reflection and reaſoning, but alſo a peculiar ſkill and perſeverance in inveſtigating truth, both by analyſis and by ſyntheſis. *Newton*'s diſcovery to divide light (the infinitely ſubtle light) into colours, has opened the way to many very curious myſteries of nature, though it was no more than a mechanical diviſion. Mr. Scheele diſcloſes a more ſubtle, becauſe a chemical analyſis; which inſtructs us not only about light, but alſo about fire, whoſe explication has hitherto been the *crux philoſophiæ*. I have, with ſeveral alterations, repeated his principal experiments on which he grounds his doctrine on this ſubject, and found them perfectly accurate. Though in ſome leſs material circumſtances a nearer confirmation might become neceſſary; it does however no injury to the main ſubject; which is grounded on ſeveral correſponding experiments. Heat, fire, and light, are, in regard to the elementary principle, the ſame with good air and phlogiſton; but their proportion, and perhaps the manner of their compoſition, cauſe the great difference. Phlogiſton ſeems to be a real elementary principle, which enters the chief part of ſubſtances, and adheres to them moſt obſtinately. There are ſeveral means to ſeparate it more or leſs perfectly: of thoſe known ſubſtances, good air is moſt active; for which reaſon, I put its ſign at the very top of the column of phlogiſton in my new table of attractions; what it cannot do ſuddenly, is however done gradually by the intervention of favourable circumſtances.

How intereſting the more refined chemiſtry is, will not be neceſſary to prove more circumſtantially on the preſent occaſion. It requires a great deal of prejudice, or the greateſt ignorance, to treat it

it with contempt under the ſpecious pretence of unneceſſary refinement and ſubtleties. Earth, water, air, heat, light, and many more ſuch ſubtle ſubſtances are every where to be met with; and as long as their properties remain unknown, the effects both of nature and art, muſt remain involved in the moſt perfect obſcurity. In chemiſtry, there are none of the *veritates otioſæ*; the leaſt phænomenon, when examined in all its cauſes, is always connected with others of the greateſt importance; in ſuch a manner, that every thing is ſhewn connected in the great œconomy of nature.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Obſervations on the Dyſentery of the Weſt-Indies, *by* b Moſeley, *Surgeon at* Kingſton *in* Jamaica; *with his new and ſucceſsful Manner of treating it.*

THE cauſes of all diſeaſes, well underſtood and properly conſidered, point to their cure.——It is an obſervation of the great Sydenham, that "he never was at a loſs to preſcribe for a diſeaſe, when he knew the cauſe of it," and that he always preſcribed with caution until he had found it.

The diſorder in queſtion has been, I believe, more conſidered from its effects, its remote, and concurrent cauſes than from its *immediate* cauſe: hence we may account for the inefficacy of the various attempts to cure it.

The pen of writers has done little more in the bloody flux, than record the times and places when and where it proved moſt fatal; the appearance it put on; its ſymptoms; its devaſtation; variety of modes of treatment that had no certain ſucceſs: now and then a remarkable caſe, and the phenomena diſcovered on diſſecting the dead.

The great author above mentioned, following nature as an unerring guide, never ſtopped at effects, but proceeded on to the cauſes of diſeaſes; and aſſiſted the means employed by nature to remove them, or ſubſtitute a ſafer and better method;—to which principle the world is indebted for that ineſtimable work that can only periſh with it; a work founded in nature, on a baſis applicable to all climes; that ſtands as the *Palladium* of phyſic againſt the ſuperſtitious errors of the middle ages, and the ingenious chimeras of later times;—he diſcovered the dyſentery to be, "*a fever of the ſeaſon, or of its own kind, turned inwards upon the inteſtines;*" and yet his ſucceſſors have made but little father uſe of this excellent aphoriſm, than quoting it, as their rules laid down for treating the diſeaſe ſufficiently prove.

In the courſe of twelve years experience in this iſland, and from every account I have been able to procure from all parts of the Weſt-Indies, I have invariably found the truth of *Sydenham*'s opinion; and have remarked that as the flux diſtinguiſhes, by the number

ber of ſtools, the quantity, ſo it does the ſtate of the fever of the ſeaſon, when it prevails, or of the ſubject diſeaſed; the ſtools being more frequent at thoſe hours when fevers are in their exacerbation, and the reverſe when in their remiſſion; beſides, their alternate ſucceſſion is frequently obſerved;—nor can it be doubted that this *fever*, like moſt others, is cauſed by *obſtructed perſpiration*; not confined to cold, hot, wet, or dry ſeaſons, particular food, water, liquors, or fruit; but chiefly depending on ſudden tranſitions, and ſuch other cauſes, as expoſe people to have this diſcharge haſtily ſtopped.

I know that writers lay great ſtreſs on exciting, and internal pre-diſpoſing cauſes; heat and moiſture; putrid ferments; infection, &c. &c.—but, upon a ſtrict examination, we ſhall find, that there has been too much attention employed on theſe imaginary circumſtances, whilſt the *immediate cauſe*, or *primum mobile* remains unnoticed. It is not to be doubted, that a conjunct cauſe is neceſſary, otherwiſe obſtructed perſpiration, the parent of ſo many, would always produce the ſame diſeaſe.

The ſkin being the great outlet for inſenſible perſpiration, which is ſaid by *Sanctorius* to amount, in the temperate clime of Italy, to five-eighths of what is taken into the body, we cannot be ſurpriſed at the violent efforts nature immediately makes, on the ſudden ſuppreſſion of a habit of ſuch extent: and if we attend to the ſtools of ſome patients, after the common contents of the bowels are diſcharged, before the blood-veſſels are broken, and at intervals when there is no mixture of blood or mucus, we ſhall find, they are nothing but a ſerous, acrid fluid.

As I have conſtantly practiſed in the opinion, that a flux is a *certain fever* of the inteſtines, and that this fever is cauſed by the *obſtructed perſpiration* being thrown there—ſo I have ever found it relieved, by turning back that diſcharge to its natural channel; nor have I often found difficulty in removing it ſpeedily, when taken in the beginning.

The common and fatal practice, of attacking the diſorder in the bowels, with opiates and aſtringents, is but aggravating the effect, whilſt the cauſe is entirely neglected.

Among the multitude of *formulæ* propoſed for the flux, we find *ſnake root*, *Dover's powder*, and other diaphoretic medicines; but exhibited in ſuch a manner, that they muſt often have produced more harm than good:—however, it plainly demonſtrates that the ſkin has not been really looked to for relief;—much leſs has the proceſs of ſweating been conſidered as the only one to be relied on

Sir John Pringle recommends *ipecacuanha* in ſmall doſes, united with *philonium* and *opium*;—Dr. Huck, and many others, a courſe of *ipecacuanha* in ſtages of the diſeaſe when the inflammatory ſymptoms are over; the good effects are attributed to aſtringency;—but, with the greateſt deference poſſible to ſuch authority, I believe *ipecacuanha* increaſes the tendency of the humours to the ſkin, and therein conſiſts its uſe in fluxes. I apprehend that no aſtringent,

gent, ſimply as ſuch, will often be found proper in fluxes:—this is daily evinced by gangrenes, obſtinate obſtructions, and ſwellings, which ariſe when a flux has been injudiciouſly ſtopped by them; a flux being in its firſt ſtages "*a fever of the inteſtines*," and in every ſtage an increaſe of one diſcharge, from the diminution of another.

Monſieur De Senac gave *emetic tartar* in ſmall doſes; but he expreſſly ſays, he gave it as a *laxative*, to keep up a free paſſage from the ſtomach to the *rectum*.—It is a common practice to give the *glaſs*, and other preparations of *antimony*, in caſual doſes, and uncertain periods; but the operation is always intended for the firſt paſſages.—In this practice, though the *primæ viæ* are ſo neceſſary to be cleanſed, I attribute the principal ſucceſs to the effects which *antimonials* produce, in opening the obſtructed capillaries, and preventing a reflux of humours to the bowels: for often in fluxes, when, from careleſſneſs and cold, antimonials have had their whole force and action turned upon the bowels, they have increaſed the determination of the fluids there, and brought on ſudden death; and in fevers alſo, the ſtomach is ſometimes deſtroyed by them.—When emetic tartar is injudiciouſly given to young, irritable, plethoric people, in the beginning of a fever, and previous to proper evacuations, inſtead of exciting a diaphoreſis, a ſpaſm is produced in the ſtomach, inceſſant vomiting, inflammation, the veſſels of the thorax and head are ſtifled with blood, and the patient vomits away his life.

The activity of emetic tartar, makes the direction of it difficult: it is in many reſpects a dangerous medicine in hot climates, the nervous ſyſtem being ſo irritable—except merely as an emetic:—it has done much miſchief when employed in fevers; the reguline virulence of the antimony being combined with acid, makes its operation, as a ſudorific, very precarious; and it often proves fatal to the ſtomach.

Such preparations of antimony as, from the effects, I ſhould ſuppoſe *James*'s *powder* to be, that have its phlogiſton mitigated, and the reguline part capable of action, from acidity, are beſt in fevers, being moſt certainly ſudorific; their operation on the ſtomach or bowels conſiderably depends on the ſtate of the humours contained there, and they principally become active when nature requires it.

Dr. Cullen objects, that the doſes of theſe preparations of antimony, cannot be ſo well aſcertained, as its ſolution by the vegetable acid; for which reaſon he prefers the emetic tartar for uſe.—It muſt be admitted, that emetic tartar is a certain vomit, and when given for that purpoſe the doſe is eaſily aſcertained;—but as it acts immediately on the ſtomach, it is frequently impoſſible to produce any other effect by it, doſe it how you will.—This learned phyſician has greatly contributed to the general uſe of emetic tartar;—the abuſe of it has ariſen from our reſpect to his character.

When we obſerve with what circumſpection and prudence the moſt enlightened and ſcientific introduce

troduce their reflections, we ſhould learn that they apprehend more from exceeding, than rejecting their doctrine.

Dr. Cullen ſuppoſes, that the application of cold air, as a ſedative, by abating the reaction of the vaſcular ſyſtem, may be uſeful in ſome circumſtances of fever; but does not venture to pronounce in what;—yet we ſee the extravagant practice of expoſing patients indiſcriminately in fevers, and other diſeaſes almoſt *ſub dio*, not attended to, nor the miſchief it produces.

A moderately cool, temperate air, is proper and neceſſary in every ſpecies of fever; but if any thing beyond that degree is meant, it cannot be ſupported by any reaſoning that applies to the ſmall-pox;—though this gave riſe to the ſpeculation, and many experiments on it, in the ſouthern parts of Europe.

The ſmall-pox fever is *ſui generis*, and terminates in phlegmons; it requires a treatment of its own.—For example, cooler air than is required in a ſtate of health is neceſſary; raiſing a ſweat is prejudicial, and often changes the diſtinct into the confluent ſort;—on the contrary, in fevers, their ſolution is commonly by ſweat:—cold air applied, as in the ſmall-pox, impedes that ſolution, and changes an intermittent into a remittent, or both into a continued fever.

The preceding paragraph will not be deemed digreſſive, as it is neceſſary, to elucidate my ſubject.

It is not my intention to diſpute the auxiliary aid that may occaſionally be drawn from aromatics, wax, ſuet, ſoap, lime-water, calomel, various purgatives, and even various aſtringents, in certain conditions of a dyſentery, diarrhœa, or teneſmus; or from rhubarb, abſorbents and correctors, in unimportant complaints of the bowels, originating there from acrimony or crudities; but to recommend a practice for removing the dyſentery, by means adequate to, and that correſpond with, its general cauſe.

It will occur to every practitioner, as my intention here is the uſe of ſudorifics, that I mean, *a careful continued courſe of them, to keep up a* ſweat, *in extent proportioned to the violence of the diſeaſe;* and not the trifling way of giving ſmall doſes, whilſt the patient is expoſed, and their operation diſregarded.——It will occur alſo, that *the ſudorific employed muſt be ſuitable to the nature of the flux,—the ſtage of it,—the conſtitution of the ſeaſon,—and the habit of the patient.*

When I propoſe a method, for the cure of this diſeaſe by a courſe of ſudorifics, I am aware of no objection that can poſſibly attend the novelty of the doctrine—except that it wants the ſanction of the fathers of phyſic, to oppoſe the errors and prejudices of cuſtom:—but that muſt yield to facts; and the important conſideration, that the ſucceſs of the war, and the ſafety of the colonies, depend on the preſervation of the troops; among whom the flux has ever been found to make the moſt dreadful havoc.

As much depends on a convenient and proper hoſpital, the ſituation and conſtruction of it require conſideration.—An hoſpi-

tal

tal ſhould not only be ſituated on a healthful ſpot, but in the vicinity of a market; where good water, wood, and every neceſſary, can be ſupplied without fatigue, delay, or trouble. The evils ariſing from the reverſe of this, require no animadverſion: let us conſider the evils of its improper conſtruction; inſtead of being lofty and ſpacious, we find the contrary mode is adopted; and it is generally thought ſufficient to have plenty of doors and windows, in all places appropriated for the ſick; theſe doors and windows are kept conſtantly open to make the hoſpital what is called *airy*.

The coſt of a good hoſpital is nothing in the ſcale of expence; it is a ſoleciſm in œconomy to have a bad one. A bad hoſpital may deprive the ſtate, in a few months, of as many men as would amount, in political calculation, to a ſum ſufficient to build ten good ones.

It cannot have eſcaped the notice of any perſon that has reſided in the Weſt-Indies, that ſitting long in the confined direction of a breeze, brings on a feveriſh, diſagreeable ſenſation, and ſometimes pains in the face, neck, joints, and a great degree of fever:—How then muſt it be with a patient, who, in the little huts of hoſpitals, is placed at a doorway to prevent ſuffocation, or raiſed on a platform to the level of an open window, if he ſhould break out in a critical ſweat? The ſweat is ſuddenly ſtopped; and if death does not enſue, the diſeaſe (which, under the kind operation of nature, would be finiſhed in a day or two) is lengthened out into months.

Hoſpitals and ſick rooms ought to be well ventilated; but as the ſick ſhould not be ſtifled with heat, ſo they ſhould not have currents of wind imprudently directed on their bodies:—in this caſe, no diſeaſe can poſſibly be thrown off, or complete a crifis by the emunctories of the ſkin. How then can ſoldiers recover from fevers, chiefly from obſtructed perſpiration, expoſed to a ſtill increaſing cauſe?—To this ſource we may principally attribute the multitude of what are generally called convaleſcents; which in truth, for the moſt part, are people labouring under chronic complaints from the imperfect ſolution of acute diſeaſes.

Though I have continually opportunities in my private practice, to prove the extent of the doctrine I advance, it is my intention to have the application of theſe obſervations underſtood to belong to the military, and that degree of dyſentery which is no where to be ſeen but in their camps and garriſons: for which reaſon I ſhall illuſtrate the ſubject with a ſhort account of the bloody flux, as it new rages amongſt the troops in this iſland, and particularly in the camp at *Fort Caſtile*, with the method I have happily found ſucceſsful, in the treatment of thoſe committed to my care.

This flux will appear to want almoſt all the ſuppoſed remote cauſes of a dyſentery, but it will be found with the immediate one common to all.

The ſtate of the human frame, during ſome months paſt, has undergone a multitude of diurnal tranſitions, from the abſence or preſence

preſence of a violent ſea breeze: —the weather has been remarkably dry and hot, and at times ſultry:—it was impoſſible to uſe the leaſt exerciſe without being heated; and it was almoſt impoſſible to get heated, without being immediately chilled by the breeze.

It is the ſoldier's life to be much expoſed, and it is his cuſtom to be careleſs of himſelf:—when he is fatigued or heated, he haſtens to cool himſelf in the breeze or night air; and perhaps throws off his cloaths, and often lies down and ſleeps in that condition;—if he is wet, he dries his cloaths, linen, and ſkin together:—by theſe means, perſpiration, the great fountain of health in hot climates, is ſuddenly ſtopped, and febrile ſtrictures occupy the whole ſurface of the body.

A flux following theſe *data*, will diſtinguiſh itſelf by an inflammatory diatheſis; and its progreſs will conſequently be rapid.

The general ſymptoms are, a chillneſs in the beginning, ſucceeded by feveriſh heats; gripings and frequent ſmall motions; ſickneſs of the ſtomach, and ſometimes retchings; copious purging ſoon follows, with green, brown, or yellow watery ſtools; theſe are now mixed with, or ſucceeded by, great diſcharges of blood; the ſtools vary in fætor and appearance, according to the periods of the diſeaſe, or as they are more or leſs retained: a conſiderable degree of fever brings on the diſeaſe and accompanies it, with ſome; with others but little;—ſmall, bloody, ſlimy ſtools, continually haraſs the patient in the laſt ſtages, particularly at nights; the tongue is greatly furred, and ſometimes of a brown or black colour; apthæ appear but ſeldom. —This is the general account of theſe who experience the violence of the diſeaſe, and ſurvive the firſt week; but many who were ſeized at the ſetting in of the flux this ſpring, periſhed within that time.

The curative indications are—*to cauſe a revulſion to the ſurface of the body and to cleanſe the inteſtines:*—The diſeaſe being rapid, the cure depends on performing theſe things as ſpeedily as poſſible.

Experience having ſhewn, that the common methods and medicines hitherto uſed, fall far ſhort of obtaining the important point of revulſion in proper time, and ſupporting it, the practice will ſtill be deficient, if we cannot find means adequate to that purpoſe.

The inductive conſiderations are, to bleed whenever it can be done with ſafety; to cleanſe the *primæ viæ;* to check the *impetus* with which the circulation is determined on the inteſtines, diſtending and burſting the coats of the veſſels; to remove the ſpaſm from the veſſels of the ſurface of the body, and to cauſe a diverſion there: all theſe muſt be done immediately, that the revulſion may be effectual.

Bleeding being an operation of great conſequence in the flux, the cure is generally begun with it, repeating it as the ſymptoms authoriſe:—there are but few inſtances where it may not ſafely be done in the beginning of the diſeaſe; the neceſſity is obvious where the patient is young, plethoric, with fever and full pulſe.

After bleeding, a vomit of *ipecacuanha*

cacuanha is to be given, which commonly relieves the ſtomach from a load of acid, poraceous, bilious impurities:—but our great expectation from vomiting is, that its action on the muſcular fibres of the ſtomach, forces open the extreme arterial capillaries, forwards the circulation to the ſurface of the body, and induces to ſweat.—An opiate after its operation is neceſſary.

After the vomit and opiate, it is proper to empty the bowels; but with caution, in caſe the patient is weak; and in ſuch a manner as not to increaſe the determination of the blood there, and divert it from the ſurface; for then we ſhould loſe the ground gained by the vomit, and counteract our principal deſign.—An antimonial that acts much upon the ſkin, and purges at the ſame time, is what I always uſe.

The *primæ viæ* being cleanſed, and the revulſion begun, it muſt be completed by ſudorifics, that the diſeaſe may be thrown off by ſweat. This will be effected by uniting an opiate with a diaphoretic, and adminiſtering it as occaſion requires. Laudanum and antimonial wine combined, is a medicine that cauſes little or no irritation, and is a pleaſant and certain diaphoretic: it is always neceſſary in the flux, when a ſweat is intended by antimonial or other emetic medicines in ſmall doſes, to add laudanum, to take off their irritation; by which means, their doſes and effects may be greatly extended.

James's powder is admirably well calculated to anſwer the firſt intentions in this diſeaſe; it poſſeſſes this great advantage, that though it ſhall effectually cleanſe the *primæ viæ* properly given, it never fails to excite a plentiful ſweat, and terminates on the ſkin. —This double operation (if I may ſo call it) perhaps has made it ſo deciſive in obſtinate fevers.

When the *diaphoreſis* is begun, I cover my patient with his blanket (which no ſoldier ſhould be without), and take care that the wind is not admitted directly upon him. I do not ſuffer him to uncover himſelf, but order whatever he wants to be brought to him, and ſupply him copiouſly with warm mint, ſage, balm, or oatmeal tea; and now and then give him a baſon of gruel, or thin flour pap, with a ſpoonful or two of good ſound white wine, as free as poſſible from acidity.

When the ſudorific proceſs has been ſucceſsfully continued, all the ſymptoms grow milder; and if the patient breaks out in a raſh, or efflorescent eruptions, or boils, the diſeaſe will ſoon vaniſh.

In caſe the flux continues obſtinate, and the ſweats do not go on kindly, it will not only be requiſite to carry off the morbific humours, by a doſe of the antimonial purgative, but repeated vomits of ipecacuanha are to be given.—In this caſe, the circulation has not been enough diverted from the inteſtines, to produce a full and ſufficient diaphoreſis; it is therefore neceſſary to give a freſh impulſe to the fibres, by the action of vomiting, for in vomiting, the action of the ſtomach, and the contraction of the abdominal viſcera, forces the blood to the ſurface, and upper parts of the body.

Another cauſe of obſtinacy in the

the flux, is indurated fæces lodged in the inteſtines;—and though the patient ſhall have been repeatedly purged, and taken nothing but fluids during his illneſs, it is amazing what lumps of excrement will ſometimes be brought away by a repetition of the antimonial purgative, after an interval of ſeveral days;—for which reaſon, when the ſweats have been plentiful, the pulſe moderate, and the flux ſtill continues obſtinate, we may ſuſpect this to be the caſe.—The extraordinary appearance theſe balls of excrement ſometimes acquire, from a long retention amongſt diſeaſed ſecretions, have induced ſome to whimſical ſuppoſitions concerning their cauſe, and component principles.

I purſue this method, regulating it as occaſion may require, or particul aroccurrences ſuggeſt, until the patient is in a condition for bark, and other tonics and corroborants.

The flux will continue troubleſome in ſome ſubjects, from mere weakneſs and relaxation of the veſſels, without any material gripings or feveriſh ſymptoms:—here I never heſitate to give bark with ſnake-root and wine.

In all complaints of the bowels, particularly in the dyſentery, the bark ſhould never be given in ſubſtance; it cauſes irritation, and gripings; and either brings back the diſeaſe, or fills the patient with obſtructions:—a ſtrong decoction therefore is ever to be preferred.

As the flux is always increaſed at the approach of night; ſo, for ſome time after, it has abated, the pulſe quickens, and the patient grows feveriſh in the evening.—This is an admonition, that we ſhould deſiſt from the bark, and give a gentle diaphoretic at night.

The remaining acrimony, which ſometimes keeps up a ſmall irritation after every other ſymptom is removed, may be corrected with abſorbents, and carried off before the uſe of the bark; or at any ſubſequent period, if it ſhould recur, with rhubarb and magneſia, or any mild cathartic.

During the convaleſcent ſtate of thoſe who have been much reduced, and to prevent a relapſe, a flannel ſhirt or jacket, worn next the ſkin, is of ſingular benefit.—When the bowels have ſuffered conſiderably by the flux, and cannot recover their tone, but from weakneſs are ſubject to returns of that complaint, or to diarrhœa or teneſmus, on the leaſt expoſition to cold; a flannel jacket worn next the ſkin will be found almoſt a certain remedy, and preventive. — Such occaſional cloathing is very uſeful to officers and ſoldiers on ſervice in hot climates, expoſed to rains, dews, or night air; or to put on after having been wet, fatigued, or heated, that perſpiration may not be ſuddenly checked. and that the body may cool gradually.

It is to be obſerved, when the attack is ſudden and violent, it will be neceſſary to overtake the diſeaſe with opiates and cordials, before any recourſe to its principles can be adopted; otherwiſe the patient may be exhauſted and ſunk beyond the recovery of medicine.

Here I cannot help expreſſing my concern, that the aggravated ſymptoms which return in the morning, have not put an end to the

the cuſtom of giving pills of *opium* at night —When *opium* is given alone, and continued for any time, after its cordial effects are over, it weakens the veſſels, injures the nerves, cauſes a ſtrangury, and lowers the powers of life:—the humours, inſtead of being diſſipated, accumulate in the diſeaſed parts, that when the conſtipation is off, the blood ruſhes forth with increaſed violence and accelerates the patient's end.

In the far advanced ſtate of the diſeaſe, we find the meſenteric veſſels and glands enlarged, and obſtructed; the glandulæ peyerianæ of the int ſtines thickened, their coats tumified, relaxed, abraded, and haſtening into a ſtate of ſphacelation: *opium* in this ſituation muſt increaſe and multiply every evil.

The real uſe of *opium* is, to arreſt the hurry of the diſeaſe; to procure time to put ſome rational means of cure into execution; to give other medicines their intended effect, and to eaſe thoſe *tormina* which ſometimes are intolerable. Here the matchleſs power of opium raiſes our admiration.

In the preceding hiſtory it will appear, that the flux is not confined to particular ſeaſons and ſituations; —that, what have been commonly conſidered as univerſal remote cauſes, only give the type to the diſeaſe; and that its general cauſe, producible various ways, is obſtructed perſpiration.

The flux that prevailed laſt autumn, was attended with many of thoſe cauſes that are called remote:—Auguſt, September, October, and the beginning of November, were remarkably cloſe, and ſultry, with frequent rains; —the great diſcharge of perſpiration, from the rarefaction of the blood, in ſuch a ſeaſon, relaxes the extremities of the perſpirable veſſels and ſubjects them to ſudden ſpaſm, and collapſion.

The camp dyſentery, in low, damp, marſhy, countries, in the autumnal ſeaſon, has all the concomitants and type of a flux in hot climates after heavy rains;—there will be leſs diſpoſition to inflammation, and the fluids will tend more to a ſtate of diſſolution—yet it is *a fever turned upon the inteſtines*, for want of a free and regular perſpiration, from the thickneſs and moiſture of the atmoſphere.

The irritation thus produced on the bowels, ſoon cauſes a violent determination of blood there; and as the circulation is diminiſhed in the veſſels of the ſurface of the body, it is increaſed in thoſe of the inteſtines.

By this increaſed action of the arteries, the progreſs of the blood is impeded, in the minute ramifications of the veſſels;—hence hæmorrhage, and extravaſation:—an immediate revulſion is therefore neceſſary:—it muſt be extenſive, but ſuitable, that there may be no miſchief done by increaſing the debility incident to the diſeaſe.

Bleeding cannot be performed in every ſubject, nor in every ſtage or condition of a flux;—cathartics only cleanſe the affected parts; emetics are limited to anſwer certain purpoſes; diaphoretics have never been uſed, in a manner nor extent ſufficient to produce an effect; and the cuſtom of expoſing patients

patients to partial currents of cold air, prevents nature from doing any thing towards the cure.

The type of the diſeaſe, being duly attended to, will indicate the quantity, and nature of the evacuations neceſſary to facilitate revulſion; and it is ſafely and effectually completed, by a careful continued courſe of ſudorifics, kept up in extent proportioned to the diſeaſe.

Thus have I communicated what I conceive to be the general *cauſe* of the dyſentery of the Weſt-Indies, which has been ſo deſtructive to the troops—and entered into a ſhort diſquiſition of its nature,—and explained the method I have followed in its cure.——I have avoided the detail of minute deſcriptions, circumſtances, and particular caſes, as not coming within my deſign; which is, to explain my method of cure, applicable to the cauſe I have aſſigned of this diſeaſe, and compriſed in the following conſiderations;—that the dyſentery is *a fever of the inteſtines*; that the cauſe is *obſtructed perſpiration*; and that the cure is in calling back the circulation to the ſurface of the body, and increaſing the ſenſible perſpiration by the moſt active ſudorifics.

Deſcription of a newly invented Machine for Raking Summer Corn Stubbles, by Mr. George Boſwell *of* Piddletown, Dorſet. *From the Letters of the* Bath *Agriculture Society.*

Gentlemen,

ABOUT three years ſince I found ſome difficulty in procuring hands to take up my lent or ſummer corn in the method uſually practiſed in this county, that is, by forking the ſwarths into cocks, and raking the ground with hand-rakes by women. Men are generally employed in forking it. It therefore occurred to me that an inſtrument might be made to anſwer the purpoſe of raking it by hand. I knew the Norfolk method of doing it by drag-rakes (as they are called), drawn by men; but the men were wanting elſewhere. I had often ſeen a horſe-rake, made for gathering the *gramen canine* or couch-graſs together upon fallow lands, and knew a farmer who had uſed it for his mown wheat ſtubbles; but this rake being drawn from the end of the beam by the horſe, dragging the ends of the teeth upon the ground collected ſuch quantities of weeds, graſs, earth, and ſtones with it, as nearly to render the corn of no value; beſides, it could not be uſed for cloſe-mown ſtubbles at all. Having for many years uſed the Norfolk ploughs here, I thought a rake might be ſo conſtructed as to go on the breaſtwork of one of theſe ploughs in the ſame manner as the plough itſelf is uſed..

I therefore had one made nine feet and a half long, and the teeth ſix inches aſunder. Upon applying it in the place of the plough on the breaſt-work, I found it anſwered extremely well, except that when it met with any conſiderable obſtruction at one end, it drew the other end aſlant. To remedy this inconvenience, I took away the pillar (the part of the breaſt-work that the beam reſts upon, and which is raiſed higher,

or let down lower, to ſink or raiſe the plough), and had another made to extend about a foot or rather more beyond the outſides of the ſtandards, and from each end of the chain, made to let out or take up at pleaſure, to each end of the pillar; this kept the rake even and ſteady. To my great ſatisfaction, I found it ſucceed even beyond my expectation; for by means of this breaſt-work, it could, like the Norfolk plough, be inſtantly ſet up or let down to the greateſt degree of nicety; ſo that any ſtubble, whether cut high or low, whether very full of graſs or clover, or quite clean, might be raked by it with equal facility; for the teeth being made very much curved, the lower part of the back of the teeth reſts upon the ground, and the points ſtand out of it. The weight of the rake preſſes the teeth cloſe to the ground, and the corn is gathered into the throat of the rake, without digging up the weeds or the ſoil. The teeth are made ſufficiently ſtrong to prevent their bending. I have found a rake of the length above-mentioned very manageable; whether it would do better if made longer muſt be left to future experiments. I was determined to this length by the breadth of our gate-ways, being juſt enough to admit it through them without taking it to pieces.

For perſons who want to remove it to a diſtant part, two ſmall wheels might be added, to put on occaſionally at the ends, to raiſe the teeth from the ground as it is drawn along the road.

I am ſenſible, that if a low wheel were fixed at each end, even when in its work, it would greatly leſſen the friction, and the horſe would draw it the eaſier; but it would render it more complex and, perhaps, occaſion it not to turn ſo eaſily at the ends of the land. I have, however, had it in idea, to fix ſome kind of ſtandard on the head of the rake for a line, like the Norfolk plough-lines, to come back to, that the man might guide the horſe himſelf, and ſave the expence of a boy to lead him; but to this there ſeem to ariſe ſome objections.

One horſe, and a boy to lead him, with a man to clear the rake, will eaſily rake twelve acres of ſtubble in a day; and if two horſes are taken into the field, or be uſed alternately, twenty acres might be raked in the ſame time; but this would be hard work for the man.

The manner of uſing it is as follows:

The rake being put on the breaſt-work of the Norfolk plough in the ſame manner as the ploughs are, the horſe draws it with the ſame traces, &c. (only in the plough two horſes are uſed, and here but one) and being ſet into its work to a proper height, according as the ſtubble is long or ſhort, the boy leads the horſe acroſs the ridges, the corn being previouſly put in cocks by the forkers; the man follows the rake, and when it is filled, he ſpeaks to the boy who ſtops the horſe, and puts him back a ſtep or two. This is done that the man, by drawing the rake back a little, may the more eaſily and ſpeedily free it from the corn; then lifting it up, and the horſe inſtantly going on, he

he drops the rake juſt beyond the ridge thus gathered together. This he repeats as often as it is full, till he reaches the end of the land. Then he turns, and, coming back by the ſide of the part raked, empties the rake adjoining to the other. By this means the raked corn lies in ſtrait rows acroſs the field, and, when dry, is turned if neceſſary, gathered up, and carried away.

I am ſatisfied it might alſo be advantageouſly employed in raking upland hay-ground, and all ſorts of ſeed clover-land.

It may not be amiſs to mention, that in the firſt rake I made, the teeth were only three inches aſunder. I ſoon found they were too cloſe. Taking, therefore, every other one out, I made another ſix inches aſunder:—the holes in the firſt not being filled up, the teeth might, if neceſſary, be replaced, and then would be thick enough to rake any gentleman's lawn which is kept frequently mown.

I make no apology for this trouble—my intention ſhall plead my excuſe; and therefore only add, that I am, your obedient humble ſervant,

GEORGE BOSWELL.

Inſtructions for the Prevention and Cure of the Epizooty or contagious Diſtemper among Horned Cattle. Tranſlated from the French *of* Monſ. de Saive, *Apothecary to the Prince Biſhop of* Leige, *by Mr.* Moreau, *of* Bath. *From the ſame.*

FARMERS have no need to be informed, how important a matter the preſervation of their cattle is. The conſiderable advantages they reap from them when free from accidents, and the loſſes they ſuffer when diſtempers ſpread among their herds, are ſufficient motives to make them feel the intereſt they have in preſerving their cow-houſes, ſtables, &c. from the infection, and in uſing all poſſible means to prevent its progreſs. But as fatal experience has proved that the uſe of medicines, with the powers of which they were not well acquainted, has been frequently more prejudicial than ſalutary in the Epizooty; and that country people, by placing an unlimited confidence in pretended ſpecifics, purchaſed at a very high price, have very often been drawn into a double loſs, by the death of their cattle, as well as the expence of ſuch drugs; it is thought the communication of an efficacious and cheap manner of treating cattle when attacked by this diſtemper, and of the means to prevent their being ſo, will be rendering an eſſential ſervice to the public.

The moment they perceive any ſymptoms of the diſtemper, they ſhould immediately take about a pint and a half of blood from the beaſt, except he has been ill a day or two, in which caſe he muſt not be let blood; but in both caſes let the following draught be given:

No. 1. An ounce of the beſt theriac (Venice treacle) diſſolved in a pint of vinegar, after which the back bone and the whole hide muſt be well rubbed with a dry hair cloth, to heat the hide and promote perſpiration. No drink ſhould be given him but a white drink, compoſed of

No. 2. A handful or two of rye-meal in a pailful of clear water; and, ſhould the beaſt ſeem to want food, mix up ſome crumbs of rye-bread with ſome of the ſaid white drink, and give it him. The animal's mouth muſt be waſhed twice a day with a cloth dipped in a mixture of

No. 3. Vinegar and water (equal quantity of each), with a ſpoonful of honey to a pint of it.

If on the ſecond day the beaſt has not dunged, a clyſter, compoſed of

No. 4. A pint of water in which bran has been boiled, two ſpoonfuls of ſalt, and a ſmall glaſs of vinegar, muſt be given and repeated every day till the evacuations are natural and regular.

Beſides the above remedies, the following cordial mixture:

No. 5. A pint of clear water, the ſame quantity of vinegar, four ſpoonfuls of honey or ſyrup, and two glaſſes of brandy,—muſt be given four times a day to facilitate and keep up perſpiration; taking particular care to repeat the friction as directed above.

Should the beaſt ſtill continue low and heavy, the draught No. 1. muſt be repeated, unleſs he ſhould be found to be hot and thirſty, in which caſe, uſe only the drink No. 2. On the fourth day, if he ſeems more lively and free from heat, purge him with,

No. 6. Two ounces of ſalts, and one ounce of common ſalt, diſſolved in a pint of lukewarm water, with two ſpoonfuls of honey. If this does not procure four or five evacuations, repeat the clyſter the ſame day.

This mode of treatment muſt be continued without intermiſſion till the beaſt begins to eat, then you muſt only give him the white drink No. 2, and a little good fodder, or, ſome rye-bread dipped in ſtale beer, moderately ſweetened with honey or ſyrup.

The exterior treatment conſiſts in the application of ſetons in the beginning of the diſtemper, at the bottom of the dew-lap, and of cauteries towards the horns, between which ſome weight muſt be fixed, ſuch as, a ſtone of a pound weight, or more, wrapt up in a cloth, to keep it ſteady. This is neceſſary to keep the head warm. But above all, the friction muſt be cloſely attended to, in order to determine the critical efforts of nature.

It would be well alſo to evaporate vinegar in the cow-houſe, &c. and if it could be done without riſque, blowing off a few grains of gun-powder, twice a-day in them, would be a very uſeful fumigation.

If, notwithſtanding theſe aids, the beaſt be not perfectly cured in ten or twelve days, they muſt be continued without bleeding, unleſs the inflammation be very conſiderable; but if, after all, the diſtemper does not give way, the beaſt muſt be killed, and then too much care cannot be taken to bury it very deep; cover it over with the earth which came out of the hole, and a turf over all, in order to prevent the putrid vapours, which exhale from ſuch carrion, corrupting the air and ſpreading the infection.

As to the preſervatives from infection, the principal, after having taken every precaution poſſible to prevent its communication from other herds, conſiſts in waſhing

ing the racks, troughs, &c. and the hide of the beaſt, every day, with plenty of water; and, as the generality of people ſeem to place great confidence in ſtrong aromatic fumigations, they are adviſed, inſtead of the expenſive drugs of which ſuch fumigations are compoſed, to uſe fires made with the branches of green wood, throwing pitch on it to quicken the flames and perfume the air; theſe fires muſt be lighted at ſome diſtance from the houſes, for fear of accidents.

Common ſalt, given in ſmall quantities every day to horned cattle, is reckoned an excellent preſervative, particularly in a learned diſſertation on the contagious diſtempers among horned cattle, by Monſ. De Limbourg, M. D. and F. R. S. of London. It ſhould be obſerved, that though the report of an Epizooty is often ſpread, yet all the diſorders to which cattle are liable ſhould not be attributed to this epidemical diſtemper, ſince they are not exempted from this even when no contagious diſtemper reigns.—Therefore, when a beaſt is taken ill, enquiry ſhould be made if the infection is in the neighbourhood, as in ſuch caſe, a ſuſpicion of its being the Epizooty would be well grounded, and immediate recourſe ſhould be had to the remedies above mentioned.

But, as it often happens that cattle fall ſick after having eaten bad fodder, or having grazed in froſty weather on the tops of herbs, &c. when covered with ice and ſnow (to prevent their doing which, all poſſible care ſhould be taken), to theſe accidents only are frequently to be attributed the ſickneſs and death of many beaſts which fall victims to them.

There is another accident no leſs dangerous, to which cattle are liable, which is, the waſhing them with waters prepared with different ſorts of poiſons, eſpecially with arſenic, to kill the vermin; theſe waters occaſion an itching of the ſkin, which obliges the animal to lick himſelf; in doing which he ſucks in the poiſon. It is evident, that ſuch pernicious practices may occaſion as fatal diſaſters and unhappy loſſes to farmers, as even the Epizooty itſelf; it cannot, therefore, be too much recommended to them to forbear the uſe of ſuch things, which never fail doing the miſchief above deſcribed.

Thoughts on the Rot in Sheep. From the ſame.

THE cauſe of the rot in ſheep, ſays Mr. Boſwell, in his late uſeful and ingenious publication, is unknown.—Mr. Arthur Young, in recapitulating all the information he could get, in his Eaſtern tour, obſerves, that "the accounts are ſo amazingly contradictory, that nothing can be gathered from them," but concludes, that "*every one knows* that moiſture is the cauſe."

In differing from an author of Mr. Young's acknowledged merit, ſupported by the general opinion of mankind, I am led to examine my own ſentiments with caution and diſtruſt;—but, unleſs it is only meant, that moiſture is *generally the remote cauſe*, it will be difficult to account for the rot be-

ing taken on fallows in a ſingle day, and in water meadows ſometimes in half an hour, when in grounds of a different ſort, although exceſſively wet and ſlabby, ſheep will remain for many weeks together uninjured.

Another opinion, which has many adherents, is, that the rot is owing to the quick growth of graſs or herbs that grow in wet places.

Without premiſing, that all-bounteous Providence has given to every animal its peculiar taſte, by which it diſtinguiſhes the food proper for its preſervation and ſupport (if not vitiated by fortuitous circumſtances), it ſeems very difficult to diſcover on philoſophical principles, why the quick growth of graſs ſhould render it noxious,—or why any herb ſhould at one ſeaſon produce fatal effects, by the admiſſion of pure water only into its component parts, which at other times is perfectly innocent, although brought to its utmoſt ſtrength and maturity by the genial influence of the ſun. So far from agreeing with thoſe who attribute the rot to quick-growing graſs, which they call flaſhy, inſipid, and deſtitute of ſalts, to me the quickneſs of growth is a proof of its being endued with the moſt active principles of vegetation, and is *one* of the criterions of its ſuperior excellence.—Beſides, the conſtant practice of moſt farmers in the kingdom, who with the greateſt ſecurity, feed their meadows in the ſpring, when the graſs ſhoots quick, and is full of juices, militates directly againſt this opinion.

Let us now conſider whether another cauſe may not be aſſigned more reconcileable with the various accounts we receive of this diſorder. If our arguments, however ſpecious, are contradictory to known facts, inſtead of conducting us in the plain paths of truth, they leave us in the mazes of error and uncertainty.

Each ſpecies of vegetables and animals has its peculiar ſoil, ſituation, and food, aſſigned to it.—Taught by unerring inſtinct, "the ſparrow findeth her a houſe, the ſwallow a neſt, and the ſtork in the heavens knoweth her appointed time." The whole feathered tribe, indeed, diſplay a wonderful ſagacity and variety in the choice and ſtructure of their habitations. Nor can it be doubted that the minuteſt reptile has its fixed laws, appointed by him, whoſe "tender mercies are over all his works."

The numerous inhabitants of the air, earth, and waters, are ſtrongly influenced by the ſeaſons, and by the ſtate of the atmoſphere; and the ſame cauſes, perhaps, that rapidly call myriads of one ſpecies into being, may frequently prove the deſtruction of another. Is it then improbable that ſome inſect finds its food, and lays its eggs, on the tender ſucculent graſs found on particular ſoils (eſpecially wet ones), which it moſt delights in?—Or, that this inſect ſhould, after a redundancy of moiſture, by an inſtinctive impulſe, quit its dank and dreary habitation, and its fecundity be greatly increaſed by ſuch ſeaſons, in conjunction with the prolific warmth of the ſun?

The fleſh-fly lays her eggs upon her food, which alſo ſerves to ſupport

ſupport her future offspring: and the common earth-worm propagates its ſpecies above ground, when the weather is mild and moiſt, or the earth dewy.

The eggs, depoſited on the tender germ, are conveyed with the food into the ſtomach and inteſtines of the animals, whence they are received into the lacteal veſſels, carried off in the chyle, and paſs into the blood; nor do they meet with any obſtruction until they arrive at the capillary veſſels of the liver.—Here, as the blood filtrates through the extreme branches, anſwering to thoſe of the vena porta in the human body, the ſecerning veſſels are too minute to admit the impregnated ova, which, adhering to the membrane, produce thoſe animalculæ that feed upon the liver and deſtroy the ſheep. They much reſemble the flat fiſh called plaice, are ſometimes as large as a ſilver two-pence, and are found both in the liver and in the pipe, (anſwering to that of the vena cava) which conveys the blood from the liver to the heart.

If the form of this animal is unlike any thing we meet with among the inſect tribe, we ſhould conſider that it may be ſo ſmall in its natural ſtate as to eſcape our obſervation. Or might not its form have changed with its ſituation?—"The caterpillar undergoes ſeveral changes before it produces a butterfly."

The various accounts which every diligent enquirer muſt have met with (as well as the indefatigable Mr. Young), ſeem very conſiſtent with the theory of this diſorder.

If dry, limed land in Derbyſhire will rot in common with water-meadows, and ſtagnant marſhes; if ſome ſpringy lands rot when others are perfectly ſafe;—is it owing to the circumſtance of water, or that of producing the proper food or nidus of the inſect? Thoſe who find their aftergraſs rot till the autumnal watering, and ſafe afterwards, might probably be of opinion, that the embryo laid there in the ſummer, is then waſhed away or deſtroyed.

With regard to thoſe lands that are accounted never ſafe, if there is not ſomething peculiar in the ſoil or ſituation, which allures or forces the inſect to quit its abode at unuſual ſeaſons, it may be well worth enquiring, whether from the coarſeneſs of their nature, or for want of being ſufficiently fed, there is not ſome graſs in theſe lands always left of a ſufficient length to ſecure the eggs of the inſect above the reach of the water.

Such who aſſert that *flowing* water alone is the cauſe of the rot, can have but little acquaintance with the Somerſetſhire clays, and are diametrically oppoſite to thoſe who find their worſt land for rotting cured by watering. Yet, may not the water which produces this effect, be impregnated with particles deſtructive to the inſect, or to the tender germ which ſerves for its food or nidus?

For ſolving another difficulty, that "no ewe ever rots while ſhe has a lamb by her ſide," the gentlemen of the faculty can beſt inform us, whether it is not probable, that the impregnated ovum paſſes into the milk, and never arrives at the liver. The ſame

learned gentlemen may think the following queſtion alſo not unworthy their conſideration:

Why is the rot fatal to ſheep, hares, and rabbits (and ſometimes to calves), when cattle of greater bulk, which probably take the ſame food, eſcape uninjured?

Is the digeſtive matter in the ſtomach of *theſe* different from that of the others, and ſuch as will turn the ova into a ſtate of corruption; or rather, are not the ſecretory ducts in the liver large enough to let them paſs through, and be carried on in the uſual current of the blood?

It ſeems to be an acknowledged fact, that ſalt marſhes never rot. Salt is pernicious to moſt inſects. They never infeſt gardens where ſea-weed is laid. Common ſalt and water is a powerful expellent of worms bred in the human body.

I could wiſh the intelligent farmer would conſider theſe truths with attention, and not neglect a remedy which is cheap, and always at hand.

Liſle, in his book of huſbandry, informs us of a farmer who cured his whole flock of the rot, by giving each ſheep a handful of Spaniſh ſalt, for five or ſix mornings ſucceſſively. The hint was probably taken from the Spaniards, who frequently give their ſheep ſalt to keep them healthy.

On ſome farms, perhaps, the utmoſt caution cannot always prevent the diſorder. In wet and warm ſeaſons, the prudent farmer will remove his ſheep from the lands liable to rot. Thoſe who have it not in their power to do this, I would adviſe to give each ſheep a ſpoonful of common ſalt, with the ſame quantity of our, in a quarter of a pint of water, once or twice a week. When the rot is recently taken, the ſame remedy given four or five mornings ſucceſſively, will in all probability effect a cure. The addition of the flour and water will, in the opinion of the writer of this, not only abate the pungency of the ſalt, but diſpoſe it to mix with the chyle in a more friendly and efficacious manner.

Were it in my power to communicate to the ſociety the reſult of actual experiment, it would doubtleſs be more ſatisfactory. They will, however, I am perſuaded, accept of theſe hints, at leaſt as an earneſt of my deſire to be ſerviceable. Should they only tend to awaken the attention of the induſtrious huſbandman, or to excite the curioſity of ſome other enquirer, who has more leiſure and greater abilities, I ſhall have the ſatisfaction of thinking that my ſpeculations, however imperfect, are not entirely uſeleſs.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble ſervant,
BENJAMIN PRICE.

An extract from a Propoſal for the Improvement of Agriculture. From the ſame.

THE *difficulty* of inſtituting ſchools for huſbandry, is now trifling, ſince ſo many ſocieties have been eſtabliſhed and are ſupported with ſo much liberality; eſpecially ſince the *Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*, is annually offering ſuch vaſt ſums of money for the encouragement of experiments; and none of the other ſocieties, I ſhould apprehend,

hend, are formed on ſo ſmall a ſcale as to preclude the practicability of taking into their hands a few fields (and a few would be ſufficient), and of appointing ſome perſon or perſons to cultivate them, and inſtruct the pupils, either according to the idea of Lord Moleſworth, which points to the education of poor men's children; or, according to the ideas of Cowley and Sir William Petty, which reſpect the education of gentlemen's ſons as well as others.

At preſent, however, let us attend to the *advantages* accruing from each of the above plans; premiſing only, that lectures on the theory of huſbandry muſt, *by all means*, be accompanied with a cloſe attention to the practical part of it, in ſuch a manner as may tend to correct the miſtakes of ſpeculation, to open and enlarge the mind, and to give a clearer inſight into the nature of vegetation, and the very fundamental principles of agriculture.

Were ſchools eſtabliſhed in different parts of the kingdom for the education of farmer's ſons who might be but in low circumſtances, gentlemen would never want ſenſible and rational improvers of their eſtates, who would likewiſe be the moſt proper perſons to inſtruct pariſh apprentices and inferior ſervants. This the old experienced Varro reckoned to be of principal importance. "The bailiffs," ſays he, "ſhould be men of ſome erudition and ſome degree of refinement." But more eſpecially ought a bailiff to be *well ſkilled* in rural œconomics: he ſhould not only give orders, but alſo work himſelf; that the labourers might imitate him, and be convinced it is with propriety he preſides over them, becauſe he excels them in the practical part, as well as the ſcientific.

Were this the caſe with us, local and eſtabliſhed cuſtoms would be regarded no farther than they are founded in propriety; younger ſervants would be accuſtomed to a variation in their methods of culture as *circumſtances* varied; new modes will not be deſpiſed, becauſe they *are* new; the effects of experiments would be modeſtly expected; the advantages and diſadvantages attending them, would be accurately diſcerned; and a continual progreſs would be made in the ſcience and practice of agriculture. Were ſome ſmart boys ſelected by each ſociety, and educated on the above plan, they would hereafter convey knowledge wherever they went; and their obſervations would be better attended to by inferior ſervants, than if they came from perſons of high rank. In ſhort, *they* would effect what even the ſuperior knowledge of noblemen and gentlemen could not perform, who have more important objects in view than to cultivate the neglected underſtanding of every ruſtic labourer they may have occaſion to employ. Like ſmaller rivulets, branching from the main ſtream, they would water and fertilize thoſe lands where a larger river cannot with propriety expand itſelf.

While under tuition they will learn the expediency of a clean and ſpirited ſyſtem of huſbandry; as it is ſuppoſed that their tutor's fields will be cultivated on theſe principles. On comparing his crops with thoſe of many others, the truth of Heſiod's maxim would be apparent, that *half may be more*

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than the whole. For ſhould they think of becoming tenants, they will view an eſtate with this ruling principle, that one of an hundred pounds per annum, well cultivated, will produce at the end of the term more clear profit than another of two hundred a year, treated in a negligent and ſlovenly manner.

An injudicious courſe of cropping, imperfect tillage, partial and improper manures, are not always to be attributed to ignorance, but ſometimes to the eſtate's being too large for the farmer's capital; he does not command the eſtate, but the eſtate him, too frequently to the great injury of both; his hands are bound at his firſt ſetting out; and it is much if they regain their freedom, unleſs eventually, through his landlord's diſtraining him for rent and ejecting him from the premiſes. But what is the farmer to do, if he cannot find a farm in his own neighbourhood ſuitable to his capital? ſhall he remove into another county, an entire ſtranger; or commence day-labourer, or ſtarve?

The modern practice of throwing ſeveral ſmall farms into one, is much to be lamented as a national evil in every view; and calls loudly for the regulation of the legiſlature.

But to return to our young farmer, tranſplanted from the nurſery, where his mind received its firſt cultivation, unto the ſpot where he is ſuppoſed to fix his reſidence.

While under inſtruction, he was taught to form a pretty good judgment of the qualities, ſuch as the tenacity, dryneſs, or moiſture, of different fields, from the herbage they ſpontaneouſly produce; he will, therefore, immediately perceive which are moſt proper to be *firſt* under tillage, in order that *the eſtate may not be impoveriſhed.* The want of attention to this circumſtance has kept many a man poor all his days, under a notion that the beſt ground will carry one or two good crops of exhauſting corn at firſt, and ſo far prove of immediate great gain; not conſidering, that it generally proves a future heavy loſs, from the neceſſity he will be under of letting it lie fallow, and of applying much expenſive labour in order to extirpate weeds, and much more expenſive manure in order to recover its loſt ſtrength. Yet ſtill, there is a certain vigour in thoſe fields, which have been under a judicious courſe of meliorating crops, though but moderately manured, which even a fallow and a complete ſtercoration cannot beſtow on any ſoil which hath been once impoveriſhed; as may be more eaſily perceived by a diſcerning eye, than deſcribed.

Our farmer hath been taught, that the good ground (on which his chief dependence is for paying his rent), if preſerved in good heart, will often mend the bad; but the impoveriſhing of one or two of the beſt fields will frequently affect the whole eſtate in the decreaſe of its paſture, in leſſening the quantity of manure, and increaſing the expence of tillage.

It hath frequently been inculcated on him—that his future ſucceſs depends much on his firſt courſe of crops,—that at firſt, eſpecially, meliorating crops are to be preferred, as far as circumſtances will admit, to exhauſting

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ones;—that the latter, whenever they are ſown, ſhould be ſucceeded by the former;—that thoſe manures which are moſt apt to produce *weeds*, ſhould either be laid on paſture, or ploughed in for ſuch crops as can be beſt hoed or have the beſt tendency to deſtroy them, viz. beans, peas, turnips, cabbages, &c.—that, although ſome of theſe crops may require rather more expence, and not return that expence in money quite ſo ſoon as ſome of the exhauſting ones (part of them being appropriated to the fattening of cattle, by which means, the beſt of manure is raiſed and in the largeſt quantity), yet, like thoſe bees which travel fartheſt, and ſtay out longeſt, they generally return home moſt deeply laden;—that the dung-heap be moſt ſedulouſly regarded as the foundation of his future weath; but that no manure ſhould be laid on wet ſpringy lands before they have been drained, unleſs he chuſes to ſink the profits of all his other fields.

He hath been taught to venture on ſome few experiments, on general fixed principles; which, though they might not all of them perfectly anſwer his expectations, may, nevertheleſs, throw additional light on the ſubject of agriculture. In a word, he will become fit company for a gentleman; he will receive and communicate information; and, at the ſame time, on account of that cloſe attention which he finds requiſite, in order that he may pay his rent, he will be continually increaſing that important knowledge which an uninſtructed mind cannot poſſibly attain.

Such an inſtitution as is here recommended may poſſibly be of ſervice to thoſe farmers who have no particular connection with our agricultural ſocieties; whoſe fields, however, lying open to the continual view of their neighbours, will be a conſtant leſſon to thoſe who moſt need inſtruction, ſpeaking much more intelligibly to *them*, than accounts of experiments ſtated on paper; againſt which they will be frequently ſtarting that particular kind of doubt, which I have found to be generally expreſſed in ſome ſuch language as this, *it may be ſo, but I don't know*:—a doubt ariſing from a cloud enveloping their minds, which the powers of reaſoning are very ineffectual to diſpel. But they will ſometimes learn that leſſon from the plants of the field which they might not chuſe to learn from the tongues of their fellow-creatures, becauſe they will not avowedly acknowledge others to be their ſuperiors in this art and ſcience.

The advantages of ſuch an academy for the education of gentlemen's ſons, will be no leſs evident with regard to themſelves, their poſterity, and the nation in general.

On this part of our ſubject, my learned matter thus expreſſes himſelf:—"according to the beſt obſervations, the proper time to infuſe that uſeful part of natural philoſophy called huſbandry, is in the earlier ſtage of life, when there is a curioſity and a thirſt for knowledge. And, if practice here could be joined with theory, enjoying the open air, exerciſe, and activity, agree well with the turn and caſt of young people, not to mention a revolution of

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perpetual variety which is very engaging at their age.

"It is one point gained, without doubt, to be enabled to read the huſbandry works of Cato, Varro, Virgil, and Columella, with taſte and knowledge. It may open a new walk on claſſical ground, and in all probability, give young men certain prediſpoſitions, in favour of agriculture. Yet ſtill, the whole combined together will produce but ſlight effects, unleſs we call in the aſſiſtance of facts and experience.

"Something of this kind ought certainly to be done, and the complaint of Columella, when he ſays with ſome degree of warmth, 'Agricolationis doctores qui ſe profiterentur neque diſcipulos cognovi,' ſhould, if poſſible, be removed."

The former part of this quotation evidently intimates, that the improvement of young gentlemen in claſſical learning, would not be impeded, but rather promoted, by attending to agriculture; and the experience of every one who has led a ſtudious life will teſtify that the open air invigorates the mind, and prepares it for receiving inſtruction, becauſe it can bear application only to a certain degree, and ſtands in need of being frequently reinvigorated by amuſements and lighter ſtudies.

Time is precious, and might be virtually lengthened by a proper diſpoſal of it. When the mind is fatigued with cloſe application, exerciſe in the open air will renew its ſtrength and activity. Additional to their being taught the value of the different fields over which they may walk with their tutor, from the various plants each field naturally produces, botany may be attended to as a pleaſing and inſtructive ſcience; neither ſhould planting and gardening, by any means, be neglected; nor the art of ſurveying and delineating eſtates be conſidered as beneath their notice.

In bad weather they may be occaſionally amuſed with experiments on various branches of natural philoſophy;—the effects of the air with regard to vegetation, and the nature of different earths and manures, after the manner of the Doctors Home, Fordyce, Ainſlie, Prieſtley, &c. They ſhould alſo be inſtructed in the principles of mechanics, eſpecially that part which relates to hydraulics, it being of principal utility in draining, and other modes of improving eſtates.

Theſe are circumſtances from which many of the capital improvements lately made, in a great meaſure, originated. They were indeed conſidered of principal importance by Sir William Petty, one of the greateſt men of that or any other age, who recommends them with earneſtneſs, for reaſons highly worthy of himſelf, and which will be mentioned hereafter.

Having gained ſome knowledge of agriculture, they will read the works of the antient agricultural writers with improvement and pleaſure; a circumſtance which will much expedite the knowledge of the languages. For without excluding other proſe authors, may I not venture to aſſert, that the antient writers on huſbandry, are, from the nature of their ſubject and their claſſical ſtyle, as proper

proper for young perſons, and as ſuitable to their diſpoſitions and capacities, as any they generally read? Indeed I have always been apt to ſuſpect, that putting the works of Homer, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, or in fact, any other *poet*, into the hands of boys before their minds are properly furniſhed, and their taſte and judgment ſufficiently advanced, to enter into the ſpirit of thoſe excellent writers, has been only rendering learning irkſome to them, and proved the means of their bidding a final adieu not only to thoſe authors, but to all claſſical literature, when they have left their grammar-ſchools; not to mention that *proſe* writers, ſeem, in themſelves, beſt calculated to teach any language by, as well as to convey the moſt uſeful information to the minds of youth.

Poetry and painting are ſiſter arts; they alike receive advantages from rural ſcenes: witneſs the ſix paſtorals of Mr. Smith, than whom, as a landſcape-painter, and as a poet, this age hath not, perhaps, produced a greater.

The following is one inſtance, among many others, to prove how favourable an intimate acquaintance with rural images is to poetical deſcription.

" The night was ſtill—the ſilver moon on high
" Dappled the mountains from a clouded ſky:
" Silent as fleecy clouds thro' æther ſail,
" Before the gentle-breathing Summer's gale;
" So thro' the miſty vale in twilight grey,
" The ſleepy waters gently paſſed away."———

Engaging in rural concerns will ſtrengthen the whole human frame, the powers of the mind, as well as the members of the body; will give a manly turn to thought, duty regulated and refined by polite literature. A perſon thus educated will never want a variety of entertainment in the country to fill up his time in a manner equally innocent, rational, and uſeful. He will be continually increaſing in valuable knowledge, and preſerve himſelf from that diſſipation which enervates the mind, renders retirement burthenſome, and the more public and momentous concerns of life too arduous to be executed with propriety and decorum. He will enjoy his *otium cum dignitate*, and, at the ſame time, his private amuſements will give a certain dignity and poliſh to his ſentiments, which on all occaſions he will be the better enabled to expreſs in public, with a truly Britiſh ſpirit, Roman firmneſs, and Attic elegance. There will appear in his whole manner and addreſs that *ſimplex munditiis* which is equally removed from empty affected foppiſhneſs and mere clowniſh ruſticity. He will be fitted for ſuch department in the government of the ſtate as may beſt ſuit the natural bent of his genius, whenever his aſſiſtance may be thought neceſſary; and may rank hereafter among thoſe worthies who had acted the ſame part before him, and whoſe eulogium may be delivered in the words of the Roman orator, " Ab aratro arceſſebantur qui conſules fierent.—Suos enim agros ſtudioſe colebant, non alienos cupide appetebant, quibus rebus, et agris et urbibus et nationibus rempublicam, atque hoc imperium et populi Romani nomen auxerunt."

But

But to return into the more humble walk of cultivation and emolument.

When our young pupil ſhall come to the poſſeſſion of his paternal eſtate, he will immediately perceive what is to be done to the beſt advantage; he will be able to *direct* his ſervants, rather than be *impoſed* upon by them, which muſt ever be the caſe when the maſter is unacquainted with the buſineſs he ſuperintends. This is a matter of high importance. For, if in any other profeſſion he ſhould ſpend his fortune, it is poſſible he may be the *only* ſufferer; but it is not ſo in agriculture. Every field is, in ſome reſpect, public property; and, if his crops fail through unſkilful management, whatever is loſt by the owner, is, in ſome degree, a loſs to the community at large.

When I reflect on this, and conſider how much the crops are diminiſhed, through the miſtaken notions and obſtinacy of the common farmers, eſpecially when they rent larger eſtates than they have ſtrength to manage; and when I view the almoſt immeaſurable quantity of improveable land which yet remains waſte and next o barren; I cannot but agree to the ſuppoſition of Mr. Harte, that the lands of England may be made to produce one-ſixth part more than they do: a point this of great national importance, amounting to near four millions of money annually!

Whatever advantages may accrue to gentlemen from committing their eſtates to the management of ſuch a ſkilful and well-educated bailiff, as hath been above recommended, yet they ſhould not be left *wholly* to him; for experience hath too often ſhewn, that the integrity of a man's heart does not always keep pace with his underſtanding. Indolence, ſelf-intereſt, pleaſure, and other temptations, may cauſe him to neglect his maſter's intereſt, at a critical time; the evils of which neglect may not be remedied for years together. Every one who hath attended to works of huſbandry muſt be ſenſible, that in all their ſeveral parts they are only links of one chain; either of which being broken, the whole work is frequently thrown into confuſion, particularly with regard to the moſt proper ſeaſons for the different labours of the field; a circumſtance of no ſmall moment in our varying climate.

This ſentiment ſhould be impreſſed with all poſſible energy; and it cannot be done in more forcible and comprehenſive terms than thoſe of Cato, "Res ruſtica ſic eſt, ſi *unam rem* ſerò feceris, *omnia opera* ſerò facies."

It is likewiſe to be obſerved that, although the gentleman's crops may, in many inſtances, be larger than thoſe of other men; yet, by truſting too much to his ſervants, he is often put to needleſs expence, which the common farmers avoid, and on account of which they object to the propriety of his method; ſo that hereby the public-ſpirited gentleman ſometimes hurts the cauſe he intends to ſerve.

However, the well-educated bailiffs are more likely to do their maſters ſtrict juſtice than the illiterate; thoſe little meanneſſes which the latter hardly think any thing of, though frequently attended with conſiderable diſadvantages,

tages, the former are in general above committing, because they know better.

Indeed I cannot consider the study and profession of agriculture as any way unbecoming the character of a clergyman: he may hereafter prove of great service to his country parishioners, as his advice and method of proceeding would be readily attended to by the younger part of his parishioners, and he will have frequent opportunities of conveying just ideas of improving their modes of cultivation. Thus the knowledge of agriculture may be diffused in every part of the country, where such a gentleman fixes his residence. Should his cure be but small, he will have a fair opportunity of preserving himself from that dependence, which might too often lessen the weight and energy which should always accompany his religious instructions.

It was thought proper to reserve Sir William Petty's *Advice for the advancement of Learning*, for this place; because his plan is in itself highly judicious, and includes the ideas of Cowley and Lord Molesworth.

Sir William proposes, "that there be instituted literary workhouses, where children may be taught as well to do something towards their living as to read and write.

"That the business of education be seriously studied and practised by the best and ablest persons.

"That all children, above seven years old, may be presented to this kind of education; none being excluded by reason of the poverty and inability of their parents; for hereby it hath come to pass, that many are now holding the plough, who might be made fit to steer the state.

"That all children, though of the highest rank, be taught some genteel manufacture, in their minority, or turning of curious figures, &c. limning and painting on glass or in oil colours, botanics and gardening, chymistry, &c. &c.

"And all for these reasons:—they shall be less subject to be imposed upon by artificers; they will become more industrious in general; they will certainly bring to pass most excellent works, being, as gentlemen, ambitious to excel ordinary workmen. They being able to make experiments themselves, may do it with less charge and more care than others will do it for them. It may engage them to be Mæcenases and patrons of arts. It will keep them from worse occasions of spending their time and estates; as it will be a great ornament in prosperity, so it will be a great refuge and stay in adversity and common calamity."

After these observations, need any thing be added to shew the advantages of such an education, except attempting to obviate an objection which may possibly arise with regard to the difficulty of procuring proper tutors?

This, however, seems to be a difficulty, which, in this enlightened age, may be soon surmounted. I imagine there are many persons in the kingdom well skilled in scientific and practical knowledge, who would, were they encouraged, readily step forward, and reduce agriculture (both in theory and practice, with all its connec-

connections and dependencies on botany, chymiſtry, and other branches of natural philoſophy) into a ſyſtem of education as regular, plain, and introductory to right conduct, as in any other art or profeſſion in life. Let it but have a beginning, and inſtructors would, no doubt, ſoon abound.

Additional Obſervations to a Treatiſe, entitled, The preſent Method of Inoculation for the Small Pox, &c. publiſhed by the Author ſome Years ago. From Baron Dimſdale's *Tracts on Inoculation.*

SINCE the publication of the above-mentioned treatiſe, I have continued the practice of inoculation, and attended to every part of the proceſs, with the utmoſt circumſpection, in order, as much as poſſible, to reduce the preparatory regimen, and ſubſequent management of the patients, to a greater degree of certainty.

In this addition therefore, I ſhall make ſuch obſervations as appear to be of the moſt importance, and to render them as connected as poſſible, I ſhall follow the order obſerved in that eſſay.

I do not find much reaſon to alter my ſentiments, delivered in the firſt chapter, with reſpect to the age, conſtitution, and ſeaſon of the year, proper for inoculation.

Although I am ſtill of opinion that the inoculation of children under two years of age is liable to objection, I have nevertheleſs had repeated occaſion to inoculate many under that age, without a ſingle inſtance of any fatal conſequence; if, therefore, from ſituation, or other circumſtances, there is danger of taking the diſeaſe by natural infection, it may be very adviſeable to inoculate during this early period.

In addition to this, I would juſt drop this cautionary remark, that children with heads remarkably large, in proportion to their bodies, appear to me exceptionable ſubjects; I particularly refer to ſuch children as may have been ſuſpected of having had water in the ventricles of the brain, in early infancy. I have ſeen two of theſe, where the eruptive fever was accompanied with a very alarming ſtupor, which did not abate, although the eruption was of a diſtinct kind, and the puſtules very few in number; and one of them, who had been ſuſpected to have had the hydrocephalus when very young, and was inoculated when four years old, died during the diſeaſe, without recovering from the ſtupor, having, at the ſame time, a very mild and moderate eruption of puſtules, in which the progreſs of maturation did not ſeem interrupted.

With reſpect to the chapter on *preparation.* I have expreſſed a doubt, "whether much, if not the whole of the preparation, may not be diſpenſed with, except in full habits, or where other particular circumſtances may require it." Repeated experience has fully confirmed this opinion, ſo that, for ſome years paſt, I have not enjoined any reſtriction in reſpect to diet; nor directed any medicines to be taken before the time of the operation, by ſuch as have appeared to be in a proper ſtate of health. On the evening of

of the day in which the operation is performed, I have for ſome time given a few grains of the following powder, which is ſomewhat different from the compoſition I had before preſcribed, though not materially:

℞ Merc. dulc. ſublim. ʒſs
Pulv. è Chel. Canc. c. ʒiiiſs
Sulph. Aurat. Antimon. gr. 24.
Tart. Emet. gr. 6. Miſce accuratiſſimè.

Three or four grains of this powder is a ſufficient doſe for children: I ſeldom give more than ſix grains to adults.

After the inoculation is performed, the rules laid down concerning diet are to be obſerved; and a proper attention being paid to prevent coſtiveneſs, no more medicines are uſually given till the fifth or ſixth evening after the operation; on one of which, according to the greater or leſs apparent inflammation of the infected arms, I repeat the ſame quantity of the powder as before. As this quantity commonly produces in children two or three ſtools on the following day, no further medicine is neceſſary for them. But to adults I uſually preſcribe a gentle purgative the morning after the exhibition of the powder, and the repetition, or omiſſion, of the powder, in all caſes is to be regulated according to the ſymptoms. Sometimes a third doſe is ordered about the time of the eruption.

There are, however, perſons of robuſt and plethoric conſtitutions, to whom, not only a very moderate diet, but ſome evacuations are neceſſary, previous to the operation.

I am alſo clearly perſuaded, that ſeveral tender and delicate perſons have ſuffered greatly, from the want of ſkill in thoſe who indiſcriminately preſcribe the rules laid down for preparation, for all conſtitutions alike; enjoining a ſtrict abſtemious diet, and injudiciouſly exhibiting mercurials, and other active medicines; by theſe means reducing the ſtrength of the patient too low, and expoſing him to unneceſſary ſufferings, and ſometimes to great danger.

Convinced of this truth by many inſtances which have fallen within my own obſervation, I have been cautious in giving mercurials, or repeated purgations, or of refuſing the uſe of common diet to ſuch conſtitutions; but have allowed light animal food at dinner, with a glaſs or two of wine, as cuſtom may have occaſionally made neceſſary, during the whole time preceding the eruptive fever.

By theſe means, perſons of very delicate habits have not only been conducted through this diſeaſe, without any unfavourable ſymptom, but, inſtead of being ſubjected to a variety of diſorders, have even enjoyed a better ſtate of health after, than before; but here likewiſe it is impoſſible to fix any general rule. The management of every one muſt be ſubmitted to the judgment of the operator, who ſhould neither neglect to give proper medicines when the occaſion requires, nor by a multiplicity of directions interrupt nature in her efforts.

At the end of this chapter I have mentioned an inſtance under my own obſervation, "of a child born nine weeks after inoculation, at the full time, with diſtinct

tinct marks of the diſeaſe, though the mother had very few eruptions." I have ſince ſeen inſtances, in a general inoculation of a village near Hertford, in which two women with child were inoculated, and each had a plentiful eruption of ſmall-pox: three or four years afterwards I inoculated the children, and both had the diſeaſe with a tolerable number of puſtules. I will juſt add, that although of many pregnant women that I have inoculated, not one miſcarried during the diſeaſe; yet I have known miſcarriages to happen in a ſhort time after their recovery: I therefore think it unadviſeable to inoculate women in that ſtate, unleſs the neceſſity of the caſe requires it.

To the third chapter concerning *infection*, it ſeems not improper to add, that the method I now generally uſe in performing the inoculation, as believing it to be the beſt, is ſimply this: The point of a lancet ſlightly dipped in the recent variolous matter, which I prefer taking during the eruptive fever, is introduced obliquely between the cuticula and cutis, ſo as to make the ſmalleſt puncture poſſible, rarely producing a drop of blood. The finger is then gently preſſed on the lancet while introduced, which being turned, is withdrawn.

The precaution of turning the lancet is, that the matter may be more certainly wiped off and inſerted. This operation is free from pain.

This mode of practice I formerly did not entirely approve of, but from further experience, I find it the beſt, and it always ſucceeds when properly conducted.

I formerly made it a point to inoculate with fluid matter, as has been deſcribed; but it being hardly poſſible at all times to find patients in a proper ſtate, and ſome perſons objecting to this intercourſe, from an apprehenſion of danger, I have for a conſiderable time found the following method equally ſucceſsful. A lancet well infected, or matter placed, when in a fluid ſtate, on a plate of glaſs or gold, and afterwards ſuffered to dry, is held over the ſteam of boiling water, or a ſmall quantity of water, barely ſufficient for dilution, is added to it, and the matter, thus moiſtened or diluted, is uſed for the purpoſe of inoculation; as I know of no difference as to the ſucceſs, where there is an opportunity of adviſing with a patient, I conſent to the choice of either method.

In the next chapter, on *the progreſs of infection*, extenſive experience has abundantly convinced me, that at the commencement of the eruptive ſtate, when a high degree of fever, and other alarming ſymptoms threaten a large or unfavourable eruption, the going out in the freſh cool air, and taking evacuants, are abſolutely neceſſary, and productive of the happieſt effects.

But the ſame treatment is not required where the complaints are moderate, and the conſtitution of the patient is delicate. I have therefore, in ſuch caſes, relaxed conſiderably in this particular, and it is now my practice with ſuch patients, to diſpenſe with theſe injunctions.

The eruption being completed, and the complaints much abated, or entirely removed, a ſtrict adherence

herence to the very cold regimen is by no means requiſite, but on ſome occaſions may be attended with danger. Where the eruption is abundant (which, whatever may be aſſerted by ſome practitioners, will ſometimes happen, notwithſtanding every precaution is uſed) I recommend confinement to the chamber, that the eaſe of the patient, which is now become a neceſſary object, may be fully conſulted. For though the puſtules may be quite diſtinct, and without any apparent danger, yet as each of theſe is like a little boil, all taken together muſt neceſſarily occaſion much uneaſineſs and pain, eſpecially when the patient is in motion.

Under theſe circumſtances, the room ſhould be kept moderately cool, of ſuch a temperature as to be agreeably warm to thoſe who are ſitting in it; for the ſudden tranſition from a warm cloſe room, to a cool airy one, may prove very dangerous to the patient, and is therefore not to be uſed, but with great diſcretion, as will evidently appear from the following inſtance.

I was deſired to viſit a woman who had a good ſort of natural ſmall-pox, though very full.—Through the exceſſive officiouſneſs of thoſe about her, who had ſeen the good effects, in ſome caſes, of expoſing the ſick to the cold air, ſhe was, near the time of maturation, forced out of bed, dreſſed, and removed into a cool room.—Here ſhe fainted away, the puſtules all ſunk, and ſhe ſeemed expiring; but by being immediately put into bed, and taking ſome cordial medicines, the puſtules roſe again, and ſhe ſoon became better. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that her life was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Extremes therefore ſhould be cautiouſly avoided.

I have alſo been called on to viſit other patients, ill of the natural ſmall-pox, who from a prevailing idea that the cold regimen was proper in every ſtage of the diſeaſe, have evidently been expoſed to danger, by having been injudiciouſly carried out at the time the puſtules were far advanced in maturation; and I have even known this improper treatment practiſed in the middle of winter.

If the quantity of puſtules be large; if the fever, after the eruption, remains in any conſiderable degree, and the ſkin feels ſtretched and painful, but more eſpecially if the throat be ſore, ſo as to render ſwallowing very difficult (which in a few inſtances has happened), in ſuch caſes I apply a bliſter plaiſter upon the very place of the arm where the inciſion was made. For in ſuch caſes it frequently happens that the inoculated part is the principal ſeat of pain, occaſioned by a cluſter of confluent puſtules formed about the inciſion, which ſeems to point out the propriety of diminiſhing the tenſion and inflammation of the part, and diſcharging the acrid variolous matter, as it were from the fountain, whence the whole miſchief had its ſource. The bliſter plaiſter I uſe is about the ſize of an Engliſh crown-piece, and conſiſts of

Pulv. Cantharid.
Unguent. Baſilic. flav. (Pham. Lond.) ana. q. s.

This is ſpread pretty thick on a ſoft linen rag, whoſe edges are covered with ſome ſticking plaiſter, in order the better to fix the bliſter plaiſter on the part.

Let it be gently preſſed till it ſticks a little putting a ſmall piece of lint between it and the inoculated puſtule, and ſuffer it to remain on about twelve hours. It will almoſt infallibly produce both ſpeedy and conſiderable relief.

The bliſter plaiſter being removed, the part is to be dreſſed with a little Unguent. Baſilic. flav. on a pledget of lint, and the whole covered with a little cerate epulotic of the ſame diſpenſatory, ſpread on a ſoft linen cloth; and this cerate, I think, is always preferable to any other application that has been, or is now in common uſe for dreſſing bliſter plaiſters.

I do not know that any perſon has ever practiſed this method of applying bliſter plaiſters on the inoculated parts, except myſelf, and thoſe who have received this information from me: but its effects are ſo ſpeedy and ſalutary, as to render it worthy of general uſe on ſuch occaſions. It likewiſe gives much leſs trouble than the application of large bliſter plaiſters, upon other parts of the body, which are not only more painful, but leſs efficacious. It is indeed attended with ſo little uneaſineſs, that even children ſeldom complain of it.

It may perhaps be imagined, that from this application the ſore may afterwards become troubleſome to the patient; but experience is againſt this ſuppoſition; for when I have inoculated in both arms, and bliſtered only one, the bliſtered incifion has moſt commonly healed ſooner than the other

Under this head I have alſo to add, that in ſome caſes, particularly of young children, it happens that the inoculated part, even early in the diſeaſe, inflames conſiderably, ſo as to occaſion great reſtleſſneſs and fever, although the puſtules on other parts are very few, and of a good kind; in this ſtate I apply a common cataplaſm of bread and milk to the part, which, with certainty, gives relief.

Some reſpectable practitioners having expreſſed their ſatisfaction with that part of the chapter of anomalous ſymptoms, &c. where the eryſipelatous raſh that had ſometimes been miſtaken for a confluent ſmall-pox, was ſhewn to be inoffenſive; I am encouraged to mention another complaint that has ſeveral times diſtreſſed me greatly, and I make no doubt has alſo occurred to others in the courſe of their practice, with what I eſteem to be the cauſe, and beſt manner of treating it.

Sometimes a patient who has paſſed through the eruptive fever, in the uſual manner, with moderate ſymptoms, and been relieved from every complaint by the eruption of a few puſtules, has, after all apprehenſions of future illneſs ceaſed, been unexpectedly attacked with a ſmart, and even alarming degree of fever, accompanied with great reſtleſſneſs, and very frequently in children with uncommon fits of crying. Not being able to account for this complaint from any circumſtances belonging to this diſeaſe,

diſeaſe, I for a time attributed it to ſome unknown cauſe, independent of the ſmall-pox; but obſerving that ſeizures of the ſame kind happened in ſeveral inſtances, my attention was excited to inveſtigate its true cauſe, which I am now convinced originates from puſtules ſituated on the internal part of the mouth, or on the membranous parts of the noſe or œſophagus. I have always treated this complaint ſucceſsfully, by moderate cordials, ſufficient to produce a ſlight perſpiration, by which means the whole diſturbance has generally been over in twenty-four hours, and no further inconvenience has been ſuffered from it; this ariſes from the abatement of the tenſion; for it is obſerved, that the puſtules on thoſe parts, which are conſtantly hot and moiſt come to maturity much earlier than thoſe on the ſkin.

In the laſt paragraph of the chapter, on the *conſequences of this method of inoculation*, it is obſerved, that "I firmly believe no one has ever had, or can have, the diſtemper a ſecond time, either in the natural way, or from inoculation." Although I am ſupported in this opinion by the moſt eminent Engliſh phyſicians, yet I have found many perſons in Ruſſia, who affirm, they have had the ſmall-pox twice, ſome even thrice. This however does not induce me to change my opinion, as it is probable, nay, more than probable, that thoſe who have been entruſted with the care of perſons under eruptive diſorders, have been themſelves deceived, as to the nature and quality of ſuch eruptions.

It is not my intention to diſpute this point at preſent; if however we ſuppoſe ſome to have had the natural ſmall-pox twice, this circumſtance, inſtead of making againſt inoculation, is an argument in its favour, as I can with the utmoſt truth declare, that of the very great number of thoſe I have inoculated (ſeveral of whom have paſſed through the diſeaſe in a very ſlight manner), I never heard that a ſingle perſon has had, or even been ſuſpected to have had, the ſmall-pox a ſecond time. The inoculated therefore ſeem to be more ſecure than thoſe who have had the diſeaſe naturally. That inſtances have happened, though not in my own practice, where inoculated perſons have afterwards taken the natural ſmall-pox, I have heard, and believe; but ſo far as I have been able to diſcover by my enquiries, it has conſtantly happened that the operator has been deceived; indeed, there was much greater ambiguity and hazard of its failing in the former method, by large inciſions and the uſe of plaiſters, than in the preſent practice, where the whole progreſs of infection is ſo plain, that an experienced practitioner can hardly be miſtaken. This, added to the certainty of infecting, are ſtrong recommendations of the preſent practice.

ANTIQUITIES.

History and Antiquities of the Fortresses and Castles in the Isle *of* Wight. *From Sir* Richard Worsley's *History of that Island.*

OF the fortresses on this island, the castle of Carisbrooke claims the first notice; not only from its antiquity, but because all lands were held of the lord, as of the castle of Carisbrooke, by the service of defending it against an enemy, whence it was called the Honour of Carisbrooke. It appears by Domesday-book to have been built by William Fitz-Osborne, Earl of Hereford, and the first lord of the island, soon after the Norman conquest, and most probably at the same time that he founded the Priory. The land on which the castle stands was part of the Manor of Avington.

This castle stands on a small hill about a mile south-west of the town of Newport, and overlooking the village of Carisbrooke; the walls of the original fortress include about an acre and an half of ground, and are nearly in figure a rectangular parallelogram, having the angles rounded*. The greatest length is from east to west. The old castle is surrounded by a more modern fortification, faced with stone, of an irregular pentagonal form defended by five bastions; these out-works, which are in circuit about three quarters of a mile, and encompassed by a deep ditch, circumscribe in the whole about twenty acres; they were added in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and are said to have been constructed on the same plan as those of Antwerp †. On a small projecting stone, on the north-east corner, is carved the date one thousand five hundred and ninety-eight. The entrance is on the west side in the curtain, between two bastions, through a small stone gateway: on the arch of which is the date one thousand five hundred and ninety-eight, with the initial letters E. R.

This gate leads to a second, of much greater antiquity, machicolated and flanked by two large round towers. It is supposed to

* These angles were taken down and rebuilt by Queen Elizabeth, as appears by the date one thousand six hundred and one on the south-east angle.

† By an Italian engineer, named Genebella, who had likewise been employed in the fortifications of that city. Oglander's MS.

have

have been built by Lord Woodville, in the time of Edward the Fourth, his arms being carved on a ſtone at the top, and the roſes of York on each ſide. The old gate, with its wicket of ſtrong lattice-work, faſtened with large nails at every croſſing, is ſtill remaining, and opens into the Caſtle-yard. Entering the area, on the right hand ſtands the chapel of St. Nicholas, with its encloſed cœmetery, but no ſervice is now performed in it; the preſent building was erected on the ruins of an ancient chapel, endowed when Domeſday-book was compiled. Over the former chapel was an armory, containing breaſt, back, and head-pieces for two or three troops of horſe; but defenſive armour being out of uſe, they were ſold by order of Lord Cadogan, when governor. Over the door is carved G. II. 1738; and by a ſtone tablet at the eaſt end we are informed that it was rebuilt during the government of Lord Lymington. Farther towards the left hand are the ruins of ſome buildings, ſaid to be thoſe in which king Charles the Firſt was confined; and a window is ſhewn for that through which he attempted to eſcape; beyond theſe are the barracks and governor's houſe; the latter contains ſeveral good rooms, with coved ceilings. It has occaſionally been uſed for a military hoſpital; and certainly a more proper place, with reſpect to both air and ſituation, could not have been found.

In the north eaſt angle of the baſe court, on a mount raiſed conſiderably above the other buildings, ſtands the Keep, or Dungeon; its figure is an irregular polygon; the aſcent to it is by ſeventy-two ſteps up the ſide of the mount, and there are more within; each ſtep is about nine inches. This multangular tower bears evident marks of great antiquity: ſome of the angles are ſtrengthened by walling of hewn ſtone, which were probably added under Edward the Fourth, when the great gate was rebuilt. There is a well here, ſaid to be three hundred feet deep, but it has been partly filled up as uſeleſs and dangerous: the Keep commands a moſt extenſive and beautiful proſpect, which is not confined to the iſland only, but takes in the New Foreſt and Portſdown, with the ſea intervening at different points.

At the ſouth-eaſt angle ſtands the remains of another tower, called Montjoy's Tower; the walls in ſome places were eighteen feet thick; the view from it not ſo extenſive as that from the Keep. The rampart between theſe towers is about twenty feet high, and eight feet thick, including a parapet of two feet and a half, which was carried quite round the caſtle.

Under a ſmall building in the caſtle yard is another well, more than two hundred feet deep, whence the water for the uſe of the garriſon was drawn by means of a large wheel, turned by an aſs; this duty was for forty years performed by the ſame animal, not long ſince dead, who on account of his long ſervices, became one of the curioſities of the place. Down this well it is uſual to drop a pin, which, after a lapſe of about three ſeconds of time,

produces a greater ſound than can be well conceived by thoſe who have not heard it.

The caſtle was probably repaired by Montacute, Earl of Saliſbury, who held the lordſhip of this iſland in the ninth year of Richard the Second, the three lozenges, the arms of that family, being placed on a buttreſs at the corner of part of the governor's lodgings; but much the greater portion of the buildings now ſtanding, particularly the governor's apartments, the offices and outworks, were built in the time of Queen Elizabeth, who, at the ſolicitation of Sir George Carey, when England was threatened with the famous Spaniſh Armada, gave four thouſand pounds towards the expences. Sir George alſo procured four hundred pounds from the gentlemen of the iſland, and the commonalty contributed their perſonal labour, by digging the outward ditch gratis. The governor was aſſiſted in the direction of theſe works by Thomas Worſley, Eſq; and the whole amount, including the repairs of Yarmouth caſtle and Sharpnore fort, is ſtill extant in a long parchment roll, ſigned with the acquittance of the Lord Treaſurer Burghley. This roll contains many curious particulars of the prices of labour and materials at that time: a copy of it is given in the Appendix. An armourer and fletcher, paid by the queen, were reſiding here in that reign, as appears by the appointment in Sir Richard Worſley's patent.

The lords of the iſland, and the governors ſince their time, have made this caſtle their place of reſidence. The firſt charter of the Counteſs Iſabella de Fortibus to the town of Newport, is dated from hence; and the will of Philippa, Ducheſs of York, was publiſhed here the ninth year of Henry the Sixth, wherein ſhe ſtyles herſelf Ducheſs of York, and Lady of the Iſle of Wight.

Cariſbrooke caſtle has been rendered remarkable by the confinement of Charles the Firſt, who taking refuge here, was detained a priſoner from November, one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſeven, to September, one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-eight, when he was ſuffered to remove to Newport, and to renew his treaty with the parliament. The particulars of his treatment will be mentioned in the account given of the government of Colonel Hammond. On the king's death, it was converted into a priſon for his children, wherein died the Lady Elizabeth, whom the levelling rulers of that time are ſaid to have intended to apprentice to a button maker. She was buried at Newport. It was likewiſe made a priſon by Cromwell and Charles the Second.

There are ſeveral other forts in this iſland, which were all erected about the thirty-ſixth year of Henry the Eighth, when many other forts and blockhouſes were built in different parts of the coaſt of England.

Sandown fort commands a bay on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the iſland, where there is a good landing-place. It is a very low ſquare building, flanked by four baſtions, and encompaſſed by a ditch. Being eſteemed of the greateſt conſequence of any fort in the iſland, it had an eſtabliſhment, conſiſting of a maſter gunner, and

thirty

thirty ſoldiers; but this has ſince been reduced, and the pay of twenty-two of the ſoldiers applied to increaſing the ſalaries of the maſter gunners of the other forts. It had been much neglected, but lately has been put into repair at a very conſiderable expence to the crown, and the apartments made fit for the reception of the captain, who reſides here in the ſummer.

Yarmouth caſtle was built for the defence of the entry into Freſh-water, or Yar river: it is ſituated on the north-weſt part of the iſland, and at the weſt end of the town; part of it ſtands on the wall of the church, demoliſhed by the French in the thirty-fifth of Henry the Eighth. It is much of the ſame conſtruction with thoſe built in that reign, and was erected under the direction of Richard Worſley, captain of the iſland, together with another fort, called Worſley's Tower.

Carey's Sconce, or Sharpnore fort, about a mile to the weſt of Yarmouth, was afterwards built by Sir George Carey, in the room of Worſley's Tower, which ſtood at a very ſmall diſtance weſtward of the Sconce, oppoſite Hurſt caſtle, but was then fallen to decay.

Weſt Cowes caſtle ſtands on the weſt ſide of the river Medina: it is a ſmall ſtone building, with a ſemi-circular battery. Oppoite, on the eaſt ſide of the river, was another fort of the ſame kind; when entire, they join ly protected the harbour. This is now ſo totally demoliſhed, that there is not the leaſt veſtige of it remaining.

Hiſtory and Antiquities of Cariſbrooke Priory, *in the* Iſle *of* Wight. *From the ſame.*

THE charters, grants, and confirmations of the Priory of Cariſbrooke are regiſtered in the Chartulary; they conſiſt of between two and three hundred, of which very few are of conſeqence, being chiefly grants of inconſiderable parcels of land: the moſt important are,

The Charter of Earl Baldwin, in the Reign of King Stephen.

Baldwin, Earl of Devon, and lord of the iſland, confirms to the Abbot and Convent of Lyra, all tithes, lands, rents, and benefices, which they hold in the Iſle of Wight; to hold as freely as they held the ſame in the time of William Fitz Oſborne, or Richard de Redvers, father of the ſaid Baldwin. But under this condition, that Geoffrey, the clerk, ſhall enjoy one moiety, and Stephen, the clerk, the other moiety, during their lives; paying thirty ſhillings each yearly to the Abbey of Lyra, in acknowledgment of its being the mother church; and after their deaths the church of Cariſbrook ſhall remain to the Abbot and Convent of Lyra, to be freely by them enjoyed, either as demeſne; or they may ſend Monks to the ſaid church. *Teſtibus Pagano vice comite. Brieno de Inſula, Gervaſia Abbate de Quadraria, et aliis.*

The Charter of William de Vernun, in the reign of K. John.

He grants and confirms to the church of Cariſbroook, *two marks*

per

per annum, deviſed by his nephew, Richard de Redvers, Earl of Devon, to be received out of the toll of the iſland, by the bayliff of his New Borough (Newport): and the Monks of Cariſbrook, delivered into the hands of the ſaid earl, in the preſence of his barons, the charter of the ſaid Richard; by the terms of this grant, the Monks of Cariſbrook are bound to perform daily ſervice in the chapel of Newport; yet the burgeſſes, both men and women, are to go to the mother church of Cariſbrook on the great feſtivals, according to cuſtom. *Teſtibus Mabilia Comitiſſa, Waltero Abbate, Willo fil. Stuij, Roberto fil. Brieni, cum multis aliis.*

General Charter of Confirmation by William de Vernun.

This charter confirms to the Abbot and Convent of Lyra all former grants; namely the church of Cariſbrook, with the chapels of Northwood, Shorwell, the chapel of the infirm, and of the New Borough; the churches of Arreton, Whippingham, Newchurch, Godſhill, Niton, and Freſhwater, alſo the tithes of all his demeſne lands in the iſland, viz. the tithes of Freſhwater, Afeton, Compton, Brook, of Ninewood, held by the Prior of Chriſtchurch, and two parts of the tithes of Shalfleet, and Cheſſle; the tithes of the demeſnes of Robert of Shorwell, there and at Ulwarton; of the demeſnes of Niton, Stenbury, Week, and Appuldurcombe, and other the demeſne lands of Monſburg, and Apſe, belonging to the canons of Chriſtchurch; the tithes of the demeſnes of Ralph de Glamorgan, at Yaverland, alſo of Nunwell, and Whippingham: the tithes of the demeſnes of Herbert Fitz-Turbert, and Hugh de Clerkenhull, and from Shide, of the demeſnes of William de Argenton, and the moiety of the church of Chale, with forty ſhillings annual rent, paid by the Monks of Quarr to the Monks of Lyra, for the tithes of Arreton, Haſely, Boucombe, and Shalcombe, twenty ſhillings' rent paid out of Boucome, one yardland in Boucombe, and another in Wroxall, four ſhillings from Week, and three ſhillings from the two Nitons; in Freſhwater, two men with a yardland; and in Compton and Brook, two men and two yardlands; and in Witcombe, one free tenement with its land; in the hamlet of Caldlands in the New Foreſt, one man with his lands; two marks from the New Borough, of the toll of the iſland, according to the will of Richard de Redvers; with lands near Cariſbrook, given by Paverell de Argenton, and his brother William, and the lands exchanged with Robert Croſs.

From the charter of Earl Baldwin it appears that he aſſerts a right of nominating the Monks to the Priory of Cariſbrook, probably as heir to the founder; and many years afterwards, Iſabella de Fortibus claimed a right of approbation of the Prior. It being entered in the Chartulary, that Richard de Perans, appointed Prior of Cariſbrook, by the Abbot and Convent of Lyra, complained that Iſabella pretended that

that the houſe was in her hands on the vacancy of the prior, and that the advowſon of the priory belonged to her; that ſhe took occaſion on theſe pleas to diſturb and vex the prior, had cited him to appear and anſwer in her courts, and had amerced him: on which the prior obtained an injunction, the ſeventh year of Edward the Firſt. This diſpute ſeems to have been afterwards accommodated, as there are releaſes between the counteſs and the prior, wherein ſhe reſerves to herſelf the right of advowſon and lordſhip over the priory; theſe releaſes bear date the ninth year of Edward the Firſt.

The claim of a right in the patron, or repreſentative of the founder, to the temporalities of a religious houſe, in caſe of a vacancy, is by no means unprecedented; and in ſome inſtances ſeems allowed in the decrees of the ſynod convened by Ottoboni, in the fourth year of Henry the Third, where patrons were forbid, by the ſixth canon, to retain the profits of vacant benefices, excepting they are entitled to them by ancient uſage. It is to be obſerved, that at this time the nobility of England, who were heirs to the founders of religious houſes, and to thoſe who had given the advowſons of churches to monaſteries, had generally taken great offence at the Monks; who, by procuring the appropriation of their churches, and taking the profits to themſelves, had, as they conceived, abuſed the truſt repoſed in them: the churches being conferred on them, not as ſinecures, but under the ſuppoſition of their being the beſt judges what perſons were moſt fit to be preſented to the livings; whereas by theſe appropriations, the churches were neglected, and the intention of the donors defeated. The Engliſh nobility preſented a remonſtrance on this ſubject to Pope Alexander the Fourth, ſtating, "That they and their predeceſſors, out of reſpect [1259. to the appearing ſanctity of the religious ſocieties in England, had liberally conferred on them their right of patronage; that by ſuch means they might have the opportunity of chuſing fit perſons, and preſenting them to the biſhops, as a moſt effectual proviſion for the cure of ſouls, and relief of the poor: whereas they found this pious intention fruſtrated, not only by papal proviſions, that interrupted the right courſe of preſentation, but chiefly becauſe the religious, by clandeſtine and indirect ways, with the neglect or contempt of their own biſhops, had obtained thoſe churches to their properties, by conceſſions from the apoſtolic ſee: on which account they thought themſelves obliged to reſume the patronage of ſuch converted churches, and reunite the advowſons to their own demeſnes; becauſe they ſaw the good intentions of themſelves and their predeceſſors entirely defeated."—All this his holineſs excuſed in his anſwer, by proteſting "a pure and ſincere deſign in ſo appropriating ſome churches to religious places, with the affectionate bowels of piety and mercy; firmly hoping and believing, that ſuch conceſſions of charity might relieve the wants of the religious, and promote the worſhip of God within

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in the reſpective churches: and therefore, if their complaints were true, he was ſorry the apoſtolical judgment ſhould be deceived, and the ſacred intention of the ſee of Rome be ſo perverſely diſappointed: but far be it from them, obedient ſons, for this cauſe of appropriations and proviſions, to revoke and take into their hands the right of patronage, beſtowed on ſuch religious houſes, ſince they had no authority to diſpoſe of eccleſiaſtical affairs, and muſt not preſume to touch any ſacred thing. However, with the aſſiſtance of the biſhops, he would ſo effectually labour to redreſs all abuſes, as to leave no juſt matter of complaint or ſcandal."

The ſame pope, in an epiſtle, two years afterwards, complained, "that the covetous deſire of the religious, had by falſe pretences obtained from the ſee of Rome, the appropriation of many parochial churches within the kingdom of England, and had by that poiſon infected the whole nation: while, by theſe means, the worſhip of God was loſt, hoſpitality was intermitted, epiſcopal rights were detained, the doors of charity were ſhut againſt the poor, the encouragement of ſtudious ſcholars was abated, with many other ſcandals and offences."

This practice of convents procuring the appropriations of churches became ſo ſcandalous, that even the Monks were aſhamed of it. Biſhop Kennet in his Parochial Antiquities, mentions an inſtance, when Hugh de Levon, Abbot of Meaux, in Yorkſhire, would have beſtowed the appropriation of the church of Eſſington on that abbey: the Monks themſelves obſtructed his intention for the ſpace of five years, proteſting againſt the enormous injuries which would ariſe, to be lamented by perſons yet unborn. Nor was the diſcontent on this ſubject confined to the laity, but even the biſhops ſought to have the evil redreſſed, and many canons were enacted in the ſynods for that purpoſe, to which the Monks refuſed obedience, and much violence was uſed by them in oppoſition to the canons; nor did they ſubmit till they were reduced by force. The monaſteries, poſſeſſed of churches, not only appropriated the rents to their own uſe, but frequently farmed them out; by which means the good intentions of the donors were fruſtrated.

In the ſynod aſſembled at Oxford by Archbiſhop Langton, the thirteenth canon forbids the vicarage of any church to be given to a vicar who ſhall not ſerve the church: the fourteenth obliges thoſe who have benefice to reſide: the fifteenth appoints a ſufficient portion of the benefice to be allowed for the maintenance of the vicar: and the fortieth forbids the letting to farm, excepting it be done for ſome cauſe, which ſhall be approved by the biſhop. [1222.

Theſe canons were alſo ordained by the ſynod convened at London, by Otho, the pope's legate; and again by another ſynod held by Ottoboni, both of which require churches to be ſupplied by a reſident vicar. [1237. [1268.

A neglect in the obſervation of theſe canons, [1307.

occaſioned

occaſioned the biſhop to collate to thoſe churches which fell to him by lapſe: as fully appears by the regiſter of William of Wykeham, who collated to the vicarage of Cariſbrooke, void, as he expreſsly ſays, through neglect of the conſtitutions of Otho and Ottoboni. There had been great commotions in the iſland on this occaſion, and to what a height they roſe at Godſhill are ſeen in Biſhop Woodlock's Regiſter, wherein the Monks, with their friends, are recorded to have held the church by force. The biſhop alſo ordered the dean of the iſland, to put the clerk, collated by him, in poſſeſſion of the church of Godſhill, devolved to him, by virtue of the canon of the general council.

1308.] In the year following, the ſame oppoſition aroſe at the church of Arreton, when the biſhop directed the dean of the iſland to induct the clerk by him collated, *contra omnes et ſingulos contradictores et rebelles*, "againſt all oppoſers." After which the biſhop excommunicated nine perſons for obſtructing his clerk, with all thoſe officiating in the ſaid church, commanding the dean of the iſland to denounce this excommunication in all the churches of his deanery, at the time of high maſs, in which ceremony the croſs was to be elevated, the bell rung, the candles firſt lighted and then extinguiſhed, with every other circumſtance that could give ſolemnity to the act. This was followed by a ſequeſtration of the churches of Freſhwater and Godſhill, for contempt of the canons; and the biſhop excommunicated thoſe who had violated the ſequeſtration.

When King Edward the Third aſſerted his pretenſions to the crown of France, Cariſbrooke, as an alien priory, was, with all its churches, ſeized by the crown, the king then preſenting to them; and the priory was granted to the Abbey of Mont Grace, in Yorkſhire, founded by Thomas Holland, Duke of Surry: but Henry the Fourth, in the firſt year of his reign, probably to remove all cauſes of diſcontent between the courts of England and France, reſtored it, with others which had alſo been ſeized.

In the reign of Henry the Fifth it was again reſumed, and given to the Monaſtery of Shene, in Surry, founded by the king, where it continued till the time of its diſſolution. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, that abbey leaſed it, together with the tithes of Godſhill and Freſhwater, to Sir James Worſley, at the annual rent of two hundred marks, which leaſe was renewed by his ſon Richard, whoſe widow marrying Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, it came into his poſſeſſion. It was afterwards purchaſed by Sir Thomas Fleming, from whoſe family it came to the preſent poſſeſſors; the vicarage remained in the crown, until Charles the Firſt gave it to Queen's College, Oxford. To the church of Cariſbrooke belongs the chapels of Northwood, Weſt Cowes, and Newport. At the time of Cardinal Beaufort's taxation, this church was valued at twenty marks per annum, the vicarage at ſixteen marks, and the

the Procuracy of Lyra at forty marks. This priory, having been founded when there were not more than nine or ten churches in the iſland, the Monks enjoyed a larger juriſdiction than thoſe of later inſtitution, when moſt lords of great poſſeſſions, having built new churches, had appropriated the tithes of their lands to them.

Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Oratory of Burton *in the* Iſle *of* Wight. *From the ſame.*

THE Convent, or Oratory of Burton, or Barton, having been diſſolved long before the general ſuppreſſion of monaſtic foundations, eſcaped the notice of Dugdale, Speed, Tanner, and other writers on religious houſes, ſo that its exiſtence had nearly ſunk into total oblivion. Sir John Oglander indeed mentions it in his manuſcript Memoirs, but his information appears to have been merely traditional: its hiſtory is however preſerved in the regiſter of John de Pontiſſera, Biſhop of Wincheſter, wherein the ſtatutes of the houſe are confirmed by an inſtrument, in which the biſhop affirms he had ſeen the charters of John de Inſula, Rector of Shalfleet, and of Thomas de Winton, Rector of Godſhill, founders of the Oratory of the Holy Trinity of Burton, for the ordering and governing the ſaid

1282.] Oratory made, and in full force, under the ſeals of the founders, as follows:

I. That there ſhall be ſix chaplains and one clerk to officiate both for the living and dead, under the rules of St. Auguſtin.

II. That one of theſe ſhall be preſented to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to be the archprieſt; to whom the reſt ſhall take an oath of obedience.

III. That the archprieſt ſhall be choſen by the chaplains there reſiding, who ſhall preſent him to the biſhop within twenty days after any vacancy ſhall happen.

IV. They ſhall be ſubject to the immediate authority of the biſhop.

V. When any chaplain ſhall die, his goods ſhall remain to the Oratory.

VI. They ſhall have only one meſs, with a pittance, at a meal, excepting on the greater feſtivals, when they may have three meſſes.

VII. They ſhall be diligent in reading and praying.

VIII. They ſhall not go beyond the bounds of the Oratory, without licenſe from the archprieſt.

IX. Their habit ſhall be of one colour, either black or blue; they ſhall be clothed *pallio Hibernienſi, de nigra boneta cum pileo.*

X. The archprieſt ſhall ſit at the head of the table, next to him thoſe who have celebrated *magnum miſſam*; then the prieſt of St. Mary; next the prieſt of the Holy Trinity; and then the prieſt who ſays maſs for the dead.

XI. The clerk ſhall read ſomething edifying to them while they dine.

XII. They ſhall ſleep in one room.

XIII. They ſhall uſe a ſpecial prayer for their benefactors.

XIV. They ſhall in all their ceremonies,

ceremonies, and in tinkling the bell, follow the uſe of Sarum.

XV. The archprieſt alone ſhall have charge of the buſineſs of the houſe.

XVI. They ſhall, all of them, at their admiſſion into the houſe, ſwear to the obſervance of theſe ſtatutes.

Thomas de Winton, and John de Inſula, clerks, grant to John Biſhop of Wincheſter, and his ſucceſſors, the patronage of their Oratory at Burton, in the pariſh of Whippingham, that he might become a protector and a defender of them, the archprieſt, and his fellow chaplains.

The biſhop, at the inſtance of John de Inſula, the ſurviving founder, Thomas, being then dead, or that, after a year and a day from their entering into this Oratory, no one ſhall accept of any other benefice, or ſhall depart the houſe. *Actum et datum in dicto Oratorio de Burton. a.* 1289, *Jordano de Kingſton et aliis teſtibus.*

1386.] The archprieſt being ſuſpended by the biſhop, the dean of the iſland was ordered to take charge of his Oratory in the houſe at Burton: ſoon after,

1390.] the archprieſt being a captive in France, and the houſe of Burton in a ruinous condition, the biſhop gave orders for the houſe to be repaired, and other neceſſary things to be done.

1439.] The Oratory was, in the eighteenth year of Henry the Sixth, ſurrendered into the hands of the biſhop, and, together with its lands, by the procurement of biſhop Wainfleet, granted to the College of Wincheſter: it was endowed with the manor of Whippingham, the demeſne lands of Burton, or Barton, and ſome lands at Chale. The ſite and demeſnes of the Oratory are ſtill held under a leaſe from the Warden and Fellows of Wincheſter College; and part of the old building is yet ſtanding.

Punic Inſcriptions in the Weſtern Boundaries of Canada; *from the Gentleman's Magazine for Auguſt* 1781.

IN the Journal Encyclop. 1781, Juin, p. 555, is the following article: "Un Profeſſeur des Langues Orientales à *Cambridge en Amerique* vient d'envoyer à M. de Gebelin, auteur du 'Monde Primitif,' trois Inſcriptions Puniques, qu'on a trouvées gravées ſur des rochers, à l'embouchure d'une riviere qui eſt à 50 milles du ſud de Boſton. Elles furent gravées par les Carthaginois qui aborderent ſur cette plage meconnue. Elles ont pour objet leur arrivée, & les traités qu'ils firent avec les habitans du pays. M. de Gebelin va donner un memoir ſur cette importante decouverte." If this intimation does not come from M. G. himſelf, then one muſt ſuppoſe that there is ſome one in America that can make out a Punic inſcription, which is more than we knew before. I know a perſon of high rank and underſtanding, who is perſuaded, that the common Iriſh is Punic, and that many of them have long known as much. If ſo, they have little more to do than to learn the Punic

Punic letters, and they all inſtantly become profeſſors in this moſt ancient and radical language, which is ſo little known to the moſt accompliſhed linguiſts. For Inſcriptions on Rocks, ſee Gent. Mag vol. xxxv. p. 374. 401. and Phil. Tranſ. vol. lvi. art. viii.

"In later times there have been found a few marks of antiquity, from which it may be conjectured that N. America was formerly inhabited by a nation more verſed in ſcience and more civiliſed than that which the Europeans found on their arrival there, or that a great military expedition was undertaken to this continent from theſe known parts of the world. This is confirmed by an account which I received from M. de Veraudrier, who commanded the expedition to the ſouthward in perſon. I have heard it repeated by others, who have been eye-witneſſes of all that happened on that occaſion. Some years before I came into Canada, the then Governor-general Chev. de Beauchaniois gave M. de Veraudrier an order to go from Canada with a number of people on an expedition acroſs N. America to the S. Sea, in order to examine how far thoſe two places are diſtant from each other, and to find out what advantages might accrue to Canada or Louiſiana from a communication with that ocean. They ſet out on horſeback from Montreal, and went as far due W. as they could on account of the lakes, rivers, and mountains, in their way. As they came far into the country beyond many nations, they ſometimes met with large tracts of land free from wood, but covered with a kind of very tall graſs for the ſpace of ſome days' journey. Many of theſe fields were every where covered with furrows, as if they had been ploughed and ſowed frequently. It is to be obſerved, that the nations who now inhabit N. America could not cultivate the land in this manner, becauſe they never made uſe of horſes, oxen, ploughs, or any inſtruments of huſbandry, nor had they ever ſeen a plough before the Europeans came to them. In two or three places, at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, our travellers met with impreſſions of the feet of grown people and children in a rock; but this ſeems to have been no more than a *Luſus Naturæ*. When they came far to the Weſt, where to the beſt of their knowledge no Frenchman or European had ever been, they found in one place in the woods, and again on a large plain, great pillars of ſtone leaning upon each other. The pillars conſiſted of one ſingle ſtone each, and the French could not but ſuppoſe that they had been erected by human hands. Sometimes they have found ſuch ſtones laid upon one another, and as it were formed into a wall. In ſome of thoſe places where they found ſuch ſtones, they could not find any other ſort of ſtones. They were not able to diſcover any characters or writings upon any of theſe ſtones, though they made a very careful ſearch after them. At laſt they met with a large ſtone like a pillar, and in it a ſmaller ſtone was fixed, which was covered on both ſides with unknown characters. This ſtone, which was about a foot of French meaſure

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in length, and between four and five inches broad, they broke looſe, and carried to Canada with them, from whence it was ſent to France, to the Secretary of State, Count de Maurepas. What became of it afterwards they know not, but think it is preſerved in his collection. Several of the Jeſuits who have ſeen and handled this ſtone in Canada unanimouſly affirm, that the letters on it are the ſame with thoſe which, in the books containing accounts of Tataria, are called Tatarian characters; and on comparing both together they found them perfectly alike. Notwithſtanding the queſtions which the French on the S. Sea expedition aſked the people there, concerning the time when and by whom theſe pillars were erected, what their traditions and ſentiments concerning them were, who wrote the characters, what was meant by them, what kind of letters they were, in what language they were written, and other circumſtances, they could never get the leaſt explication; the Indians being as ignorant of theſe things as the French themſelves. All they could ſay was, that theſe ſtones had been in thoſe places from time immemorial. The places where the pillars ſtood were 900 French miles weſtward of Montreal."

Account of a ſingular Cuſtom kept up for many Years, and ſtill prevailing in Picardy; *from the Counteſs* De Genlis's *Theatre of Education.*

THERE is ſtill a part of the world where ſimple genuine virtue receives public honours. It is in a village of Picardy, a place far diſtant from the politeneſs and luxury of great cities. There, an affecting ceremony, which draws tears from the ſpectators, a ſolemnity, awful from its venerable antiquity and ſalutary influence, has been preſerved, notwithſtanding the revolutions of twelve centuries; there the ſimple luſtre of the flowers with which innocence is annually crowned, is at once the reward, the encouragement, and the emblem. Here, indeed, ambition preys upon the young heart, but it is a gentle ambition; the prize is a hat, decorated with roſes. The preparations for a public deciſion, the pomp of the feſtival, the concourſe of people which it aſſembles, their attention fixed upon modeſty, which does itſelf honour by its bluſhes, the ſimplicity of the reward, an emblem of thoſe virtues by which it is obtained, the affectionate friendſhip of the rivals, who, in heightening the triumph of their queen, conceal in the bottom of their worthy hearts the timid hope of reigning in their turn: all theſe circumſtances united give a pleaſing and affecting pomp to this ſingular ceremony, which cauſes every heart to palpitate, every eye to ſparkle with tears of true delight, and makes wiſdom the object of paſſion. To be irreproachable, is not ſufficient; there is a kind of nobleneſs, of which proofs are required; a nobleneſs, not of rank and dignity, but of worth and innocence. Theſe proofs muſt include ſeveral generations, both on the father and mother's ſide; ſo that a whole family is crowned upon the head of one; the triumph

of one is the glory of the whole; and the old man with grey hairs, who ſheds tears of ſenſibility on the victory gained by the daughter of his ſon, placed by her ſide, receives, in effect, the reward of ſixty years ſpent in a life of virtue.

By this means, emulation becomes general, for the honour of the whole; every one dreads, by an indelicate action, to dethrone either his ſiſter or his daughter. The crown of roſes, promiſed to the moſt prudent, is expected with emotion, diſtributed with juſtice, and eſtabliſhes goodneſs, rectitude, and morality, in every family; it attaches the beſt people to the moſt peaceful reſidence.

Example, powerful example, acts even at a diſtance; there the bud of worthy actions is unfolded, and the traveller, on approaching this territory, perceives, before he enters it, that he is not far from Salençy. In the courſe of ſo many ſucceſſive ages, all around them has changed; they alone will tranſmit to their children the pure inheritance they received from their fathers: an inſtitution truly great, from its ſimplicity; powerful under an appearance of weakneſs: ſuch is the almoſt unknown influence of honours; ſuch is the ſtrength of that eaſy ſpring, by which all men may be governed: ſow honour, and you will reap virtue.

If we reflect upon the time the Salençians have celebrated this feſtival, it is the moſt ancient ceremony exiſting. If we attend to its object, it is, perhaps, the only one which is dedicated to the ſervice of virtue. If virtue is the moſt uſeful and eſtimable advantage to ſociety in general, this eſtabliſhment, by which it is encouraged, is a public and national benefit, and belongs to France.

According to a tradition, handed down from age to age, Saint Medard, born at Salençy, proprietor, rather than lord, of the territory of Salençy (for there were no fiefs at that time), was the inſtitutor of that charming feſtival, which has made virtue flouriſh for ſo many ages. He had himſelf the pleaſing conſolation of enjoying the fruit of his wiſdom, and his family was honoured with the prize which he had inſtituted, for his ſiſter obtained the crown of roſes.

This affecting and valuable feſtival has been tranſmitted from the fifth century to the preſent day. To this roſe is attached a purity of morals, which from time immemorial, has never ſuffered the ſlighteſt blemiſh; to this roſe are attached the happineſs, peace, and glory of the Salençians.

This roſe is the portion, frequently the only portion, which virtue brings with it; this roſe forms the amiable and pleaſing tie of a happy marriage. Even fortune is anxious to obtain it, and comes with reſpect to receive it from the hand of honourable indigence. A poſſeſſion of twelve hundred years, with ſuch ſplendid advantages, is the faireſt title that exiſts in the world.

Deſcription

Deſcription and Antiquities of Rhuddlan Caſtle, Town, *&c. from* Pennant's *Journey to* Snowdon.

ABOUT a mile and a half farther ſtands the ſmall borough of Rhuddlan, ſeated high on the red clayey banks of the Clwyd, and above Morfa-Rhuddlan, a marſh celebrated for the battle in 795, between the Saxons and Welſh: our monarch Caradoc fell in the conflict, and, I fear, victory declared againſt us. We do indeed ſay, that Offa, the famous King of Mercia, was ſlain here; but the Saxon chronicle places his death the year before that battle. The fine plaintive Welſh tune, ſo well known by the name of Morfa-Rhuddlan, is ſuppoſed to have been compoſed on this occaſion: for victories are not the only ſubjects for the harp. How beautifully does David lament the blood of the ſlain on the mountains of Gilboa: how are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war periſhed!

The caſtle had been a handſome building, in a ſquare, with two extremes placed at oppoſite corners, with a double round tower at each; and a ſingle one at the two other corners. The court forms an irregular octagon. The ditch is large, faced on both ſides with ſtone. The ſteep ſlope to the river was defended by high walls, and ſquare towers: one is entire, and there are veſtiges of two others: the firſt is called Twyr-y-Silod; another, in the caſtle, was named Twyr-y-Brenhin, or the King's Tower.

To the ſouth of the caſtle, at about a furlong diſtance, is a large artificial mount, the ſite of another fortreſs, of very early date; the whole ſurrounded by a very deep foſs (including alſo the abbey) which croſſes from the margin of the bank, near the aſcent of the preſent road to St. Aſaph, to another parallel road; near which it is continued, then turns and falls nearly into the ſouthern part of the walled ditch of the caſtle: the whole forms a ſquare area, of very great extent. Theſe different works were formed at three ſeveral times. The mount, now called Tut-Hill, and its ſuperſtructure (whatever it was), is thoroughly Britiſh, and is ſaid to have been built by Llewelyn ap Sitſylt, who reigned from the year 1015 to 1020. It was a reſidence of our princes from that time: but Gryffyd ap Llewelyn in 1063, having given offence to Edward the Confeſſor, by receiving Algar, one of his rebellious ſubjects, was attacked by Harold, who in revenge burned the palace at Rhuddlan. It was ſoon reſtored, and as ſoon loſt. Robert, afterwards ſurnamed of Rhuddlan, a valiant Norman, nephew to Hugh Lupus, Earl of Cheſter, conquered it from the Welſh, and, by the command of William the Conqueror, fortified it with new works, and made it his place of reſidence; from whence he greatly annoyed our countrymen. The ſquare towers are evidently of Norman architecture, and naturally adopted by the new owner. Robert received here a viſit from our prince Gryffydd ap Kynan, who came to ſolicit aid againſt his enemies, from the Norman warrior; which he obtained: but on ſome quarrel attacked him in his caſtle, took and burnt the bailey, or yard, and killed ſuch a number of his men,

that very few eſcaped into the towers.

Henry II. in 1157, added new ſtrength to the caſtle, and left a conſiderable garriſon in it before he quitted the country. Notwithſtanding this, Owen Gwynedd, in 1167, took and diſmantled it; but it was afterwards re-fortified by the Engliſh; for it appears that this fortreſs had, with two others, been beſtowed by Henry, with Emma, his natural ſiſter, on David ap Owen, ſon and ſucceſſor to Owen Gwynedd. Here, in 1187, he entertained, very nobly, Baldwin Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his progreſs through Wales. Poſſibly he reſigned it again to the Engliſh; for I find that in 1214 it was beſieged and taken by Llewelyn ap Jorworth, his ſucceſſor in the principality.

I muſt not omit relating, notwithſtanding I am unable to give the year of the event, that Randle Blundevile earl of Cheſter, was in this caſtle ſurpriſed by a body of Welſh, and lay in the utmoſt diſtreſs, until he was relieved by his lieutenant, Roger Lacy, alias Hell; who collecting ſuddenly a rabble of fiddlers and idle people, put the beſiegers to flight. In reward he received from the earl, *Magiſterium omnium Leccatorum et meretricum* totius Ceſtreſhire.

I find it in poſſeſſion of Edward I. in 1277; who was ſo well convinced of its importance in the conqueſt of Wales, that he made it the rendezvous of all the forces deſtined for that purpoſe. It was the *place d'armes*, and the great magazine of proviſion for the ſupport of his army, in its advance into the country. The reigning prince, Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, knew the danger of leaving ſo conſequential a place in the hands of his enemy: but it reſiſted all the moſt vigorous efforts made on it in 1281, by Llewelyn and his brother David, juſt reconciled to him by the ſenſe of their common danger. Soon after, it proved the place of confinement to the latter, not long before his ignominious end at Shrewſbury.

In order to ſecure it from any future attempts, Edward turned all his thoughts towards founding a fortreſs impregnable by any future attempts of the Welſh. He accordingly began with an act of juſtice, that of making recompence to Maſter Richard Bernard, Parſon of Rhuddlan, for certain lands taken from him for the purpoſe of enlarging the caſtle; and again, in 1282, made an exchange with the ſame church, of ſix acres and a half, for the ſame uſes: and on which he built the caſtle, whoſe ruins we now ſurvey. The finiſhing of it took a conſiderable time; for I find an order in 1291, for overlooking the works at the caſtles of Rhuddlan, Flint and Cheſter. I cannot but remark here, the ſtrong neceſſity of curbing the new-conquered country with powerful garriſons; for notwithſtanding all the ravages of long and barbarous wars, it remained ſo exceedingly populous, that Edward politically drafted out of it not leſs than fifteen thouſand men, in aid of his Scottiſh expedition. The conſequence proved almoſt fatal to him: for while he lay encamped near Linlithgow, a national quarrel enſued between the Engliſh and Welſh troops; and after great blood-

bloodſhed, the latter ſeparated themſelves from his army.

During the civil wars of the laſt century, it was garriſoned on the part of the king; was taken by General Mytton in July 1646; and in the ſame year ordered by the parliament (in the phraſe of the times) to be ſlighted, *i. e.* diſmantled, with many other Welſh caſtles.

In reſpect to the civil hiſtory of Rhuddlan, I find, that in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, it made part of the great territories of Earl Edwin. It was then, by reaſon of the inroads of Harold, a waſte; and continued ſo when it was poſſeſſed by Hugh Lupus. It then became the capital of the diſtrict: and Hugh enjoyed a moiety of the church, the mint, and mines of the iron ore found in the manor; and a moiety of the water of Clwyd, *i. e.* of the mill and fiſhery on ſuch part which belonged to Earl Edwin; a moiety of the foreſts on the manor, and of the toll, and of the village called Bren: and there were at this time in Rhuddlan eight burgeſſes. All this Hugh Lupus granted to Robert of Rhuddlan, with an addition of certain hamlets dependent on the place; and a new borough was erected, with eighteen burgeſſes, who enjoyed the ſame privileges with thoſe of Hereford and Bretail; and were exempted from all fines exceeding twelve-pence, except in caſe of manſlaughter, theft, and *heinfare*, *i. e.* the depriving a perſon of his ſervant.

Edward I. made this town a free borough, appointed the conſtable of the caſtle for the time being to be mayor, and the bailiffs to be choſen annually by the burgeſſes on Michaelmas-day, who were to be preſented to the conſtable to be ſworn. The town was to have power of impriſoning, except in ſuch caſes which affected the life, or loſs of limb: when criminals of this nature were to be committed to the caſtle, burgeſſes only were permitted to bail. No Jews were to inhabit the town. The burgeſſes had a foreſt and free warren; a *gild cum hanſa et loth et ſhoth, ſok ſak et theam et infangentheſt et lib. per totam terram de Thcoloniis, leſtagio, Muragio, Danegeld, Gaywite*, &c.

This charter was given by the king at Flint, September 8th, in the twelfth year of his reign; *Teſtibus. Rob. Bath & Wells*, &c. and confirmed by Richard II. at Leiceſter, and again at Weſtminſter.

No conſtable has been appointed ſince the days of Oliver Cromwel.

The burgeſſes contribute towards electing a member for the borough of Flint. Thoſe who are qualified inhabit the place, and that part of the pariſh called Rhuddlan Franchiſe, which extends above a mile from the town.

The parliament ſaid to have been held here in 1283, by Edward I. was probably no more than a council aſſembled by the conqueror, to divide his new conqueſts into counties, and to give ſalutary laws to the Welſh; to aboliſh any antient cuſtoms which the wiſe prince thought detrimental, and to introduce ſuch of the Engliſh as would prove of uſe. This was not done haſtily; for in the year preceding, a commiſſion had been appointed, with Tho-

mas Beke, Biſhop of St. David, preſident; who were to conſider and report upon oath the different laws of both countries. From their reſolutions were framed the famous Statute of Rhuddlan; in which, among many excellent inſtitutions, were introduced ſheriffs and coroners, their powers defined, and the principal crimes of the times pointed out: moſt of which were acts of violence, rapine, and theft; ſuch as might be expected to exiſt among people: an evil which reſulted more from the turbulence of the time, than the want of wholeſome laws.

A piece of antient building, called the Parlement Houſe, is ſtill to be ſeen at Rhuddlan; probably the place where the king ſat in council. From hence he actually practiſed the well-known deceit of giving them a prince born among them, who never ſpoke a word of Engliſh, and whoſe life and converſation no man was able to ſtain: all which our diſcontented nobility eagerly accepted, little thinking the perſon intended, to be the infant Edward, juſt born at Caernarvon.

Hiſtorical Account of Denbigh, *of its Caſtle, Church, Charter, &c. from the ſame.*

A Little further ſtands Denbigh, placed, like Sterling, on the ſlope of a great rock, crowned with a caſtle. Its antient Britiſh name was Caſtell Kled vryn yn Rhôs, or the Craggy Hill in Rhos, the former name of the tract in which it is ſeated. The word Dinbech, the preſent Welſh appellation, ſignifies a ſmall hill, which it is comparative to the neighbouring mountains. The firſt time I find any mention of it, is in the beginning of the reign of Edward I. from whom David, in defiance of his brother Llewelyn, choſe to hold this lordſhip, together with the cantred of Dyffryn Clwyd. He made it his reſidence till the conqueſt of our country; ſoon after which, he was taken near the place, and carried, loaden with irons, to the Engliſh monarch at Rhuddlan.

The king politically ſecured his new acquiſitions, by beſtowing ſeveral of the great lordſhips on his followers. He gave that of Denbigh to Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who built the caſtle, and incloſed within a wall the ſmall town he found there. Among other privileges, he gave his vaſſals liberty of killing and deſtroying all manner of wild beaſts on the lordſhip, except in certain parts reſerved out of the grant; I ſuppoſe for the purpoſe of the particular amuſement of the lord; for I find, in the reign of Henry VI. the names of five parks in this lordſhip, viz. Moylewike, Careſnodooke, Kylford, Baghd, and Poſey, of which the king conſtituted Owen Tudor, ranger. On the death of Lacy, the lordſhip paſſed to Thomas Earl of Lancaſter, by virtue of his marriage with Alicia, daughter of the laſt poſſeſſor. After the attainder of Thomas, Edward II. beſtowed it on Hugh D'Eſpencer; who proved an oppreſſive ſuperior, and abridged the inhabitants of the privileges granted to them by Lacy. By the fatal end of that favourite, it fell again to the crown;

crown; and was given by Edward III. to another, equally unfortunate, Roger Mortimer Earl of March; whoſe death enabled the king to inveſt with his lordſhip William Mountacute Earl of Saluſbury. He died in 1333; and on the reverſal of the attainder of the Earl of March, it was reſtored to his family, in the perſon of his grandſon Roger; and by the marriage of Anne, ſiſter to another Roger, laſt Earl of March, with Richard Plantagenet Earl of Cambridge, it came into the houſe of Yorke, and ſo into the crown. Queen Elizabeth, in 1563, beſtowed it, as a moſt valuable gift, on her unmerited minion, Robert Dudly Earl of Leiceſter; who ſoon made the country feel the weight of his oppreſſion. Notwithſtanding the tenants made him a preſent of two thouſand pounds at his firſt entrance into the lordſhip, he remained unſatisfied; he conſtrained the freeholders to raiſe the old rents of 250l. a year, to 8 or 900l. and at his will incloſed the waſte lands, to the injury of the tenants; who, offended at his rapacity, aroſe and levelled his encroachments. This was conſtrued into riot and rebellion: two hopeful young men, of the houſe of Lleweni, were taken to Shrewſbury, tried and executed there, for the pretended offence. He had the inſolence even to mortgage the manor to ſome merchants of London; and, I apprehend, tricked them for their credulity. The various diſorders which roſe from theſe practices, were ſo great, that Elizabeth interpoſed, and by charter confirmed the quiet poſſeſſion of the tenants, and allayed the diſcontents. Theſe were again excited in the reign of King William, by the vaſt grant made to the Earl of Portland. The ſame ferments aroſe, and the ſame means were uſed to allay them: at preſent, this, and the other great manors of Bromefield and Yale, remain in the crown, and are peacefully ſuperintended by a ſteward appointed by the king.

The caſtle and incloſed part of the town, took up a very conſiderable ſpace, and were defended by ſtrong walls and towers: the laſt are chiefly ſquare. There are two gates to the outmoſt precinct: that called the Burgeſſes Tower, is large, ſquare, and built ſingularly, with ſmall aſhler ſtones. The other was called the Exchequer Gate, in which the lord's court was kept. Some few houſes, with moſt beautiful views, are at preſent inhabited in this part. Leland ſays, that there had been divers rows of ſtreets; but in his time there were ſcarcely eighty houſholders within theſe walls. Here ſtands the chapel, called St. Hillary's, formerly belonging to the garriſon, now the place of worſhip for the town. In old times, on every Sunday here were maſſes for the ſouls of Lacy and Percy. Not far from it are the remains of an unfiniſhed church, a hundred and ſeventy-five feet long, and ſeventy-one broad, and deſigned to have been ſupported by two rows of pillars. This noble building was begun in 1579, as appears by the date on a foundation-ſtone. It was to this purpoſe; for at preſent it is much defaced:

1mo Martii 1579
Et Regni Re: Elizabethæ 22.
W.

On the other ſide appeared,

Veritas, vita, via. Duo ſunt templa Dei. Unu᷑ mū̃dus I. ein: eſt Pontifex primogenties ejus verbū Dei: Alterum rationalis anima: cujus ſacerdos eſt verus homo.

G. A.

This church was begun under the auſpices of Leiceſter: but it is ſaid that he left off his buildings in Wales, by reaſon of the public hatred he had incurred on account of his tyranny. A ſum was afterwards collected, in order to complete the work; but it is ſaid, that when the Earl of Eſſex paſſed through Denbigh, on his Iriſh expedition, he borrowed the money deſtined for the purpoſe, which was never repayed: and by that means the church was left unfiniſhed.

The caſtle crowns the ſummit of the hill, one ſide of which is quite precipitous. The entrance is very magnificent, beneath a gothic arch, over which is the ſtatue of Henry Lacy, ſitting in ſtately flowing robes. On each ſide of the gate-way ſtood a large octagonal tower. The breaches in it are vaſt and awful: they ſerve to diſcover the antient manner of building: a double wall appears to have been built, with a great vacancy between, into which was poured all ſorts of rubbiſh, ſtone, and hot mortar, which time conſolidated to a ſtony hardneſs. This part, as Leland ſays, was never completed, the work having been deſerted by the earl, on the loſs of his eldeſt ſon, who was accidentally drowned in the well, whoſe opening is ſtill to be ſeen in the caſtle-yard. Charles I. lay here on the 23d of September, 1645, after his retreat from Cheſter, in a tower ſtill called Siamber y Brenhin, or the King's tower.

The proſpect through the broken arches is extremely fine, extending in parts over the whole vale, and all its eaſtern hills, from Moel Venlli to Diſerth rock; a rich view, but deficient in water; the river Clwyd being too ſmall to be ſeen; and in great rains ſo furious, as to overflow a great ſpace of the meadowy tract.

Leland relates a particular of this fortreſs, which I do not diſcover in any other hiſtorian: he ſays that Edward IV. was beſieged in it; and that he was permitted to retire, on condition that he ſhould quit the kingdom for ever. The only time in which that prince was conſtrained to abdicate his dominions, was in 1470, when he took ſhipping at Lynn; not by reaſon of any capitulation with his enemies, but through the deſperate ſituation of his affairs at that period.

Jaſper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, had, in the year 1459, poſſeſſed this place, and ſeveral others in the principality, in behalf of his weak half-brother, Henry VI. but they were wreſted from him by the Yorkiſts in the following year. In 1468 he returned, was joined by two thouſand Welſh, and burnt the town; meditating rather revenge than conqueſt.

In the beginning of November 1645, the parliament army obtained, near this town, a moſt important victory over the royaliſts. The latter, under the command of Sir William Vaughan, had formed a conſiderable body of forces,

forces, Welſh and Iriſh, with a deſign of marching to the relief of Cheſter, then beſieged: Sir William Brereton had notice of the deſign, and immediately detached that able officer Mytton, and under him Colonel Jones and Colonel Louthain, with one thouſand four hundred horſe, and a thouſand foot, to fruſtrate the plan. Mytton did his duty, attacked the royaliſts with vigor, and in ſeveral ho engagements, totally routed them, took five hundred horſe and four hundred foot, killed one hundred, and ſo entirely diſperſed them, as not to leave a hundred together in one place.

In 1646, we find the caſtle garriſoned by the loyaliſts: its governor was Colonel William Saluſbury, of Bachymbyd, commonly called Saluſbury Hoſanau Gleiſiau, or Blue Stockings. The ſiege was begun under the conduct of Major-general Mytton, about the 16th of July; but ſuch was the gallant defence of the beſieged, that it was not ſurrendered till the 3d of November, and then only on the moſt honourable conditions. It is very remarkable, that notwithſtanding the orders of fallen majeſty, in June, for the general ſurrender of every garriſon in England and Wales, on fair and honourable terms, yet the firſt which yielded in North Wales, held out above two months longer than the laſt Engliſh caſtle.

The priory of Carmelites, or White Friars, ſtood at the bottom of the town. It was founded by John Saluſbury, of Lleweni, who died, as appeared from a mutilated braſs, found in the conventual church, on the 7th of March, 1289. Speed aſcribes the building to John de Sunimore, in 1399; but the inſcription fixes the honour on Saluſbury. On the diſſolution, this houſe was granted to Richard Andreas and William L'Iſle. The church, now converted into a barn, is the only remaining building: it was the burying-place of the family of the founder, till the reformation; and ſome of their tombs were to be ſeen here within memory of man.

The preſent town covers great part of the ſlope of the hill; and ſome ſtreets extend along the plain. Its manufactures in ſhoes and gloves are very conſiderable; and great quantities are annually ſent to London, to the great warehouſes of the capital, and for the purpoſes of exportation.

The conſtitution of this borough, and its origin, will be fully explained by the following tranſcript, communicated to me by one of its burgeſſes. It begins with citing the laſt charter, which is that granted by King Charles II. which recites letters patents granted by Queen Elizabeth, and dated at Weſtminſter the 20th of June, in the thirty-ninth year of her reign; in which the ſaid Queen recites, "That ſeeing Edward I. by his letters patent, dated at Northampton the 29th of Auguſt, in the eighteenth year of his reign, hath granted to Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, that all his men then inhabiting his town of Denbigh, or that ſhould for ever inhabit it, through all his territories, formerly belonging to the King of Wales, and alſo through the counties of Cheſter, Salop, Stafford, Glouceſter, Worceſter,

ceſter and Hereford, ſhould be free and acquitted for ever from all toll, ſtallage, payage, panage, murage, pontage, and paſſage: and ſeeing alſo King Edward III. by his letters patent, dated at York the 27th of October, in the ſixth year of his reign, hath, for himſelf, and his heirs and ſucceſſors, then inhabiting, and afterward to inhabit the ſaid town, ſhould, through the kingdom and dominions, be freed and acquitted from all ſuch toll, ſtallage, payage, murage, pontage, and paſſage; and ſeeing alſo that Richard II. by his letters patent, dated at Weſtminſter the 22d of February, in the ſecond year of his reign, granted to the aboveſaid men, that the aforeſaid town of Denbigh, and half a mile compaſs about the town, ſhould be a free borough, and that the men inhabiting, and afterwards to inhabit, ſhould be free burgeſſes; and ſeeing alſo that Richard III. by his letters, dated at Weſtminſter the 10th of December, in the ſecond year of his reign, confirmed the aforeſaid grants, and by his ſaid letters patent did grant unto the ſaid burgeſſes, their heirs and aſſigns, being Engliſhmen, common of paſture for all manner of cattle, at all times in the year, in the common paſture of the town and foreſt of Lleweney; and that the burgeſſes aforeſaid, and their heirs and aſſigns, ſhould be free and acquitted, in all his dominions and territories in England and Ireland, ſoc. ſac. toll, and them, laſtage, ſtallage, payage, pannage, pontage, murage, and other cuſtoms whatſoever. And the aforeſaid Queen Elizabeth, by her ſaid letters patent, did ordain, conſtitute, grant, and confirm, that the town and borough of Denbigh may extend, on every ſide, one mile and a half, according to the common acceptations of that place, from the high croſs ſtanding in the market-place of the ſaid town; and that the ſaid town and borough of itſelf, and the burgeſſes of the ſaid borough, now and hereafter in being, be, and ſhall be for ever hereafter, one body corporate and politick, in things, fact, and name, by the name of "The Aldermen, Bailiffs, and Burgeſſes of the borough of Denbigh;" and it is alſo ordained, that there be a common ſeal for tranſacting of any cauſes or buſineſſes; and alſo ordained, that there be two aldermen, two bailiffs, and two coroners, and twenty-five of the better ſort and beſt reputed of the burgeſſes to be capital burgeſſes and counſellors of the ſaid borough.

"The aldermen and bailiffs are elected and nominated upon Michaelmas-day, yearly. There are two other officers, called ſerjeants at mace (or mace-bearers) for the execution of proceſſes and mandates iſſuing out of the court of the ſaid borough; they are appointed by the bailiffs of the ſaid borough for the time being.

"There is alſo a recorder of the ſaid borough, who is appointed by the aldermen, bailiffs, and capital burgeſſes.

"Conſtables, leavelookers, and other inferior officers, are likewiſe appointed by the aldermen, bailiffs, and capital burgeſſes.

"There is a council chamber, or guild, within the ſaid borough, for the purpoſe of holding and ſitting courts of convocation, before the

the aldermen, bailiffs, and capital burgeſſes.

" There is a court of record, to be held every other Friday through the year, before the bailiffs of the ſaid borough, or one of them; and in that court, by complaint made in it, they may hold all and all manner of pleas, actions, ſuits, demands of all ſorts of tranſgreſſions *vi et armis*, or otherwiſe; and alſo all and all manner of debts, accompts, bargains, frauds, detaining of deeds, writings, muniments, and taking and detaining of beaſts and cattle, or goods; and all contracts whatſoever, ariſing within the ſaid borough; and that ſuch pleas, ſuits and actions, be heard and terminated before the bailiffs, or one of them.

" The aldermen are juſtices, and hold quarter ſeſſions, in the ſame manner as county ſeſſions are held by ſtatute to hear and determine cauſes; but not to proceed in caſe of death, or loſs of life or limb.

" No country juſtice to intermeddle with any matters or things whatſoever, appertaining to the office of juſtice of the peace, which ſhall ariſe or happen within the borough.

" Reſiant burgeſſes are to ſerve upon jury at the ſeſſions.

" The aldermen and bailiffs are commiſſioners of array.

" The reſiant burgeſſes are voters for a member for the borough."

An Account of the antient Manner of Hunting in Wales, *and of the Laws relative thereunto; from the ſame.*

THE Welſh had ſeveral animals, which were the objects of the chace; ſuch as, y Carw, or the ſtag: Kaid Wenyn, a ſwarm of bees: and y Gleiſiad, or the ſalmon. Yr Arth, the bear; y Dringhedydd, climbing animals, I ſuppoſe wild cats, martins, and ſquirrels; and Ceiliog Coed, or cock of the wood. And the laſt diviſion was, y Llwynog, the fox; Yſgyſarnog, the hare; and yr Ywrch, the roe. Some of the above come very improperly under our idea of hunting, yet were comprehended in the code of laws relative to the diverſion, formed, as is ſuppoſed, by Gryffyd ap Cynan.

I ſuſpect alſo, that the otter was an object of diverſion; there being a Cylch Dyfrgwn, or an annual payment, by the Welch, for the prince's water dogs.

The three firſt were Helfa Gyffredyn, or the common hunt. The ſtag, becauſe he was the nobleſt animal of chace; and becauſe every body, who came by at his death, before he was ſkinned, might clame a ſhare in him. The next animals were, Helfa Gyfarthfa, or the animals which could be brought to bay, ſuch as the bear, &c. which were hunted with hounds till they aſcended a tree. The bird mentioned here, is the cock of the wood, whoſe nature it is to ſit perched on a bough, where they will gaze till they are ſhot, as they were, in old times, by the bow, or croſs-bow.

The third diviſion was Helfa Ddolef, or the ſhouting chace, becauſe

becauſe attended by the clamour of the ſportſmen; and comprehended the fox, the hare, and the roe. The method of hunting was either with hounds, or grehounds, which they let ſlip at the animals, holding the dogs in leaſhes. No one was to ſlip his grehound when the hounds were in chace, unleſs he had a hound in the pack, on penalty of having the grehound ham-ſtrung: neither was it allowed to kill any animal of chace on its form, or at reſt, on pain of forfeiting his bow and arrow to the lord of the manor. When ſeveral grehounds, the property of different perſons, were ſlipt at any animal, the perſon whoſe dog was neareſt the beaſt, when laſt in ſight, clamed the ſkin. A bitch was excepted, unleſs it was proved ſhe was pregnant by a dog which had before won a ſkin.

Every perſon who carries a horn, muſt give a ſcientifical account of the nine objects of chace, or elſe he will be looked on as a pretender, and forfeit his horn. The ſame penalty attends the Cynllafan, or leaſh; he is never again to wear it round his middle, on pain of forfeiture; but then he is ſuffered to wear it round his arm.

The antient Welſh held the fleſh of the ſtag, hare, wild boar, and the bear, to be the greateſt delicacies among the beaſts of chace.

The prince had his Pencynwydd, or chief huntſman. He was the tenth officer of the court. He had for his own ſupper one diſh of meat; and after it, three horns of mead, one from the king, another from the queen, the third from the ſteward of the houſhold. He was never to ſwear, but by his horn and his leaſh. He had the third of the fines and heriots of all the other huntſmen; and likewiſe the ſame ſhare of the *amobr*, on the marriage of any of their daughters. At a certain time of the year, he was to hunt for the king only: at other ſeaſons he was permitted to hunt for himſelf. His horn was that of an ox, of a pound value. He had in winter an ox's hide to make leaſhes; in ſummer, a cow's, to cut into ſpatterdaſhes.

The king had liberty of hunting whereſoever he pleaſed; but if a beaſt was hunted and killed on any gentleman's eſtate, and not followed and claimed by the huntſman that night, the owner of the land might convert it to his own uſe, but was to take good care of the dogs, and preſerve the ſkin.

The penalty of killing a tame ſtag of the king's, was a pound; and a certain fine, if it was a wild one, if it was killed between a certain day in November and the feaſt of St. John, the value was ſixty pence; but the fine for killing it, a hundred and eighty pence. A ſtag was alſo reckoned equivalent to an ox; a hind to a well grown cow; a roe to a goat; a wild ſow to a tame ſow; a badger had no value, becauſe in ſome years it was meaſled; wolves and foxes, and other noxious animals, had no value, becauſe every body was allowed to kill them; and there was none ſet upon a hare, for a very ſingular reaſon, becauſe it was believed every other month to change its ſex *.

* See *Leges Wallicæ*, xxxix. 256 to 260.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

General View and Character of the Poetry of Queen Elizabeth's *Age; from* Warton's *Hiſtory of* Engliſh *Poetry.*

THE age of Queen Elizabeth is commonly called the golden age of Engliſh poetry. It certainly may not improperly be ſtyled the moſt poetical age of theſe annals.

Among the great features which ſtrike us in the poetry of this period, are the predominancy of fable, of fiction, and fancy, and a predilection for intereſting adventures and pathetic events. I will endeavour to aſſign and explain the cauſe of this characteriſtic diſtinction, which may chiefly be referred to the following principles, ſometimes blended, and ſometimes operating ſingly: The revival and vernacular verſions of the claſſics, the importation and tranſlation of Italian novels, the viſionary reveries or refinements of falſe philoſophy, a degree of ſuperſtition ſufficient for the purpoſes of poetry, the adoption of the machineries of romance, and the frequency and improvements of allegoric exhibition in the popular ſpectacles.

When the corruptions and impoſtures of Popery were aboliſhed, the faſhion of cultivating the Greek and Roman learning became univerſal: and the literary character was no longer appropriated to ſcholars by profeſſion, but aſſumed by the nobility and gentry. The eccleſiaſtics had found it their intereſt to keep the languages of antiquity to themſelves, and men were eager to know what had been ſo long injuriouſly concealed. Truth propagates truth, and the mantle of myſtery was removed not only from religion, but from literature. The laity, who had now been taught to aſſert their natural privileges, became impatient of the old monopoly of knowledge, and demanded admittance to the uſurpations of the clergy. The general curioſity for new diſcoveries, heightened either by juſt or imaginary ideas of the treaſures contained in the Greek and Roman writers, excited all perſons of leiſure and fortune to ſtudy the claſſics. The pedantry of the preſent age was the politeneſs of the laſt. An accurate comprehenſion of the phraſeology and peculiarities of the antient poets, hiſtorians and orators, which yet ſeldom went farther than a kind of technical erudition, was an indiſpenſable and almoſt the principal

pal object in the circle of a gentleman's education. Every young lady of fashion was carefully instructed in classical letters; and the daughter of a duchess was taught, not only to distil strong waters, but to construe Greek. Among the learned females of high distinction, Queen Elizabeth herself was the most conspicuous. Roger Ascham, her preceptor, speaks with rapture of her astonishing progress in the Greek nouns; and declares with no small degree of triumph, that during a long residence at Windsor castle, she was accustomed to read more Greek in a day, than "some prebendary of that church did Latin, in one week." And although perhaps a princess looking out words in a lexicon, and writting down hard phrases from Plutarch's Lives, may be thought at present a more incompatible and extraordinary character, than a canon of Windsor understanding no Greek and but little Latin, yet Elizabeth's passion for these acquisitions was then natural, and resulted from the genius and habitudes of her age.

The books of antiquity being thus familiarised to the great, every thing was tinctured with antient history and mythology. The heathen gods, although discountenanced by the Calvinists on a suspicion of their tending to cherish and revive a spirit of idolatry, came into general vogue. When the queen paraded through a country-town, almost every pageant was a pantheon. When she paid a visit at the house of any of her nobility, at entering the hall she was saluted by the Penates, and conducted to her privy-chamber by Mercury. Even the pastry-cooks were expert mythologists. At dinner select transformations of Ovid's metamorphoses were exhibited in confectionary: and the splendid iceing of an immense historic plumb-cake, was embossed with a delicious basso-relievo of the destruction of Troy. In the afternoon, when she condescended to walk in the garden, the lake was covered with Tritons and Nereids; the pages of the family were converted into Wood-nymphs who peeped from every bower; and the footmen gamboled over the lawns in the figure of Satyrs. I speak it without designing to insinuate any unfavourable suspicions, but it seems difficult to say, why Elizabeth's virginity should have been made the theme of perpetual and excessive panegyric: nor does it immediately appear, that there is less merit or glory in a married than a maiden queen. Yet, the next morning, after sleeping in a room hung with the tapestry of the voyage of Eneas, when her majesty hunted in the park, she was met by Diana, who pronouncing our royal prude to be the brightest paragon of unspotted chastity, invited her to groves free from the intrusions of Acteon. The truth is, she was so profusely flattered for this virtue, because it was esteemed the characteristical ornament of the heroines, as fantastic honour was the chief pride of the champions, of the old barbarous romance. It was in conformity to the sentiments of chivalry, which still continued in vogue, that she was celebrated for chastity: the compliment, however, was paid in a classical allusion.

Queens

Queens muſt be ridiculous when they would appear as women. The ſofter attractions of ſex vaniſh on the throne. Elizabeth ſought all occaſions of being extolled for her beauty, of which indeed in the prime of her youth ſhe poſſeſſed but a ſmall ſhare, whatever might have been her pretenſions to abſolute virginity. Notwithſtanding her exaggerated habits of dignity and ceremony, and a certain affectation of imperial ſeverity, ſhe did not perceive this ambition of being complimented for beauty, to be an idle and unpardonable levity, totally inconſiſtent with her high ſtation and character. As ſhe conquered all nations with her arms, it matters not what were the triumphs of her eyes. Of what conſequence was the complexion of the miſtreſs of the world? Not leſs vain of her perſon than her politics, this ſtately coquet, the guardian of the Proteſtant faith, the terror of the ſea, the mediatrix of the factions of France, and the ſcourge of Spain, was infinitely mortified, if an embaſſador, at the firſt audience, did not tell her ſhe was the fineſt woman in Europe. No negociation ſucceeded unleſs ſhe was addreſſed as a goddeſs. Encomiaſtic harangues drawn from this topic, even on the ſuppoſition of youth and beauty, were ſurely ſuperfluous, unſuitable, and unworthy; and were offered and received with an equal impropriety. Yet when ſhe rode through the ſtreets of the city of Norwich, Cupid, at the command of the mayor and aldermen, advancing from a groupe of gods who had left Olympus to grace the proceſſion, gave her a golden arrow, the moſt effective weapon of his well-furniſhed quiver, which under the influence of ſuch irreſiſtible charms was ſure to wound the moſt obdurate heart. "A gift, ſays Honeſt Holinſhed, which her majeſty, now verging to her fiftieth year, received very thankfully." In one of the fulſome interludes at court, where ſhe was preſent, the ſinging-boys of her chapel preſented the ſtory of the three rival goddeſſes on Mount Ida, to which her majeſty was ingeniouſly added as a fourth: and Paris was arraigned in form for adjudging the golden apple to Venus, which was due to the queen alone.

This inundation of claſſical pedantry ſoon infected our poetry. Our writers, already trained in the ſchool of fancy, were ſuddenly dazzled with theſe novel imaginations, and the divinities and heroes of pagan antiquity decorated every compoſition. The perpetual alluſions to antient fable were often introduced without the leaſt regard to propriety. Shakeſpeare's Mrs. Page, who is not intended in any degree to be a learned or an affected lady, laughing at the cumberſome courtſhip of her corpulent lover Falſtaffe, ſays, "I had rather be a gianteſs and lie under mount Pelion." This familiarity with the Pagan ſtory was not, however, ſo much owing to the prevailing ſtudy of the original authors, as to the numerous Engliſh verſions of them, which were conſequently made. The tranſlations of the claſſics, which now employed every pen, gave a currency and a celebrity to theſe fancies, and had the effect of diffuſing them among

the people. No ſooner were they delivered from the pale of the ſcholaſtic languages, than they acquired a general notoriety. Ovid's metamorphoſes juſt tranſlated by Golding, to inſtance no farther, diſcloſed a new world of fiction, even to the illiterate. As we had now all the antient fables, in Engliſh, learned alluſions, whether in a poem or a pageant, were no longer obſcure and unintelligible to common readers and common ſpectators. And here we are led to obſerve, that at this reſtoration of the claſſics, we were firſt ſtruck only with their fabulous inventions. We did not attend to their regularity of deſign and juſtneſs of ſentiment. A rude age, beginning to read theſe writers, imitated their extravagancies, not their natural beauties. And theſe, like other novelties, were purſued to a blameable exceſs.

I have before given a ſketch of the introduction of claſſical ſtories, in the ſplendid ſhow exhibited at the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn. But that is a rare and a premature inſtance: and the Pagan fictions are there complicated with the barbariſms of the Catholic worſhip, and the doctrines of Scholaſtic theology. Claſſical learning was not then ſo widely ſpread, either by ſtudy or tranſlation, as to bring theſe learned ſpectacles into faſhion, to frame them with ſufficient ſkill, and to preſent them with propriety.

Another capital ſource of the poetry peculiar to this period, conſiſted in the numerous tranſlations of Italian tales into Engliſh. Theſe narratives, not dealing altogether in romantic inventions, but in real life and manners, and in artful arrangements of fictitious yet probable events, afforded a new gratification to a people which yet retained their antient reliſh for tale-telling, and became the faſhionable amuſement of all who profeſſed to read for pleaſure. They gave riſe to innumerable plays and poems, which would not otherwiſe have exiſted; and turned the thoughts of our writers to new inventions of the ſame kind. Before theſe books became common, affecting ſituations, the combination of incident, and the pathos of cataſtrophe, were almoſt unknown. Diſtreſs, eſpecially that ariſing from the conflicts of the tender paſſion, had not yet been ſhewn in its moſt intereſting forms. It was hence our poets, particularly the dramatic, borrowed ideas of a legitimate plot, and the complication of facts neceſſary to conſtitute a ſtory either of the comic or tragic ſpecies. In proportion as knowledge increaſed, genius had wanted ſubjects and materials. Theſe pieces uſurped the place of legends and chronicles. And although the old hiſtorical ſongs of the miniſtrels contained much bold adventure, heroic enterpriſe, and ſtrong touches of rude delineation, yet they failed in that multiplication and diſpoſition of circumſtances, and in that deſcription of characters and events approaching nearer to truth and reality, which were demanded by a more diſcerning and curious age. Even the rugged features of the original Gothic romance were ſoftened by this ſort of reading: and the Italion paſtoral, yet with ſome mixture of the kind of incident deſcribed in Heliodorus's Ethiopic hiſtory

hiſtory now newly tranſlated, was engrafted on the feudal manners in Sydney's Arcadia.

But the reformation had not yet deſtroyed every deluſion, nor diſinchanted all the ſtrong holds of ſuperſtition. A few dim characters were yet legible in the mouldering creed of tradition. Every goblin of ignorance did not vaniſh at the firſt glimmerings of the morning of ſcience. Reaſon ſuffered a few demons ſtill to linger, which ſhe choſe to retain in her ſervice under the guidance of poetry. Men believed, or were willing to believe, that ſpirits were yet hovering around, who brought with them *airs from heaven, or blaſts from hell,* that the ghoſt was duely releaſed from his priſon of torment at the ſound of the curfue, and that fairies imprinted myſterious circles on the turf by moonlight. Much of this credulity was even conſecrated by the name of ſcience and profound ſpeculation. Proſpero had not yet *broken and buried his ſtaff*, nor *drowned his book deeper than did ever plummet ſound.* It was now that the alchymiſt, and the judicial aſtrologer, conducted his occult operations by the potent intercourſe of ſome preternatural being, who came obſequious to his call, and was bound to accompliſh his ſevereſt ſervices, under certain conditions, and for a limited duration of time. It was actually one of the pretended feats of theſe fantaſtic philoſophers, to evoke the Queen of the Fairies in the ſolitude of a gloomy grove, who preceded by a ſudden ruſtling of the leaves, appeared in robes of tranſcendent luſtre. The Shakeſpeare of a more inſtructed and poliſhed age, would not have given us a magician darkening the ſun at noon, the ſabbath of the witches, and the cauldron of incantation.

Undoubtedly moſt of theſe notions were credited and entertained in a much higher degree, in the preceding periods. But the arts of compoſition had not then made a ſufficient progreſs, nor would the poet of thoſe periods have managed them with ſo much addreſs and judgment. We were now arrived at that point, when the national credulity, chaſtened by reaſon, had produced a ſort of civilized ſuperſtition, and left a ſet of traditions, fanciful enough for poetic decoration, and yet not too violent and chimerical for common ſenſe. Hobbes, although no friend to this doctrine, obſerves happily, "In a good poem both judgment and fancy are required; but the fancy muſt be more eminent, becauſe they pleaſe for the *Extravagancy*, but ought not to diſpleaſe by *Indiſcretion.*"

In the mean time the Gothic romance, although ſomewhat ſhook by the claſſical fictions, and by the tales of Boccace and Bandello, ſtill maintained its ground; and the daring machineries of giants, dragons, and inchanted caſtles, borrowed from the magic ſtorehouſe of Boiardo, Arioſto, and Taſſo, began to be employed by the epic muſe. Theſe ornaments have been cenſured by the bigotry of preciſe and ſervile critics, as abounding in whimſical abſurdities, and as unwarrantable deviations from the practice of Homer and Virgil. The author of An Enquiry into the Life and

Writings of Homer is willing to allow a ſertility of genius, and a felicity of expreſſion, to Taſſo and Arioſto; but at the ſame time complains, that, "quitting life, they betook themſelves to aerial beings and Utopian characters, and filled their works with charms and viſions, the modern ſupplements of the marvellous and ſublime. The beſt poets copy nature, and give it ſuch as they find it. When once they loſe ſight of this, they write falſe, be their talents ever ſo great." But what ſhall we ſay of thoſe Utopians the Cyclopes and the Leſtrigons in the Odyſſey? The hippogrif of Arioſto may be oppoſed to the harpies of Virgil. If leaves are turned into ſhips in the Orlando, nymphs are transformed into ſhips in the Eneid. Cacus is a more unnatural ſavage than Caliban. Nor am I convinced, that the imagery of Iſmeno's necromantic foreſt in the Gieruſalemme Liberata, guarded by walls and battlements of fire, is leſs marvellous and ſublime, than the leap of Juno's horſes in the Iliad, celebrated by Longinus for its ſingular magnificence and dignity. On the principles of this critic, Voltaire's Henriad may be placed at the head of the modern epic. But I forbear to anticipate my opinion of a ſyſtem, which will more properly be conſidered, when I come to ſpeak of Spenſer. I muſt, however, obſerve here, that the Gothic and Pagan fictions were now frequently blended and incorporated. The Lady of the Lake floated in the ſuite of Neptune before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth: Ariel aſſumes the ſemblance of a ſea nymph, and Hecate, by an eaſy aſſociation, conducts the rites of the weird ſiſters in Macbeth.

Allegory had been derived from the religious dramas into our civil ſpectacles. The maſques and pageantries of the age of Elizabeth were not only furniſhed by the heathen divinities, but often by the virtues and vices perſonated, ſignificantly decorated, accurately diſtinguiſhed by their proper types, and repreſented by living actors. The antient ſymbolical ſhews of this ſort began now to loſe their old barbariſm and a mixture of religion, and to aſſume a degree of poetical elegance and preciſion. Nor was it only in the conformation of particular figures that much fancy was ſhewn, but in the contexture of ſome of the fables or devices preſented by groupes of ideal perſonages. Theſe exhibitions quickened creative invention, and reflected back on poetry what poetry had given. From their familiarity and public nature, they formed a national taſte for allegory; and the allegorical poets were now writing to the people. Even romance was turned into this channel. In the Fairy Queen, allegory is wrought upon chivalry, and the feats and figments of Arthur's round table are moralized. The virtues of magnificence and chaſtity are here perſonified: but they are imaged with the forms, and under the agency of romantic knights and damſels. What was an after-thought in Taſſo, appears to have been Spenſer's premeditated and primary deſign. In the mean time, we muſt not confound theſe moral combatants of the Fairy Queen with

with ſome of its other embodied abſtractions, which are purely and profeſſedly allegorical.

It may here be added, that only a few critical treatiſes, and but one Art of Poetry, were now written. Sentiments and images were not abſolutely determined by the canons of compoſition: nor was genius awed by the conſciouſneſs of a future and final arraignment at the tribunal of taſte. A certain dignity of inattention to niceties is now viſible in our writers. Without too cloſely conſulting a criterion of correctneſs, every man indulged his own capriciouſneſs of invention. The poet's appeal was chiefly to his own voluntary feelings, his own immediate and peculiar mode of conception. And this freedom of thought was often expreſſed in an undiſguiſed frankneſs of diction. A circumſtance, by the way, that greatly contributed to give the flowing modulation which now marked the meaſures of our poets, and which ſoon degenerated into the oppoſite extreme of diſſonance and aſperity. Selection and diſcrimination were often overlooked. Shakeſpeare wandered in purſuit of univerſal nature. The glancings of his eye are from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven. We behold him breaking the barriers of imaginary method. In the ſame ſcene, he deſcends from his meridian of the nobleſt tragic ſublimity, to puns and quibbles, to the meaneſt merriments of a plebeian farce. In the midſt of his dignity, he reſembles his own Richard the Second, the *ſkipping king*, who ſometimes diſcarding the ſtate of a monarch,

Mingled his royalty with carping fools.

He ſeems not to have ſeen any impropriety, in the moſt abrupt tranſitions, from dukes to buffoons, from ſenators to ſailors, from counſellors to conſtables, and from kings to clowns. Like Virgil's majeſtic oak,

———Quantum vertice ad auras
Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.

No Satires, properly ſo called, were written till towards the latter end of the queen's reign, and then but a few. Pictures drawn at large of the vices of the times, did not ſuit readers who loved to wander in the regions of artificial manners. The Muſe, like the people, was too ſolemn and reſerved, too ceremonious and pedantic, to ſtoop to common life. Satire is the poetry of a nation highly poliſhed.

The importance of the female character was not yet acknowledged, nor were women admitted into the general commerce of ſociety. The effect of that intercourſe had not imparted a comic air to poetry, nor ſoftened the ſeverer tone of our verſification with the levities of gallantry, and the familiarities of compliment, ſometimes perhaps operating on ſerious ſubjects, and imperceptibly ſpreading themſelves in the general habits of ſtyle and thought. I do not mean to inſinuate, that our poetry has ſuffered from the great change of manners, which this aſſumption of the gentler ſex, or rather the improved ſtate of female education, has produced. by giving elegance and variety to life, by enlarging the ſphere of converſation, and by multiplying the topics and enriching the ſtores

of wit and humour. But I am marking the peculiarities of compoſition: and my meaning was to ſuggeſt, that the abſence of ſo important a circumſtance from the modes and conſtitution of antient life, muſt have influenced the cotemporary poety. Of the ſtate of manners among our anceſtors reſpecting this point, many traces remain. Their ſtyle of courtſhip may be collected from the love-dialogues of Hamlet, young Percy, Henry the Fifth, and Maſter Fenton. Their tragic heroines, their Deſdemonas and Ophelias, although of ſo much conſequence in the piece, are degraded to the back-ground. In comedy, their ladies are nothing more than merry wives, plain and chearful matrons, who ſtand upon *charineſs of their honeſty*. In the ſmaller poems, if a lover praiſes his miſtreſs, ſhe is complimented in ſtrains neither polite nor pathetic, without elegance and without affection: ſhe is deſcribed, not in the addreſs of intelligible yet artful panegyric, not in the real colours, and with the genuine accompliſhments of nature, but as an eccentric ideal being of another ſyſtem, and as inſpiring ſentiments equally unmeaning, hyperbolical, and unnatural.

All or moſt of theſe circumſtances contributed to give a deſcriptive, a pictureſque, and a figurative caſt to the poetical language. This effect appears even in the proſe compoſitions of the reign of Elizabeth. In the ſubſequent age, proſe became the language of poetry.

In the mean time, general knowledge was increaſing with a wide diffuſion and a haſty rapidity.—Books began to be multiplied, and a variety of the moſt uſeful and rational topics had been diſcuſſed in our own language. But ſcience had not made too great advances. On the whole, we were now arrived at that period, propitious to the operation of original and true poetry, when the coyneſs of fancy was not always proof againſt the approaches of reaſon, when genius was rather directed than governed by judgment, and when taſte and learning had ſo far only diſciplined imagination, as to ſuffer its exceſſes to paſs without cenſure or controul, for the ſake of the beauties to which they were allied.

A ſhort Hiſtorical Account of Athens, from the time of her Perſian *Triumphs, to that of her becoming ſubject to the* Turks—*Sketch, during this long interval, of her Political and Literary State; of her Philoſophers; of her Gymnaſia; of her good and bad Fortune,* &c. &c.—*Manners of the preſent Inhabitants—Olives and Honey; from* Harris's *Philological Inquiries.*

HAVING mentioned Athens, I hope that celebrated city will juſtify a digreſſion, and the more ſo, as that digreſſion will terminate in events, which belong to the very age, of which we are now writing. But 'tis expedient to deduce matters from a much earlier period.

When the Athenians had delivered themſelves from the tyranny of Piſiſtratus, and after this had defeated the vaſt efforts of the Perſians, and that againſt two ſucceſſive invaders, Darius and Xer-

xes,

xes, they may be conſidered as at the ſummit of their national glory. For more than half a century afterwards they maintained, without controul, the ſovereignty of Greece.

As their taſte was naturally good, arts of every kind ſoon roſe among them, and flouriſhed. Valour had given them reputation; reputation given them an aſcendant: and that aſcendant produced a ſecurity, which left their minds at eaſe, and gave them leiſure to cultivate every thing liberal, or elegant*.

It was then that Pericles adorned the city with temples, theatres, and other beautiful public building. Phidias, the great ſculptor, was employed as his architect, who, when he had erected edifices, adorned them himſelf, and added ſtatues and baſſo-relievos, the admiration of every beholder. It was then that Polygnotus and Myro painted; that Sophocles and Euripides wrote; and not long after, that they ſaw the divine Socrates.

Human affairs are by nature prone to change, and ſtates as well as individuals are born to decay. Jealouſy and ambition inſenſibly fomented wars, and ſucceſs in theſe wars, as in others, was often various. The military ſtrength of the Athenians was firſt impaired by the Lacedæmonians; after that, it was again humiliated, under Epaminondas, by the Thebans; and laſt of all it was wholly cruſhed by the Macedonian, Philip.

But though their political ſovereignty was loſt, yet, happily for mankind, their love of literature and arts did not ſink along with it.

Juſt at the cloſe of their golden days of empire flouriſhed Xenophon and Plato, the diſciples of Socrates, and from Plato deſcended that race of philoſophers, called the Old Academy.

Ariſtotle, who was Plato's diſciple, may be ſaid, not to have invented a new philoſophy, but rather to have tempered the ſublime, and rapturous myſteries of his maſter with method, order, and a ſtricter mode of reaſoning.

Zeno, who was himſelf alſo educated in the principles of Platoniſm, only differed from Plato in the comparative eſtimate of things, allowing nothing to be intrinſically bad but virtue, nothing intrinſically bad but vice, and conſidering all other things to be in themſelves indifferent.

He too and Ariſtotle accurately cultivated Logic, but in different ways; for Ariſtotle chiefly dwelt upon the ſimple ſyllogiſm; Zeno upon that which is derived out of it, the compound or hypothetic. Both too, as well as other philoſophers, cultivated Rhetoric along with Logic; holding a knowledge in both to be requiſite for thoſe, who think of addreſſing mankind with all the efficacy of perſuaſion. —Zeno elegantly illuſtrated the force of theſe two powers by a ſimile, taken from the hand: the cloſe power of Logic he compared to the fiſt, or hand compreſt; the

* It was in a ſimilar period of triumph, after a formidable adverſary had been cruſhed, that the Romans began to cultivate a more refined and poliſhed literature.

diffuſe power of Logic, to the palm, or hand open.

I ſhall mention but two ſects more, the New Academy, and the Epicurean.

The New Academy, ſo called from the Old Academy (the name given to the ſchool of Plato), was founded by Arceſilas, and ably maintained by Carneades. From a miſtaken imitation of the great parent of Philoſophy, Socrates (particularly as he appears in the dialogues of Plato), becauſe Socrates doubted ſome things, therefore Arceſilas and Carneades doubted all.

Epicurus drew from another ſource; Democritus had taught him atoms and a void: by the fortuitous concourſe of atoms he fancied he could form a world, while by a feigned veneration he complimented away his gods, and totally denied their providential care, leſt the trouble of it ſhould impair their uninterrupted ſtate of bliſs. Virtue he recommended, though not for the ſake of virtue, but pleaſure; pleaſure, according to him, being our chief and ſovereign good. It muſt be confeſt however, that, though his principles were erroneous and even bad, never was a man more temperate and humane; never was a man more beloved by his friends, or more cordially attached to them in affectionate eſteem.

We have already mentioned the alliance between Philoſophy and Rhetoric. This cannot be thought wonderful, if Rhetoric be the art, by which men are perſuaded, and if men cannot be perſuaded, without a knowledge of human nature: for what, but Philoſophy, can procure us this knowledge?

It was for this reaſon the ableſt Greek philoſophers not only taught (as we hinted before) but wrote alſo treatiſes upon Rhetoric. They had a farther inducement, and that was the intrinſic beauty of their language, as it was then ſpoken among the learned and polite. They would have been aſhamed to have delivered Philoſophy, as it has been too often delivered ſince, in compoſitions as clumſy, as the common dialect of the mere vulgar.

The ſame love of elegance, which made them attend to their ſtile, made them attend even to the places, where their Philoſophy was taught.

Plato delivered his lectures in a place ſhaded with groves, on the banks of the river Iliſſus; and which, as it once belonged to a perſon called Academus, was called, after his name, the Academy. Ariſtotle choſe another ſpot of a ſimilar character, where there were trees and ſhade; a ſpot called the Lycæum. Zeno taught in a portico or colonade, diſtinguiſhed from other buildings of that ſort (of which the Athenians had many) by the name of the Variegated Portico, the walls being decorated with various paintings of Polygnotus and Myro, two capital maſters of that tranſcendent period*. Epicurus addreſſed

* Of theſe two artiſts it appears that Myro was paid, and that Polygnotus painted gratis, for which generoſity he had the teſtimony of public honours. Plin. N. Hiſt. L. XXXV. cap. 9. ſect. 35.

We

dreſſed his hearers in thoſe well known gardens, called after his own name, the Gardens of Epicurus.

Some of theſe places gave names to the doctrines, which were taught there. Plato's philoſophy took its name of Academic from the Academy; that of Zeno was called the Stoic, from a Greek word, ſignifying a portico.

The ſyſtem indeed of Ariſtotle was not denominated from the place, but was called Peripatetic, from the manner in which he taught; from his walking about, at the time, when he diſſerted. The term, Epicurean Philoſophy, needs no explanation.

Open air, ſhade, water, and pleaſant walks, ſeem above all things to favour that exerciſe, the beſt ſuited to contemplation, I mean gentle walking without inducing fatigue. The many agreeable walks in and about Oxford may teach my own countrymen the truth of this aſſertion, and beſt explain how Horace lived, while a ſtudent at Athens, employed (as he tells us)

—*inter* ſilvas Academi *quærere verum.*

Theſe places of public inſtitution were called among the Greeks by the name of the Gymnaſia, in which, whatever that word might have originally meant, were taught all thoſe exerciſes, and all thoſe arts, which tended to cultivate not only the body, but the mind. As man was a being conſiſting of both, the Greeks could not conſider that education as complete, in which both were not regarded, and both properly formed. Hence their Gymnaſia, with reference to this double end, were adorned with two ſtatues, thoſe of Mercury and of Hercules, the corporeal accompliſhments being patronized (as they ſuppoſed) by the God of ſtrength, the mental accompliſhments by the God of ingenuity.

It is to be feared, that many places, now called academies, ſcarce deſerve the name upon this extenſive plan, if the profeſſors teach no more, than how to dance, fence, and ride upon horſes.

It was for the cultivation of every liberal accompliſhment that Athens was celebrated (as we have ſaid) during many centuries, long after her political influence was loſt, and at an end.

We learn from hiſtory that the pictures, which adorned this portico, were four; two on the back part of it (open to the Colonnade), and a picture at each end, upon the right and left.

We learn alſo the ſubjects: on one of the ſides a picture of the Athenian and Lacedemonian armies at Oenoe (an Argive city) facing each other, and ready to engage: on the back ground, or middle part of the portico, the battle between the Athenians under Theſeus, and the Amazons: next to that, on the ſame middle, the Grecian chiefs, after the taking of Troy, deliberating upon the violence offered by Ajax to Caſſandra, Ajax himſelf being preſent, together with Caſſandra and other captive Trojan women: laſtly, on the other ſide of the portico oppoſite to the firſt, the triumphant victory at Marathon, the Barbarians puſhed into the moraſs, or demoliſhed, while they endeavoured to eſcape to their ſhips; Miltiades and the Greek leaders being to be known by their portraits.

When Alexander the Great died, many tyrants, like many Hydras, immediately ſprung up. Athens then, though ſhe ſtill maintained the form of her antient government, was perpetually checked and humiliated by their inſolence. Antipater deſtroyed her orators, and ſhe was ſacked by Demetrius. At length ſhe became ſubject to the all-powerful Romans, and found the cruel Sylla her ſevereſt enemy.

His face (which perhaps indicated his manners) was of a purple red, intermixed with white. This circumſtance could not eſcape the witty Athenians: they deſcribed him in a verſe, and ridiculouſly ſaid,

Sylla's face is a mulberry, ſprinkled with meal.

The devaſtations and carnage, which he cauſed ſoon after, gave them too much reaſon to repent their ſarcaſm.

The civil war between Cæſar and Pompey ſoon followed, and their natural love of liberty made them ſide with Pompey. Here again they were unfortunate, for Cæſar conquered. But Cæſar did not treat them like Sylla. With that clemency, which made ſo amiable a part of his character, he diſmiſſed them by a fine alluſion to their illuſtrious anceſtors, ſaying, that he ſpared the living for the ſake of the dead.

Another ſtorm followed ſoon after this, the wars of Brutus and Caſſius with Auguſtus and Antony. Their partiality for liberty did not here forſake them: they took part in the conteſt with the two patriot Romans, and erected their ſtatues near their own antient deliverers, Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, who had ſlain Hipparchus. But they were ſtill unhappy, for their enemies triumphed.

They made their peace however with Auguſtus, and having met afterwards with different treatment under different emperors, ſometimes favourable, ſometimes harſh, and never more ſevere than under Veſpaſian, their oppreſſions were at length relieved by the virtuous Nerva and Trajan.

Mankind during the interval, which began from Nerva, and which extended to the death of that beſt of emperors, Marcus Antoninus, felt a reſpite from thoſe evils, which they had ſo ſeverely felt before, and which they felt ſo ſeverely revived under Commodus, and his wretched ſucceſſors.

Athens, during the above golden period, enjoyed more than all others the general felicity, for ſhe found in Adrian ſo generous a benefactor, that her citizens could hardly help eſteeming him a ſecond founder. He reſtored their old privileges; gave them new; repaired their ancient buildings, and added others of his own. Marcus Antoninus, although he did not do ſo much, ſtill continued to ſhew them his benevolent attention.

If from this period we turn our eyes back, we ſhall find, for centuries before, that Athens was the place of education, not only for Greeks, but for Romans. It was hither, that Horace was ſent by his father; it was here that Cicero put his ſon Marcus under Cratippus, one of the ableſt philoſophers then belonging to that city.

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The ſects of philoſophers, which we have already deſcribed, were ſtill exiſting, when St. Paul came thither. We cannot enough admire the ſuperior eloquence of that apoſtle, in his manner of addreſſing ſo intelligent an audience. We cannot enough admire the ſublimity of his exordium; the propriety of his mentioning an altar, which he had found there; and his quotation from Aratus, one of their well-known poets.

Nor was Athens only celebrated for the reſidence of philoſophers, and the inſtitution of youth: men of rank and fortune found pleaſure in a retreat, which contributed ſo much to their liberal enjoyment.

The friend and correſpondent of Cicero, T. Pomponius, from his long attachment to this city and country, had attained ſuch a perfection in its arts and language, that he acquired to himſelf the additional name of Atticus. This great man may be ſaid to have lived during times of the worſt and crueleſt factions. His youth was ſpent under Sylla and Marius; the middle of his life during all the ſanguinary ſcenes that followed; and, when he was old, he ſaw the proſcriptions of Antony and Octavius. Yet though Cicero and a multitude more of the beſt men periſhed, he had the good fortune to ſurvive every danger. Nor did he ſeek a ſafety for himſelf alone; his virtue ſo recommended him to the leaders of every ſide, that he was able to ſave not himſelf alone, but the lives and fortunes of many of his friends.

When we look to this amiable character, we may well ſuppoſe, that it was not merely for amuſement that he choſe to live at Athens; but rather that, by reſiding there, he might ſo far realize philoſophy, as to employ it for the conduct of life, and not merely for oſtentation.

Another perſon, during a better period (that I mean between Nerva and Marcus Antoninus), was equally celebrated for his affection to this city. By this perſon I mean Herodes Atticus, who acquired the laſt name from the ſame reaſons, for which it had formerly been given to Pomponius.

We have remarked already, that viciſſitudes befal both men and cities, and changes too often happen from proſperous to adverſe. Such was the ſtate of Athens under the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and ſo on from Sylla down to the time of Auguſtus. It ſhared the ſame hard fate with the Roman empire in general upon the acceſſion of Commodus.

At length, after a certain period, the Barbarians of the north began to pour into the ſouth. Rome was taken by Alaric, and Athens was beſieged by the ſame. Yet here we are informed (at leaſt we learn ſo from hiſtory) that it was miraculouſly ſaved by Minerva and Achilles. The goddeſs it ſeems and the hero both of them appeared, compelling the invader to raiſe the ſiege.

It was thus we are told, that, many years before, Caſtor and Pollux had fought for the Romans; and that, many centuries afterwards, St. George, at Iconium, diſcomfited the Saracens —nay, ſo late as in the ſixteenth century, a gallant Spaniard, Peter de

de Pas, was ſeen to aſſiſt his countrymen, ſome months after his deceaſe, when they made an aſſault at the ſiege of Antwerp.

Inſtead of giving my own ſentiments upon theſe events, I chuſe to give thoſe of an abler man upon a ſimilar ſubject. After having related ſome ſingular ſtories of equal probability, Lord Bacon concludes with the following obſervation—

"My judgment (ſays he) is, that they (he means the ſtories) ought all to be deſpiſed, and ought to ſerve but for winter-talk by the fire-ſide. Though when I ſay deſpiſed, I mean it as for belief; for otherwiſe the ſpreading or publiſhing of them is in no ſort to be deſpiſed, for they have done much miſchief."

Syneſius, who lived in the fifth century, viſited Athens, and gives in his epiſtles an account of his viſit. Its luſtre appears at that time to have been greatly diminiſhed. Among other things he informs us, that the celebrated Portico or Colonnade, the Greek name of which gave name to the ſect of Stoics, had by an oppreſſive proconſul been deſpoiled of its fine pictures; and that, on this devaſtation, it had been forſaken by thoſe philoſophers.

In the thirteenth century, when the Grecian empire was cruelly oppreſſed by the Cruſaders, and all things in confuſion, Athens was beſieged by one Segurus Leo, who was unable to take it: and, after that, by a Marquis of Monſerrat, to whom it ſurrendered.

Its fortune after this was various; and it was ſometimes under the Venetians, ſometimes under the Catalonians, till Mahomet the Great made himſelf maſter of Conſtantinople. This fatal cataſtrophe (which happened near two thouſand years after the time of Piſiſtratus) brought Athens and with it all Greece into the hands of the Turks, under whoſe deſpotic yoke it has continued ever ſince.

The city from this time has been occaſionally viſited, and deſcriptions of it publiſhed, by different travellers. Wheeler was there along with Spon in the time of our Charles the Second, and both of them have publiſhed curious and valuable narratives.—Others, as well natives of this iſland, as foreigners, have been there ſince, and ſome have given (as Monſ. Le Roy) ſpecious publications of what we are to ſuppoſe they ſaw. None however have equalled the truth, the accuracy, and elegance of Mr. Stuart, who, after having reſided there between three and four years, has given us ſuch plans and elevations of the capital buildings now ſtanding, together with learned comments to elucidate every part, that he ſeems, as far as was poſſible for the power of deſcription, to have reſtored the city to its ancient ſplendor.

He has not only given us the greater outlines and their meaſures, but ſeparate meaſures and drawings of the minuter decorations; ſo that a Britiſh artiſt may (if he pleaſe) follow Phidias, and build in Britain, as Phidias did at Athens*.

Spon, ſpeaking of Attica, ſays

* This moſt curious and valuable book was publiſhed at London, in the year 1762.

that

that the road near Athens was pleaſing, and the very peaſants poliſhed. Speaking of the Athenians in general, he ſays of them —*ils ont une politeſſe d'eſprit naturelle, & beaucoup d'addreſſe dans toutes les affaires, qu'ils enterprenent**.

Wheeler, who was Spon's fellow-traveller, ſays as follows, when he and his company approached Athens—"We began now to think ourſelves in a more civilized country, than we had yet paſt: for not a ſhepherd, that we met, but bid us welcome, and wiſhed us a good journey—Speaking of the Athenians, he adds—This muſt with great truth be ſaid of them, their bad fortune hath not been able to take from them, what they have by nature, that is, much ſubtlety or wit. And again—the Athenians, notwithſtanding the long poſſeſſion that barbariſm hath had of this place, ſeem to be much more poliſhed in point of manners and converſation, than any other in theſe parts; being civil, and of reſpectful behaviour to all, and highly complimental in their diſcourſe†."

Stuart ſays of the preſent Athenians, what Spon and Wheeler ſaid of their fore fathers;—he found in them the ſame addreſs, the ſame natural acuteneſs, though ſeverely curbed by their deſpotic maſters.

One cuſtom I cannot omit. He tells me, that frequently at their convivial meetings, one of the company takes, what they now call, a lyre, though it is rather a ſpecies of guitar, and after a ſhort prelude on the inſtrument, as if he were waiting for inſpiration, accompanies his inſtrumental muſic with his voice, ſuddenly chanting ſome *extempore* verſes, which ſeldom exceed two or three diſtichs; that he then delivers the lyre to his neighbour, who, after he has done the ſame, delivers it to another; and that ſo the lyre circulates, till it has paſt round the table.

Nor can I forget his informing me, that notwithſtanding the various fortune of Athens, as a city, Attica was ſtill famous for olives, and Mount Hymettus for honey. Human inſtitutions periſh, but nature is permanent.

Concerning Natural Beauty; from the ſame Work.

BUT let us paſs for a moment from the elegant works of art to the more elegant works of nature. The two ſubjects are ſo nearly allied, that the ſame taſte uſually reliſhes them both.

Now there is nothing more certain, than that the face of inanimate nature has been at all times captivating. The vulgar, indeed, look no farther than to ſcenes of culture, becauſe all their views merely terminate in utility. They only remark, that 'tis fine barley; that 'tis rich clover; as an ox or an aſs, if they could ſpeak, would inform us. But the liberal have nobler views, and though they give to culture its due praiſe, they can be delighted with natural

* Spon, vol. II. p. 76. 92, edit. 8vo.

† Wheeler, p. 356. edit. fol.

beauties,

beauties, where culture was never known.

Ages ago they have celebrated with enthuſiaſtic rapture "a deep retired vale, with a river ruſhing through it; a vale having its ſides formed by two immenſe and oppoſite mountains, and thoſe ſides diverſified by woods, precipices, rocks, and romantic caverns." Such was the ſcene, produced by the river Peneus, as it ran between the mountains Olympus and Oſſa, in that well-known vale, the Theſſalian Tempe*.

Virgil and Horace, the firſt for taſte among the Romans, appear to have been enamoured with beauties of this character. Horace prayed for a villa, where there was a garden, a rivulet, and above theſe a little grove.

Hortus ubi, et tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons,
Et paulùm Silvæ ſuper his foret.

Sat. VI. 2.

Virgil wiſhed to enjoy rivers, and woods, and to be hid under immenſe ſhade in the cool valleys of Mount Hæmus—

—O! qui me gelidis in Vallibus Hæmi
Siſtat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra?

Georg. II. 486.

The great elements of this ſpecies of Beauty, according to theſe principles, were water, wood, and uneven ground; to which may be added a fourth, that is to ſay, lawn. 'Tis the happy mixture of theſe four, that produces every ſcene of natural beauty, as 'tis a more myſterious mixture of other elements (perhaps a ſimple, and not more in number) that produces a world or univerſe.

Virgil and Horace having been quoted, we may quote, with equal truth, our great countryman, Milton. Speaking of the flowers of Paradiſe, he calls them flowers,

——which *not nice art*
In beds and curious knots, but *nature boon*
Pours forth profuſe on hill, and dale, and plain.

P. L. IV. 245.

Soon after this he ſubjoins—

—— this was the place
A happy rural ſeat, of *various view.*

He explains this variety, by recounting the lawns, the flocks, the hillocks, the valleys, the grottos, the waterfalls, the lakes, &c. &c. and in another book, deſcribing the approach of Raphael, he informs us, that this divine meſſenger paſt

——Thro' groves of myrrh,
And flow'ring odors, caſſia, nard and balm,
A *wilderneſs* of ſweets; for Nature here
Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd *at will*

* *Eſt nemus Hæmoniæ, prærupta quod undique claudit*
Silva: vocant Tempe. *Per quæ Peneus ab imo*
Effuſus Pindo ſpumoſis volvitur undis,
Dejectuque gravi, &c.

Ovid. Metam. Lib. I. 568.

A fuller and more ample account of this beautiful ſpot may be found in the firſt chapter of the third book of Ælian's Various Hiſtory.

Her

Her virgin fancys, pouring forth more
sweet,
Wild *above rule* or art, *enormous bliſs.*—
P. L. IV. 292.

The painters in the preceding century ſeem to have felt the power of theſe elements, and to have transferred them into their landſcapes with ſuch amazing force, that they appear not ſo much to have followed, as to have emulated nature. Claude de Lorraine, the Pouſſins, Salvator Roſa, and a few more, may be called ſuperior artiſts in this exquiſite taſte.

Our gardens in the mean time were taſteleſs and inſipid. Thoſe who made them thought the farther they wandered from nature, the nearer they approached the ſublime. Unfortunately, where they travelled, no ſublime was to be found; and the farther they went, the farther they left it behind.

But perfection, alas! was not the work of a day. Many prejudices were to be removed; many gradual aſcents to be made; aſcents from bad to good, and from good to better, before the delicious Amenites of a Claude or a Pouſſin could be rivalled in a Stour-head, a Hagley, or a Stow; or the tremendous charms of a Salvator Roſa be equalled in the ſcenes of a Peircefield, or a Mount Edgecumb.

Not however to forget the ſubject of our inquiry.—Though it was not before the preſent century, that we eſtabliſhed a chaſter taſte; though our neighbours at this inſtant are but learning it from us; and though to the vulgar every where it is totally incomprehenſible (be they vulgar in rank or vulgar in capacity): yet, even in the darkeſt periods we have been treating, periods, when taſte is often thought to have been loſt, we ſhall ſtill diſcover an enlightened few, who were by no means inſenſible to the power of theſe beauties.

How warmly does Leland deſcribe Guy's Cliff; Sannazarius, his Villa of Mergilline; and Petrarch, his favourite Vaucluſe?

Take Guy's Cliff from Leland in his own old Engliſh, mixt with Latin—"It is a place meet for the muſes; there is ſylence; a praty wood; *antra in vivo ſaxo* (Grottos in the living rock); the river roling over the ſtones with a praty noyſe." His Latin is more elegant—*Nemuſculum ibidem opacum, fontes liquidi et gemmei, prata florida, antra muſcoſa, rivi levis et per ſaxa decurſus, nec non ſolitudo et quies Muſis amiciſſima.*

Mergilline, the villa of Sannazarius near Naples, is thus ſketched in different parts of his poems.

Exciſo in ſcopulo, fluctus unde aurea canos
Deſpiciens, celſo ſe culmine Mergilline
Attollit, nautiſque procul venientibus offert.
Sannaz. De partu Virgin. I. 25.

Ruſtis O! ſacræ, pelagique cuſtos,
Villa, Nympharum cuſtos et propinquæ
Doridos——
Tu mihi ſolos nemorum receſſus
Das, et hærentes per opaca lauros
Saxa: Tu, fontes, Aganippedumque
Antra recludis.
Ejuſd. Epigr. I. 2.

——*quæque in primis mihi grata miniſtra*
Otia, Muſarumque cavas per ſaxa latebras
Margillina; *novos fundunt ubi citria flores,*
Citria, Medorum ſacros referentia lucos.
Ejuſd. De partu Virgin. III. ſub. fin.

De

De Fonte Mergillino.

Eſt mihi rivo vitreus perenni
Fons, arenoſum prope littus, unde
Sæpe deſcendens ſibi nauta rores
Haurit amicos, &c.

Ejuſd. Epigr. II. 36.

It would be difficult to tranſlate theſe elegant morſels—'Tis ſufficient to expreſs what they mean, collectively—"that the villa of Mergillina had ſolitary woods; had groves of laurel and citron; had grottos in the rock, with rivulets and ſprings; and that from its lofty ſituation it looked down upon the ſea, and commanded an extenſive proſpect."

'Tis no wonder that ſuch a villa ſhould enamour ſuch an owner. So ſtrong was his affection for it, that, when during the ſubſequent wars in Italy, it was demoliſhed by the imperial troops, this unfortunate event was ſuppoſed to have haſtened his end*.

Vaucluſe *(Vallis Clauſa)* the favourite retreat of Petrarch, was a romantic ſcene, not far from Avignon.

"It is a valley, having on each hand, as you enter, immenſe cliffs, but cloſed up at one of its ends by a ſemi-circular ridge of them; from which incident it derives its names. One of the moſt ſtupendous of theſe cliffs ſtands in the front of the ſemicircle, and has at its foot an opening into an immenſe cavern. Within the moſt retired and gloomy part of this cavern is a large oval baſon, the production of nature, filled with pellucid and unfathomable water; and from this reſervoir iſſues a river of reſpectable magnitude, dividing, as it runs, the meadows beneath, and windings through the precipices, that impend from above."

This is an imperfect ſketch of that ſpot, where Petrarch ſpent his time with ſo much delight, as to ſay that this alone was life to him, the reſt but a ſtate of puniſhment.

In the two preceding narratives I ſeem to ſee an anticipation of that taſte for natural beauty, which now appears to flouriſh through Great Britain in ſuch perfection. It is not to be doubted that the owner of Margillina would have been charmed with Mount Edgecumb; and the owner of Vaucluſe have been delighted with Piercefield.

When we read in Xenophon, that the younger Cyrus had with his own hand planted trees for beauty, we are not ſurpriſed, though pleaſed with the ſtory, as the age was poliſhed, and Cyrus an accompliſhed prince. But, when we read that in the beginning of the 14th century, a king of France (Phillip le Bel) ſhould make it penal to cut down a tree, *qui a eſte gardè pour ſa beaulté*, which had been preſerved for its beauty; though we praiſe the law, we cannot help being ſurpriſed, that the prince ſhould at ſuch a period have been ſo far enlightened.

Some Account of Literature in Ruſſia, *and of its Progreſs towards being*

* So we learn from Paulus Jovius, the writer of his life, publiſhed with his poems by Grævius, in a ſmall edition of ſome of the Italian poets, at Amſterdam, in the year 1695.

civi-

civilized; from the Appendix to the ſame.

THE vaſt empire of Ruſſia extending far to the north, both in Europe and Aſia, 'tis no wonder that, in ſuch a country, its inhabitants ſhould have remained ſo long uncivilized. For culture of the finer arts it is neceſſary there ſhould be comfortable leiſure. But how could ſuch leiſure be found in a country, where every one had enough to do to ſupport his family, and to reſiſt the rigour of an uncomfortable climate? Beſides this, to make the finer arts flouriſh, there muſt be imagination; and imagination muſt be enlivened by the contemplation of pleaſing objects; and that contemplation muſt be performed in a manner eaſy to the contemplator. Now, who can contemplate with eaſe, where the thermometer is often many degrees below the freezing point? Or what object can he find worth contemplating for thoſe many long months, when all the water is ice, and all the land covered with ſnow?

If then the difficulties were ſo great, how great muſt have been the praiſe of thoſe princes and legiſlators, who dared attempt to poliſh mankind in ſo unpromiſing a region, and who have been able, by their perſeverance, in ſome degree to accompliſh it?

Thoſe who on this occaſion beſtow the higheſt praiſes upon Peter the Great, praiſe him, without doubt, as he juſtly deſerves. But if they would refer the beginning of this work to him, and much more its completion, they are certainly under a miſtake.

As long ago as the time of Edward the Sixth, Ivan Baſilowitz adopted principles of commerce, and granted peculiar privileges to the Engliſh, on their diſcovery of a navigation to Archangel.

A ſad ſcene of ſanguinary confuſion followed from this period to the year 1612, when a deliverer aroſe, Prince Pajanky. He, by unparalleled fortitude, having routed all the tyrants and impoſtors of the time, was by the Bojars or Magnates unanimouſly elected Czar. But this honour he, with a moſt diſintereſted magnanimity, declined for himſelf, and pointed out to them Michael Fædorowitz, of the houſe of Romanoff, and by his mother's ſide deſcended from the antient Czars.

From this period we may date the firſt appearances of a real civilizing, and a developement of the wealth and power of the Ruſſian empire. Michael reigned thirty-three years. By his wiſdom, and the mildneſs of his character, he reſtored eaſe and tranquillity to ſubjects, who had been long deprived of thoſe ineſtimable bleſſings—he encouraged them to induſtry, and gave them an example of the moſt laudable behaviour.

His ſon Alexis Michaelowitz was ſuperior to his father in the art of governing and ſound politics. He promoted agriculture; introduced into his empire arts and ſciences, of which he was himſelf a lover; publiſhed a code of laws, ſtill uſed in the adminiſtration of juſtice; and greatly improved his army, by mending its diſcipline. This he effected chiefly by the help of ſtrangers, moſt of whom were Scotch. Leſly, Gordon, and Ker, are the names of families ſtill exiſting in this country.

Theodore of Fædor ſucceeded his father

father in 1677. He was of a gentle diſpoſition, and weak conſtitution; fond of pomp and magnificence, and in ſatisfying this paſſion contributed to poliſh his ſubjects by the introduction of foreign manufactures, and articles of elegance, which they ſoon began to adopt and imitate. His delight was in horſes, and he did his country a real ſervice in the beginning and eſtabliſhing of thoſe fine breeds of them in the Ukraine, and elſewhere. He reigned ſeven years, and having on his death-bed called his Bojars round him, in the preſence of his brother and ſiſter Ivan and Sophia, and of his half brother Peter, ſaid to them; Hear my laſt ſentiments; they are dictated by my love for the ſtate, and by my affection for my people—the bodily infirmities of Ivan neceſſarily muſt affect his mental faculties—he is incapable of ruling a dominion like that of Ruſſia—he cannot take it amiſs, if I recommend to you to ſet him aſide, and to let your approbation fall on Peter, who to a robuſt conſtitution joins great ſtrength of mind, and marks of a ſuperior underſtanding.

Theodore dying in 1682, Peter became emperor, and his brother Ivan remained contented. But Sophia, Ivan's ſiſter, a woman of great ambition, could not bring herſelf to ſubmit.

The troubles which enſued; the imminent dangers which Peter eſcaped; his abolition of that turbulent and ſeditious ſoldiery, called the Strelitz; the confinement of his half-ſiſter Sophia to a monaſtery; all theſe were important events, which left Peter in the year 1689 with no other competitor, than the mild and eaſy Ivan; who, dying not many years after, left him ſole monarch of all the Ruſſias.

The acts at home and abroad, in peace and in war, of this ſtupendous and elevated genius, are too well known to be repeated by me. Peter adorned his country with arts, and raiſed its glory by arms: he created a reſpectable marine; founded St. Peterſburgh, a new capital, and that from the very ground; rendering it withal one of the firſt cities in Europe for beauty and elegance.

To encourage letters he formed academies, and invited foreign profeſſors not only to Peterſburgh (his new city) but to his antient capital Moſcow; at both which places theſe profeſſors were maintained with liberal penſions.

As a few ſpecimens of literature from both theſe cities have recently come to my hand, I ſhall endeavour to enumerate them, as I think it relative to my ſubject.

1. Plutarchus περὶ Δυσωπίας, καὶ περὶ Τύχης—Gr. Lat. *cum animadverſionibus Reiſkii et alior.—ſuas adjecit Chriſtianus Fredericus Matthæi. Typis Univerſitatis Moſquenſis, an.* 1777, 8vo.

2. *Plutarchi libellus de Superſtitione, et Demoſthenis Oratio funebris*, Gr. Lat. *cum notis integris Reiſkii et alior.—ſuas adjecit Chriſt. Frider. Matthæi—Typis Cæſareæ Moſquenſis Univerſitatis, an.* 1778, 8vo.

3. *Lectiones Moſquenſes*, in two volumes, 8vo. bound together, and printed at Leipſic, an. 1779—they contain various readings in different authors, and ſome entire pieces, all in Greek collected from the libraries of Moſcow, and publiſh-

publiſhed by the ſame learned editor.

4. *Iſocratis, Demetrii Cyd. et Michael Glycæ aliquot Epiſtolæ nec non Dion. Chryſoſtomi Oratio*—Græc. *Typis Univerſitatis Cæſareæ Moſquenſis*—8vo.—By the ſame learned editor.

5. *Gloſſaria Græca minora, et alia Anecdota Græca*—a work, conſiſting of two parts, contained under one volume, in a thin quarto, by the ſame able profeſſor, printed at Moſcow by the Univerſity types, in the years 1774 and 1775. A catalogue of the ſeveral pieces in both parts is ſubjoined to the end of the ſecond part.—Among the pieces in the firſt part are, *Excerpta ex Grammaticâ Niceph. Gregoræ; ex Gloſſario Cyrilli Alexandrini; Gloſſarium in Epiſtolas Pauli*; *Nomina Menſium*;—thoſe of the 2d part are chiefly theological.

6. *Notitia Codicum Manuſcriptorum Græcorum Bibliothecarum Moſquenſium, cum variis Anecdotis, Tabulis Æneis, Indicibus locupletiſſimis—edidit Chriſt. Fridericus Matthæi — Moſquæ, Typis Univerſitatis, an.* 1776.

This publication, on a large folio paper, is as yet incomplete, only ſixty pages being printed off. It ends, *Partis primæ Sectionis primæ Finis.*

7. An ode to the preſent empreſs, Catharine, in antient Greek and Ruſſian.

8. An ode on the birth-day of Conſtantine, ſecond ſon to the Grand Duke, in antient Greek and Ruſſian—printed at Peterſburgh, and as we learn from the title, ἐν τῇ Αὐλοκρατορικῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῶν Ἐπιστημῶν, in the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

9. An ode to Prince Potemkin, antient Greek and Ruſſian, and printed (as before) an. 1780.

10. An ode, conſiſting of Strophe, Antiſtrophe, and Epode, antient Greek and Ruſſian, made in 1779, in honour of the Empreſs, the Great Duke and Ducheſs, and Alexander and Conſtantine, their two ſons, grandſons to the empreſs.

This ode was ſung in the original Greek by a large number of voices, before a numerous and ſplendid court, in one of the imperial palaces.

As I have a copy of this muſic, I cannot omit obſerving, that it is a genuine exemplar of the antient Antiphona, ſo well known to the church in very remote ages. On this plan two complete choirs (each conſiſting of trebles, counters, tenors, and baſes) ſing againſt each other, and reciprocally anſwer; then unite all of them; then ſeparate again, returning to the alternate reſponſe, till the whole at length concludes in one general chorus. The muſic of this ode may be called purely vocal, having no other accompanyment but that of an organ.

The compoſer was no leſs a man than the celebrated Paeſiello, ſo well known at preſent, and ſo much admired, both in Italy and elſewhere, for muſic of a very different character, I mean his truly natural and pleaſing burlettas.

Thoſe who are curious to know more of this ſpecies of muſic, may conſult the valuable gloſſary of Spelman, under the word Antiphona, and the ingenious muſical dictionary of Rouſſeau, under the word *Antienne.*

11. A ſhort copy of Greek elegiac verſes, printed at Peterſburgh,

burgh, in the year 1780, and addreſt to Prince Potemkin, with this ſingular title,

Ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῆς παμφαοῦς καὶ χαρμοσύνου ΓΟΡΓΕΙΟΦΟΡΙΑΣ, τῆς κοινοτέρως ΜΑΣΚΑΡΑΔΟΣ καλουμένης, ἣν κ. τ. λ.

Thus Engliſhed—A Poem, on the ſplendid and delightful Feſtivity, where they wear Gorgonian Viſors; more commonly called a Maſquerade; which Prince Potemkin celebrated, *&c. &c.*

A better word to denote a maſquerade could hardly have been invented, than the word here employed, Γοργειοφόρια. In attempting to tranſlate it, that I might expreſs one word, I have been compelled to uſe many.

12. A tranſlation of Virgil's Georgics from the Latin Hexameters into Greek Hexameters, by the celebrated Eugenius, famous for his treatiſe of logic, publiſhed a few years ſince in antient Greek at Leipſic. He was made an archbiſhop, but choſe to reſign his dignity. He is now carrying on this tranſlation under the protection of Prince Potemkin, but has as yet gone no farther, than to the end of the firſt Georgic.

The work is printed on a large folio paper, having the original on one ſide, and the tranſlation on the other. Copious notes in Greek are at the bottom of the ſeveral pages.

Take a ſhort ſpecimen of the performance.

Continuo, ventis ſurgentibus, aut freta ponti
Inciſſiunt agitata tumeſcere, et aridus altis
Montibus audiri fragor; aut reſonantia longe
Littora miſceri, et nemorum increbreſcere murmur.

Geor. I. 356.

Αὐτίκα, ἐγερομένων ἀνέμων, πορθμεῦς ἐπὶ πόντῳ
Ἄλς τε σαλευομένη ὀιδαίνει, καὶ κορυφαὶ δὲ
Οὔρεος ἄκραι τραχὺ βοᾶσιν· ἀτὰρ μακρόθεν γε
Ἀκταὶ τ' ἠνάλιοι ῥὰ βρέμονται, καὶ ἀιγιαλοὶ τε·
Σμερδαλέον πνοιῇσι δὲ μυκάεται αἶα καὶ ὕλη.

Of theſe various printed works, the firſt ſix were ſent me by the learned ſcholar above mentioned, Chriſtianus Fredericus Matthæi, from Moſcow; the laſt ſix I had the honour to receive from Prince Potemkin at Peterſburgh.

Beſides the printed books, the learned profeſſor at Moſcow ſent me a curious Latin narrative in manuſcript.

In it he gives an account of a fine manuſcript of Strabo, belonging to the Eccleſiaſtical Library at Moſcow.—He informs me, this MS. is in folio; contains 427 leaves: is beautifully written by one whom he calls a learned and diligent ſcribe, at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the ſixteenth century; and came, as appears by a memorandum in the manuſcript, from the celebrated Greek monaſtery at Mount Athos.

He adds (which is worth attention) that almoſt all the Greek manuſcripts, which are now preſerved at Moſcow, were originally brought thither from this monaſtery; and that, in the laſt century, by order of the Emperor Alexius Michaelowitz, and the Patriarch Nico, by means of the Monk Arſenius. So early in this country did a gleam of literature ſhew itſelf.

He ſtrongly denies the fact, that there is any other MS. of Strabo beſides this either at Moſcow, or at Peterſburgh.

Of

Of the preſent MS. he has been ſo kind as to ſend me collations, taken from the firſt and ſecond book.

After this he mentions the unpubliſhed hymn of Homer upon Ceres, and the fragment of another by the ſame poet upon Bacchus; both of which, ſince I heard from him, have been publiſhed by Runkenius at Leyden, to whom my correſpondent had ſent them from the Moſcowan Library.

He has been generous enough to ſend me copies of all the books he has publiſhed, for which valuable donation I take this public opportunity of making my grateful acknowledgments.

With regard to all the publications here mentioned, it is to be obſerved, that thoſe from Peterſburgh are ſaid to be printed in the imperial Academy of Sciences; thoſe from Moſcow, by the Types of the Imperial Univerſity; each place by its ſtile indicating its eſtabliſhment.

In juſtice to my ſon, his majeſty's miniſter to the Court of Ruſſia, it is incumbent upon me to ſay, that all this information, and all theſe literary treaſures, have been procured for me by his help, and through his intereſt.

I muſt not conclude without obſerving (though perhaps it may be a repetition) that the efforts to civilize this country did not begin from Peter the Great, but were much older. A ſmall glimmering, like the firſt day-break, was ſeen under Czar Iwan, in the middle of the ſixteenth century.

This dawn of civilizing became more conſpicuous a century afterwards, under Czar Alexius Michaelowitz; of whom, as well as of his ſon Theodore or Fædor we have ſpoken already.

But under the Great Peter it burſt forth, with all the ſplendor of a riſing ſun, and (if I may be permitted to continue my metaphor) has continued ever ſince to aſcend towards its meridian.

More than fifty years have paſt ſince the death of Peter; during which period, with very little exception, this vaſt empire has been governed by female ſovereigns only. All of them have purſued more or leſs the plan of their great predeceſſor, and none of them more, than the illuſtrious princeſs who now reigns.

And ſo much for literature in Ruſſia, and for its progreſs towards being civilized.

On the Advantages of a Taſte for the general Beauties of Nature. *By Dr.* Percival *of* Mancheſter.

Me vero primum dulces ante omnia muſæ
Accipiant! ———
—Rura mihi, et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes;
Flumina amem, ſylvaſque inglorius.
Virg. Georg. L. II. Lin. 475.

THAT ſenſibility to beauty, which, when cultivated and improved, we term taſte, is univerſally diffuſed through the human ſpecies: and it is moſt uniform with reſpect to thoſe objects, which, being out of our power, are not liable to variation, from accident, caprice, or faſhion. The verdant lawn, the ſhady grove, the variegated landſcape, the boundleſs ocean, and the ſtarry firmament, are contemplated with pleaſure by every attentive be-

holder. But the emotions of different ſpectators, though ſimilar in kind, differ widely in degree: and to reliſh, with full delight, the enchanting ſcenes of nature, the mind muſt be uncorrupted by avarice, ſenſuality, or ambition; quick in her ſenſibilities; elevated in her ſentiments; and devout in her affections. He, who poſſeſſes ſuch exalted powers of perception and enjoyment, may almoſt ſay, with the poet,

"I care not, Fortune! what you me
"deny;
"You cannot rob me of free Nature's
"grace;
"You cannot ſhut the windows of the
"ſky,
"Thro' which Aurora ſhews her bright-
"ening face;
"You cannot bar my conſtant feet to
"trace
"The woods and lawns, by living ſtream,
"at eve;
"Let health my nerves and finer fibres
"brace,
"And I their toys to the great children
"leave:
"Of fancy, reaſon, virtue, nought can
"me bereave *."

Perhaps ſuch ardent enthuſiaſm may not be compatible with the neceſſary toils, and active offices, which Providence has aſſigned to the generality of men. But there are none, to whom ſome portion of it may not prove advantageous; and if it were cheriſhed, by each individual, in that degree, which is conſiſtent with the indiſpenſable duties of his ſtation, the felicity of human life would be conſiderably augmented. From this ſource, the refined and vivid pleaſures of the imagination are almoſt entirely derived: and the elegant arts owe their choiceſt beauties to a taſte for the contemplation of nature. Painting and ſculpture are expreſs imitations of viſible objects: and where would be the charms of poetry, if diveſted of the imagery and embelliſhments, which ſhe borrows from rural ſcenes? Painters, ſtatuaries, and poets, therefore, are always ambitious to acknowledge themſelves the pupils of nature; and as their ſkill increaſes, they grow more and more delighted with every view of the animal and vegetable world. But the pleaſure reſulting from admiration is tranſient; and to cultivate taſte, without regard to its influence on the paſſions and affections, "is to rear a tree for its bloſſoms, which is capable of yielding the richeſt, and moſt valuable fruit †." Phyſical and moral beauty bear ſo intimate a relation to each other, that they may be conſidered as different gradations in the ſcale of excellence; and the knowledge and reliſh of the former, ſhould be deemed only a ſtep to the nobler and more permanent enjoyments of the latter.

Whoever has viſited the Leaſowes, in Warwickſhire, muſt have felt the force and propriety of an inſcription, which meets the eye, at the entrance into thoſe delightful grounds.

"Would you then taſte, the tranquil
"ſcene?
"Be ſure your boſoms be ſerene;
"Devoid of hate, devoid of ſtrife,
"Devoid of all that poiſons life:
"And much it 'vails you, in their place
"To graft the love of human race ‡."

Now ſuch ſcenes contribute powerfully to inſpire that ſereni-

* Thomſon's Caſtle of Indolence. † Shenſtone. ‡ Id.

ty,

ty, which is neceſſary to enjoy, and to heighten their beauties. By a ſecret contagion, the ſoul catches the harmony which ſhe contemplates: and the frame within, aſſimilates itſelf to that which is without. For,

"Who can forbear to ſmile with Nature?
"Can the ſtormy paſſions in the boſom
"roll,
"While every gale is peace, and every
"grove
"Is melody*?"

In this ſtate of ſweet compoſure, we become ſuſceptible of virtuous impreſſions, from almoſt every ſurrounding object. The patient ox is viewed with generous complacency; the guileleſs ſheep, with pity; and the playful lamb raiſes emotions of tenderneſs and love. We rejoice with the horſe, in his liberty and exemption from toil, whilſt he ranges at large through enamelled paſtures; and the frolics of the colt would afford unmixed delight, did we not recollect the bondage, which he is ſoon to undergo.

We are charmed with the ſongs of birds, ſoothed with the buzz of inſects, and pleaſed with the ſportive motions of fiſhes, becauſe theſe are expreſſions of enjoyment; and we exult in the felicity of the whole animated creation. Thus an equal and extenſive benevolence is called forth into exertion; and having *felt* a common intereſt in the gratifications of inferior beings, we ſhall be no longer indifferent to their ſufferings, or become wantonly inſtrumental in producing them.

It ſeems to be the intention of Providence, that the lower orders of animals ſhould be ſubſervient to the comfort, convenience, and ſuſtenance of man. But his right of dominion extends no farther; and if this right be exerciſed with mildneſs, humanity, and juſtice, the ſubjects of this power will be no leſs benefitted than himſelf. For various ſpecies of living creatures are annually multiplied by human art, improved in their perceptive powers by human culture, and plentifully fed by human induſtry. The relation, therefore, is reciprocal, between ſuch animals and man; and he may ſupply his own wants by the uſe of their labour, the produce of their bodies, and even the ſacrifice of their lives; whilſt he co-operates with all-gracious Heaven, in promoting happineſs, the great end of exiſtence.

But though it be true, that *partial evil*, with reſpect to different orders of ſenſitive beings, may be *univerſal good*; and that it is a wiſe and benevolent inſtitution of nature, to make deſtruction itſelf, within certain limitations, the cauſe of an increaſe of life and enjoyment; yet a generous perſon will extend his compaſſionate regards to every individual, that

* Thomſon's Seaſons, firſt edit.

Horace, when he breaks forth into the animated exclamation,

"*O, rus! quando ego te aſpiciam, quandoque licebit*
"*Nunc veterum libris, nunc ſomno et inertibus horis*
"*Ducere ſolicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ*;"

Hor. Sat. VI.

ſeems to regret the want of that heartfelt complacency, which the buſtle, pomp, and pleaſures of imperial Rome could not afford.

ſuffers for his ſake; and whilſt he ſighs

" Ev'n for the kid, or lamb, that pours
" its life
" Beneath the bloody knife *;"

he will naturally be ſolicitous to mitigate pain, both in duration and degree, by the gentleſt modes of inflicting it.

I am inclined to believe, however, that this ſenſe of humanity would ſoon be obliterated, and that the heart would grow callous to every ſoft impreſſion, were it not for the benignant influence of the ſmiling face of nature. The Count de Lauzun, when impriſoned, by Louis XIV., in the caſtle of Pignerol, amuſed himſelf, during a long period of time, with catching flies, and delivering them to be devoured by a rapacious ſpider. Such an entertainment was equally ſingular and cruel; and inconſiſtent, I believe, with his former character, and ſubſequent turn of mind. But his cell had no window; and received only a glimmering light from an aperture in the roof. In leſs unfavourable circumſtances, may we not preſume, that inſtead of ſporting with miſery, he would have releaſed the agonizing flies; and bid them enjoy that freedom, of which he himſelf was bereaved?

But the taſte for natural beauty is ſubſervient to higher purpoſes, than thoſe which have been enumerated; and the cultivation of it not only refines and humanizes, but dignifies and exalts the affections. It elevates them to the admiration and love of that Being, who is the Author of all that is fair, ſublime, and good in the creation. Scepticiſm and irreligion are hardly compatible with the ſenſibility of heart †, which ariſes from a juſt and lively reliſh of the wiſdom, harmony, and order ſubſiſting in the world around us; and emotions of piety muſt ſpring up ſpontaneouſly in the boſom, that is in uniſon with all animated nature. Actuated by this divine inſpiration, man finds "a fane in every ſacred grove ‡:" and glowing with devout fervour, he joins his ſong to the univerſal chorus: or muſes the praiſe of Almighty, in ſilence more expreſſive. Thus they

" Whom Nature's works can charm, with
" God himſelf
" Hold converſe; grow familiar, day by
" day,
" With his conceptions; act upon his plan;
" And form to his, the reliſh of their
" ſouls ¶."

* Lord Lyttelton. † See Gregory's Comparative View. ‡ Thomſon.
¶ Akenſide.

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1781. *Written by* WILLIAM WHITEHEAD *Esq; Poet Laureat.*

ASK round the world, from age to age,
Not where alone th' hiſtorian's page
Or poet's ſong have juſt attention won,
But even the feebleſt voice of fame
Has learnt to liſp Brittannia's name,
Aſk of her inborn worth, and deeds of high renown.
What power from Luſitania broke
The haughty Spaniard's galling yoke?
Who bade the Belgian mounds with freedom ring?
Who fix'd ſo oft, with ſtrength ſupreme,
In balanc'd Europe's nodding beam,
And rais'd the Auſtrian eagle's drooping wing?
'Twas Britain! Britain heard the nations groan,
As jealous of their freedom as her own.
Where'er her valiant troops ſhe led,
Check'd, and abaſh'd, and taught to fear,
The earth's proud tyrants ſtopp'd their mad career;
To Britain Gallia bow'd; from Britain Julius fled.
Why then when round her fair protectreſs' brow
The dark clouds gather, and the tempeſts blow,
With folded arms, at eaſe reclin'd,
Does Europe ſit? or, more unkind,
Why fraudently aid th' inſidious plan?
The foes of Britain are the foes of man.
Alas! her glory ſoars too high,
Her radiant Star of Liberty
Has bid too long th' aſtoniſh'd nations gaze.
That glory which they once admir'd,
That glory in their cauſe acquir'd,
That glory burns too bright, they cannot bear the blaze!
Then, Britons, by experience wiſe,
Court not an envious or a timid friend;
Firm in thyſelf undaunted riſe,
On thy own arm, and righteous Heaven depend.
So, as in great Eliza's days,
On ſelf-ſupported pinions borne,
Again ſhalt thou look down with ſcorn
On an oppoſing world, and all its wily ways:

Grown greater from diſtreſs,
And eager ſtill to bleſs,
As truly generous as thou'rt truly brave,
Again ſhall cruſh the proud, again the conquer'd ſave.

ODE *for the* KING'S BIRTH-DAY, *June* 4, 1781. *By* W. WHITEHEAD, *Eſq*; *Poet Laureat*,

STILL does the rage of war prevail!
Still thirſts for blood th' inſatiate ſpear!
Waft not, ye winds, th' invidious tale,
Nor let th' untutor'd nations hear
That paſſion baffles reaſon's boaſted reign.
And half the peopled world is civiliſ'd in vain.

What are morals, what are laws,
What religion's ſacred name?
Nor morals ſoften, nor religion awes;
Pure though the precepts flow, the actions are the ſame.

Revenge, and pride, and deadly hate,
And avarice, tainting deep the mind.
With all the fury-fiends that wait,
As torturing plagues on human kind,
When ſhown in their own native light,
In truth's clear mirror, heavenly bright,
Like real monſters riſe;
But, let illuſion's powerful wand
Transform, arrange the hideous band,
They cheat us in diſguiſe;
We dreſs their horrid forms in borrow'd rays,
Then call them glory, and purſue the blaze.

O blind to Nature's ſocial plan,
And Heaven's indulgent end!
Her kinder laws knit man to man
As brother and as friend.
Nature, intent alone to bleſs,
Bids ſtrife and diſcord ceaſe;
"Her ways are ways of pleaſantneſs,
"And all her paths are peace."
Even this auſpicious day would wear
A brighter face of joy ſerene,
And not one ruffling gale of care
Diſturb the halcyon ſcene;
On lighter wings would Zephyr move,
The Sun with added luſtre ſhine;
Did Peace, deſcending from above,
Here fix her earthly ſhrine:

Here

Here to the Monarch's fondeſt prayer
A juſt attention yield,
And let him change the ſword of war
For her protecting ſhield.

Extract from "The TRIUMPHS OF TEMPER," *a Poem by Mr.* HAYLEY.

SCARCE had her radiant eyes * began to cloſe,
When to her view a friendly viſion roſe:
A fairy Phantom ſtruck her mental ſight,
Light as the goſſamer, as æther bright;
Array'd like Pallas was the pigmy form,
When the ſage Goddeſs ſtills the martial ſtorm.
Her caſque was amber, richly grac'd above
With down, collected from the callow dove:
Her burniſh'd breaſt-plate, of a deeper dye,
Was once the armour of a golden fly:
A lynx's eye her little ægis ſhone,
By fairy ſpells converted into ſtone,
And worn of old, as elfin poets ſing,
By Ægypt's lovely queen, a favourite ring:
Myſterious power was in the magic toy,
To turn the frowns of care to ſmiles of joy.
Her tiny lance, whoſe radiance ſtream'd afar,
Was one bright ſparkle from the bridal ſtar.
A filmy mantle round her figure play'd,
Fine as the texture, by Arachne laid
O'er ſome young plant, when glittering to the view
With many an orient pearl of morning dew.
The Phantom hover'd o'er the conſcious Fair
With ſuch a lively ſmile of tender care,
As on her elfin lord Titania caſt,
When firſt ſhe found his angry ſpell was paſt.
Round her rich locks Serena chanc'd to tie
An ample ribband of cærulean dye:
High o'er her forehead roſe the graceful bow,
Whoſe arch commanded the ſweet ſcene below:
The hovering Spirit view'd the tempting ſpot,
And lightly perch'd on this unbending knot;
As the fair flutterer, of Pſyche's race,
Is ſeen to terminate her airy chace,
When, pleas'd at length her quivering wings to cloſe,
Fondly ſhe ſettles on the fragrant roſe.
Now in ſoft notes, more muſically clear
Than ever Fairy breath'd in mortal ear,
Theſe words the viſionary voice convey'd
To the charm'd ſpirit of the ſleeping maid:

* Serena's.

"Thou

" Thou darling of my care, whoſe ripen'd worth
Shall ſpread my empire o'er the ſmiling earth;
Whom Nature bleſt, forbidding modiſh Art
To cramp thy ſpirit, or contract thy heart;
Screen'd from thy thought, nor in thy viſions felt,
Long on thy opening mind I've fondly dwelt;
In childhood's ſorrows brought thee quick relief,
And dry'd thy April ſhowers of infant grief;
Taught thee to laugh at the malicious boy,
Who broke thy playthings with a barbarous joy,
To bear what ills the little Female haunt,
The teſty nurſe, the imperious governante,
And that tyrannic peſt, the prying maiden aunt.
Now ripening years a nobler ſcene ſupply;
For life now opens on thy ſparkling eye:
Thy riſing boſom ſwells with juſt deſire,
Rapture to feel, and rapture to inſpire:
Not the vain bliſs, the tranſitory joys,
That childiſh woman feels in radiant toys;
The coſtly diamond, or the lighter pearl,
The maſſive Nabob, or the tinſel Earl.
Thy heart demands each meanner aim above,
Th' imperiſhable wealth of ſterling love;
Thy wiſh, to pleaſe by ev'ry ſofter grace
Of elegance and eaſe, of form and face!
By lively fancy and by ſenſe refin'd,
The ſtronger magic of the cultur'd mind!
Thy pure ambition, and thy virtuous plan,
To fix the variable heart of man!
Short is the worſhip paid at Beauty's ſhrine;
But laſting love and happineſs are mine:
Mine, tho' the earth's miſtaken, blinded race,
Deſpiſe my influence and my name debaſe;
Nor breathe one vow to that ætherial friend,
On whom the colours of their life depend.
But to thy innocence I'll now diſplay
The myſtic marvels of my ſecret ſway;
And tell, in this thy fate-deciding hour,
My race, my name, my office, and my power.
Firſt, hear, what wonders human forms contain;
And learn the texture of the female brain!
By Nature's care in curious order ſpread,
This living net is fram'd of tender thread;
Fine, as thy hand, ſome favour'd youth to grace,
Knits with nice art to form the mimic lace.
Within the center of this fretted dome,
Her ſecret tower, her heaven-conſtructed home,
Soft Senſibility, ſweet Beauty's ſoul!
Keeps her coy ſtate, and animates the whole,

Inviſible

Inviſible as Harmony who ſprings,
Wak'd by young Zephyr, from Æolian ſtrings;
Her ſubtle power more delicately fine,
Dwells in each thread, and lives in every line,
Whoſe quick vibrations, without end, impart
Pleaſure and pain to the reſponſive heart.
As Zephyr's breath the willing chord inſpires,
Whiſpering ſoft muſic to the trembling wires,
So with fond care I regulate, unſeen,
The ſofter movements of this nice machine!
TEMPER my earthly name, the nurſe of love!
But called SOPHROSYNE in realms above!
When lovely woman, perfect at her birth,
Bleſt with her early charms the wond'ring earth,
Her ſoul, in ſweet ſimplicity array'd,
Nor ſhar'd my guidance, nor requir'd my aid.
Her tender frame, nor confident nor coy,
Had every fibre tun'd to gentle joy:
No vain caprices ſwell'd her pouting lip!
No gold produc'd a mercenary trip;
Soft innocence inſpir'd her willing kiſs,
Her love was nature, and her life was bliſs.
Guide of his reaſon, not his paſſion's prey,
She tam'd the ſavage, man, who bleſs'd her ſway.
No jarring wiſhes fill'd the world with woes,
But youth was ecſtacy, and age repoſe."

DESCRIPTION *of the Sphere of* SENSIBILITY; *from the ſame Poem.*

" WELL may'ſt thou bend o'er this congenial ſphere;
" For Senſibility is ſovereign here.
" Thou ſeeſt her train of ſprightly damſels ſport,
" Where the ſoft Spirit holds her rural court:
" But fix thine eye attentive to the plain,
" And mark the varying wonders of her reign."
As thus ſhe ſpoke, ſhe pois'd her airy ſeat
High o'er a plain exhaling every ſweet;
For round its precincts all the flowers that bloom
Fill'd the delicious air with rich perfume;
And in the midſt a verdant throne appear'd,
In ſimpleſt form by graceful Fancy rear'd,
And deck'd with flower's; not ſuch whoſe flaunting dyes
Strike with the ſtrongeſt tint our dazzled eyes;
But thoſe wild herbs that tendereſt fibres bear,
And ſhun th' approaches of a damper air.
Here ſtood the lovely Ruler of the ſcene,
And Beauty, more than Pomp, announc'd the Queen.
The bending ſnow-drop, and the briar-roſe,
The ſimple circle of her crown compoſe;

Roſes

Roſes of every hue her robe adorn,
Except th' inſipid roſe without a thorn.
Thro' her thin veſt her heighten'd beauties ſhine;
For earthly gauze was never half ſo fine.
Of that enchanting age her figure ſeems,
When ſmiling Nature with the vital beams
Of vivid Youth, and Pleaſure's purple flame,
Gilds her accompliſh'd work, the female frame,
With rich luxuriance tender, ſweetly wild,
And juſt between the woman and the child.
Her fair left arm around a vaſe ſhe flings,
From which the tender plant Mimoſa ſprings:
Towards its leaves, o'er which ſhe fondly bends,
The youthful Fair her vacant hand extends
With gentle motion, anxious to ſurvey
How far the feeling fibres own her ſway:
The leaves, as conſcious of their Queen's command,
Succeſſive fall at her approaching hand;
While her ſoft breaſt with pity ſeems to pant,
And ſhrinks at every ſhrinking of the plant.
Around their Sovereign, on the verdant ground,
Sweet airy forms in myſtic meaſures bound.
The mighty maſter of the revel, Love,
In notes more ſoothing than his mother's dove,
Prompts the ſoft ſtrain that melting virgins ſing,
Or ſportive trips around the frolic ring,
Coupling with radiant wreaths of lambent fire,
Fair fluttering Hope and rapturous Deſire.
Unnumber'd damſels different charms diſplay,
Penſive with bliſs, or in their pleaſures gay;
And the wide proſpect yields one touching ſight
Of tender, yet diverſified, delight.
But, the bright triumphs of their joy to check,
In the clear air there hangs a duſky ſpeck;
It ſwells—it ſpreads—and rapid, as it grows,
O'er the gay ſcene a chilling ſhadow throws.
The ſoft Serena, who beheld its flight,
Suſpects no evil from a cloud ſo light;
For harmleſs round her the thin vapours wreath,
Not hiding from her view the ſcene beneath;
But ah! too ſoon, with Pity's tender pain,
She ſaw its dire effect o'er all the plain:
Sudden from thence the ſounds of Anguiſh flow,
And Joy's ſweet carols end in ſhrieks of woe:
The wither'd flowers are fall'n, that bloom'd ſo fair,
And poiſon all the peſtilential air.
From the rent earth dark demons force their way,
And make the ſportive revellers their prey.

Here

Here gloomy Terror, with a ſhadowy rope,
Seems, like a Turkiſh Mute, to ſtrangle Hope;
There jealous Fury drowns in blood the fire
That ſparkled in the eye of young Deſire;
And lifeleſs Love lets mercileſs Deſpair
From his cruſh'd frame his bleeding pinions tear.
But pangs more cruel, more intenſely keen,
Wound and diſtract their ſympathetic Queen;
With fruitleſs tears ſhe o'er their miſery bends;
From her ſweet brow the thorny roſe ſhe rends,
And, bow'd by Grief's inſufferable weight,
Frantic ſhe curſes her immortal ſtate;
The ſoft Serena, as this curſe ſhe hears,
Feels her bright eye ſuffus'd with kindred tears;
And her kind breaſt, where quick compaſſion ſwell'd,
Shar'd in each bitter ſuffering ſhe beheld.
The guardian Power ſervey'd her lovely grief,
And ſpoke in gentle terms of mild relief;
" For this ſoft tribe thy heavieſt fear diſmiſs,
" And know their pains are tranſient as their bliſs:
" Rapture and Agony, in Nature's loom,
" Have form'd the changing tiſſue of their doom:
" Both interwoven with ſo nice an art,
" No power can tear the twiſted threads apart:
" Yet happier theſe, to Nature's heart more dear,
" Than the dull offſpring in the torpid ſphere,
" Where her warm wiſhes, and affections kind,
" Loſe their bright current in the ſtagnant mind.
" Here grief and joy ſo ſuddenly unite,
" That anguiſh ſerves to ſublimate delight."
She ſpoke; and, e'er Serena could reply,
The vapour vaniſh'd from the lucid ſky;
The Nymphs revive, the ſhadowy Fiends are fled,
The new-born flowers a richer fragrance ſhed;
The gentle ruler of the changeful land,
Smiling, reſum'd her ſymbol of command;
Replac'd the roſes of her regal wreath,
Still trembling at the thorns that lurk beneath:
But, to her wounded ſubjects quick to pay
The tender duties of imperial ſway,
Their wants ſhe ſuccour'd, they her wiſh obey'd,
And all recover'd by alternate aid;
While on the lovely Queen's enchanting face,
Departed Sorrow's faint and fainter trace,
Gave to each touching charm a more attractive grace.
Now, laughing, Sport, from the enlighten'd plain,
Clear'd with quick foot the veſtiges of Pain;
The gay ſcene grows more beautifully bright,
Than when it firſt allur'd Serena's ſight.

Extracts

Extracts from the LIBRARY, *a Poem.*

NEAR theſe, and where the ſetting ſun diſplays
Through the dim window his departing rays,
And gilds yon columns, there on either ſide
The huge abridgements of the law abide;
Fruitful as vice the dread correctors ſtand,
And ſpread their guardian terrors round the land;
Yet, as the beſt that human care can do,
Is mixt with error, oft with evil too;
Skill'd in deceit and practis'd to evade,
Knaves ſtand ſecure for whom theſe laws were made,
And Juſtice vainly each expedient tries,
While Art eludes it, or while Power defies.
Ah! happy age, the youthful Poet cries,
Ere laws aroſe, ere tyrants bade them riſe;
When all were bleſt to ſhare a common ſtore,
And none were proud of wealth, for none were poor;
No wars, no tumults vex'd each ſtill domain,
No thirſt of empire, no deſire of gain;
No proud great man, nor one who would be great,
Drove modeſt Merit from its proper ſtate;
Nor into diſtant climes would Avarice roam,
To fetch delights for luxury at home;
Bound by no ties but thoſe by nature made,
Virtue was law, and gifts prevented trade.
Miſtaken youth! each nation firſt was rude,
Each man a chearleſs ſon of ſolitude,
To whom no joys of ſocial life were known,
Nor felt a care that was not all his own;
Or in ſome languid clime his abject ſoul
Bow'd to a little tyrant's ſtern controul;
A ſlave, with ſlaves his monarch's throne he rais'd,
And in rude ſong his ruder idol prais'd;
The meaner cares of life were all he knew,
Bounded his pleaſures, and his wiſhes few:
But when by ſlow degrees the Arts aroſe,
Taught by ſome conquering friends, who came as foes;
When Commerce, riſing from the bed of eaſe,
Ran round the land, and pointed to the ſeas;
When Emulation, born with jealous eye,
And Avarice, lent their ſpurs to Induſtry;
Then one by one the numerous laws were made,
Thoſe to controul, and theſe to ſuccour trade;
To curb the inſolence of rude command,
To ſnatch the victim from the Uſurer's hand,

To

To awe the bold, to yield the wrong'd redreſs,
And feed the poor with Luxury's exceſs.
Like ſome vaſt flood, unbounded, fierce, and ſtrong,
His nature leads ungovern'd man along;
Like mighty bulwarks made to ſtem that tide,
The laws are form'd, and plac'd on every ſide;
Whene'er it breaks the bounds by theſe decreed,
New ſtatutes riſe, and ſtronger laws ſucceed;
More and more gentle grows the dying ſtream,
More and more ſtrong the riſing bulwarks ſeem;
Till, like a miner working ſure and ſlow,
Luxury creeps on, and ruins all below;
The baſis ſinks, the ample piles decay,
The ſtately fabric ſhakes and falls away;
Primæval Want and Ignorance come on,
But Freedom, that exalts the ſavage ſtate, is gone.
— — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — —

Lo! where of late the Book of Martyrs ſtood,
Old pious tracts, and Bibles bound in wood;
There, ſuch the taſte of our degenerate age,
Stand the prophane deluſions of the ſtage;
Yet Virtue owns the tragic muſe a friend,
Fable her means, morality her end;
For this ſhe rules all paſſions in their turns,
And now the boſom bleeds, and now it burns;
Pity with weeping eye ſurveys her bowl,
Her anger ſwells, her terror chills the ſoul;
She makes the vile to virtue yield applauſe,
And own her ſceptre while they break her laws:
For vice in others is abhorr'd of all,
And villains glory in a villain's fall.
Not thus her ſiſter Comedy prevails,
Who ſhoots at folly, for her arrow fails;
Folly, by Dullneſs arm'd, receives no wound,
But harmleſs ſees the feather'd ſhafts rebound.
Unhurt ſhe ſtands, applauds the archer's ſkill,
Laughs at her malice, and is Folly ſtill.
Yet well ſhe paints, in her deſcriptive ſcenes,
What Pride will ſtoop to, what Profeſſion means;
How formal fools the farce of State applaud,
How Caution watches at the lips of Fraud:
The wordy variance of domeſtic life,
The tyrant Huſband, the retorting Wife;
The ſnares for Innocence, the lye of Trade,
And the ſmooth tongue's habitual maſquerade.
With her the Virtues too obtain a place,
Each gentle paſſion, each becoming grace;

The ſocial joy in life's ſecurer road,
Its eaſy pleaſure, its ſubſtantial good;
The happy thought that conſcious virtue gives:
And all that ought to live, and all that lives.
But who are theſe—methinks a noble mein,
And awful grandeur in their form are ſeen—
Now in diſgrace? What though neglect has ſhed
Polluting duſt on every reverend head;
What though beneath yon gilded tribe they lie,
And dull obſervers paſs inſulting by;
Forbid it ſhame, forbid it decent awe,
What ſeems ſo grave ſhould no attention draw:
Come let us then with reverend ſtep advance,
And greet—the ancient worthies of Romance.
Hence, ye prophane! I feel a former dread,
A thouſand viſions float around my head;
Hark! hollow blaſts through empty courts reſound,
And ſhadowy forms with ſtaring eyes ſtalk round;
See! moats and bridges, walls and caſtles riſe,
Ghoſts, fairies, dæmons, dance before our eyes;
Lo! magic verſe inſcrib'd on golden gate,
And bloody hand that beckons on to fate:
" And who art thou, thou little page, unfold?
" Say doth thy Lord my Claribel with-hold?
" Go tell him ſtraight, Sir Knight, thou muſt reſign
" Thy captive Queen—for Claribel is mine."
Away he flies: and now for bloody deeds,
Black ſuits of armour, maſks, and foaming ſteeds:
The Giant falls—his recreant throat I ſeize,
And from his corſlet take the maſſy keys;
Dukes, Lords, and Knights, in long proceſſion move,
Releas'd from bondage with my virgin love;—
She comes, ſhe comes in all the charms of youth,
Unequall'd love and unſuſpected truth!
Ah! happy he who thus in magic themes,
O'er worlds bewitch'd, in early rapture dreams,
Where wild Enchantment waves her potent wand,
And Fancy's beauties fill her fairy land;
Where doubtful objects ſtrange deſires excite,
And fear and ignorance afford delight.
But loſt, for ever loſt, to me theſe joys,
Which Reaſon ſcatters, and which Time deſtroys;
Too dearly bought, maturer judgment calls
My buſied mind from tales and madrigals;
My doughty Giants all are ſlain or fled,
And all my Knights, blue, green, and yellow, dead;
No more the midnight Fairy tribe I view
All in the merry moonſhine tipling dew;

Ev'n the laſt lingering fiction of the brain,
The church-yard Ghoſt, is now at reſt again;
And all theſe wayward wanderings of my youth,
Fly Reaſon's power, and ſhun the light of Truth.
With Fiction then does real joy reſide,
And is our reaſon the deluſive guide?
Is it then right to dream the Syrens ſing?
Or mount enraptur'd on the Dragon's wing?
No, 'tis the infant mind, to care unknown,
That makes th' imagin'd paradiſe its own;
Soon as reflections in the boſom riſe,
Light ſlumbers vaniſh from the clouded eyes;
The tear and ſmile, that once together roſe,
Are then divorc'd; the head and heart are foes;
Enchantment bows to Wiſdom's ſerious plan,
And pain and prudence make and mar the man.

Extract from SYMPATHY, *a Poem. By Mr.* PRATT.

ONCE, and not far from where thoſe ſeats are ſeen,
Juſt where yon white huts peep the copſe between,
A damſel languiſh'd, all her kin were gone,
For God who lent, reſum'd them one by one;
Diſeaſe and penury, in cruel ſtrife,
Had raviſh'd all the decent means of life,
E'en the mark'd crown, her lover's gift, ſhe gave,
In filial duty for a father's grave,
That ſo the honour'd clay which caus'd her birth
Might ſlumber peaceful in the ſacred earth,
Chim'd to its graſs-green home with pious peal,
While hallow'd dirges hymn the laſt farewell;
At length theſe piercing woes her ſenſe invade,
And lone and long the hapleſs wanderer ſtray'd,
O'er the bleak heath, around th' unmeaſur'd wood,
Up the huge precipice, or near the flood;
She mounts the rock at midnight's aweful hour,
Enjoys the gloom, and idly mocks the ſhower;
Now ſcorns her fate, then patient bends the knee,
And courts each pitying ſtar to ſet her free,
Then ſtarting wilder, thinks thoſe ſtars her foes,
Smites her ſad breaſt, and laughs amidſt her woes;
Oft would ſhe chace the bee, or braid the graſs,
Or crop the hedge-flower, or diſorder'd paſs;
Elſe, reſtleſs loiter in the pathleſs mead,
Sing to the birds at rooſt, the lambs at feed;
Or if a neſt ſhe found the brakes among,
No hand of her's deſtroy'd the promis'd young;

And when kind nature brought the balmy ſleep,
Too ſoon ſhe woke to wander and to weep;
Acroſs her breaſt the tangled treſſes flew,
And frenzied glances all around ſhe threw;
Th' unſettled ſoul thoſe frenzied glances ſpeak,
And tears of terror hurry down her cheek;
Yet ſtill that eye was bright, that cheek was fair,
Though pale the roſe, the lily bloſſom'd there.
A wandering ſwain the beauteous Maniac found,
Her woes wild warbling to the rocks around;
A river roll'd beſide, aghaſt ſhe ran,
Her vain fears ſtartling at the ſight of man;
And, ſave me, God! my father's ghoſt! ſhe cry'd,
Then headlong plung'd into the flaſhing tide.
The youth purſues—but wild the waters roſe,
And o'er their heads in circling ſurges cloſe,
Not Heav'n-born Sympathy itſelf could ſave;
Both, both alas! were whelm'd beneath the wave.
And lives the man, who ſenſeleſs could have ſtood
To ſee the victim buffet with the flood?
Whoſe coward cheek no tinge of honour feels,
Fluſh'd with no pride at what the Muſe reveals?
If ſuch a man, if ſuch a wretch there be,
Thanks to this aching heart, I am not he.
Hail, lovely griefs, in tender mercy giv'n,
And hail, ye tears, like drew-drops freſh from heav'n;
Hail, balmy breath of unaffected ſighs,
More ſweet than airs that breathe from eaſtern ſkies;
Hail, ſacred ſource of ſympathies divine,
Each ſocial pulſe, each ſocial fibre thine;
Hail, ſymbols of the God, to whom we owe
The nerves that vibrate, and the hearts that glow;
Love's tender tumult, Friendſhip's holy fires,
And all which beauty, all which worth inſpires,
The joy that lights the hope-illumin'd eye,
The bliſs ſupreme that melts in Pity's ſigh,
Affection's bloom quick ruſhing to the face,
The choice acknowledg'd, and the warm embrace:
Oh power of powers, whoſe magic thus can draw,
Earth, air, and ocean, by one central law;
Join bird to bird, to inſect inſect link,
From thoſe which grovel up to thoſe which think;
Oh, ever bleſt! whoſe bounties opening wide
Fill the vaſt globe, for mortals to divide,
Thy heav'nly favours ſtretch from pole to pole,
Encircle earth, and rivet ſoul to ſoul!
Ceaſe then to wonder theſe lov'd ſcenes impart
No more the uſual tranſport to my heart;

Tho'

Tho' modeſt Twilight viſit Eve again,
At whoſe ſoft ſummons homeward ſteps the ſwain;
Though from the breath of oxen in the vale,
I catch the ſpirit of the balmy gale,
And from the brakes the anſwering thruſhes ſing,
While the grey owl ſails by on ſolemn wing;
Nor wonder, if when morning blooms again,
In diſcontent I quit the flowery plain.
Thus the poor mariner, his traffic o'er,
Crouds ev'ry ſail to reach his native ſhore,
With ſmiles he marks the pennons ſtream to port,
And climbs the top-maſt maſt to eye the fort;
Dim through the miſt the diſtant land appears,
And far he ſlopes to hail it with his tears;
From foreign regions, foreign faces, come,
Anxious he ſeeks his much-lov'd friends at home,
Warm, and more warm, the ſocial paſſion glows,
As near and nearer to the place he goes;
Quick beats his heart as preſſing on he ſees
His own fair cottage canopy'd with trees;
For there, in bleſſed health, he hopes to find
His wife and cradled infant left behind;
Panting, he plucks the latch that guards the door,
But finds his wife, his cradled babe, no more!
Like ſome ſad ghoſt he wanders o'er the green,
Droops on the bloſſom'd waſte, and loaths the ſcene.

Extract from an EPISTLE *to a Young Gentleman, on his having addicted himſelf to the Study of Poetry. By* WILLIAM PRESTON, *Eſq. from the Gentleman's Magazine for Sept.* 1781.

AND would'ſt thou then in taſks of verſe engage?
Throbs thy young boſom with poetic rage?
Oh, truſt th' experienc'd; truſt me, deareſt boy,
The walks of Pindus ſeldom lead to joy.
In thoſe green paths, while yet 'tis morning, play;
Cull the wild flowers that riſe along the way;
In chaſing butterflies conſume thy prime,
Adorn thy temples with the ſhoots of rhyme:
Awhile thou may'ſt, if thus thy fancy leads;
But range not long in thoſe enchanted meads.
To grave purſuits and ſerious taſks retire,
Ere manhood riſes to meridian fire;
Leſt thou ſhould'ſt ſee (the noon in trifling paſt)
Thy ſun deſcend in poverty at laſt.
Yet Wiſdom's voice, thy ſoul did wiſdom ſway,
Would *inſtant* turn thy ſelf-deluding way;
Not one ſhort moment given to youthful heat,
One pauſe of dalliance, in the Muſes' ſeat:

Within their bowers a thouſand demons bide,
A thouſand ſnakes within their flow'rets hide.
A plaſtic God informs the Poet's mind,
He makes the beauteous which he does not find,
Diſplays th' ideal paradiſe around,
And ſmiles the barren heath to fairy ground;
His Midas' hands ennobled objects hold,
And feel and touch the meaneſt droſs to gold.
Ah fatal gift, what comfort canſt thou bring?
Leſs to the Bard than to the Lydian king.
Attendant Fancy, from the wilds of air,
Convokes the ſmiling families of Fair,
The beauteous elves that o'er creation rove,
Delightful children of almighty Love:
Prompt, at her call, the bright ideas throng,
And ruſh profuſely through the bloomy ſong.
At Fancy's ſide, the young-ey'd Paſſions ſtand,
Sweet bluſhing boys, in form, a cherub band;
The ſoul expands, to lodge the ſmiling train,
Ah, little fearful of the future pain!
Beneath his wings each veils a barbed dart,
Till deep it quivers in the bleeding heart,
Then marks, with cruel pride, his guilty ſkill,
And flutters round, in wantonneſs of ill.

— — — — — — — —
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Still thou would'ſt write.—To tame thy youthful fire,
Recall to life the martyrs of the lyre.
Lo, every face the lines of ſorrow bears,
And every wreath is wet with dropping tears;
Such deadly damps the verdant mead bedew,
It ſeems funereal as the Stygian yew.
Aſk of the train, and they perhaps may tell,
Around the bard what riſing comforts dwell,
What iſles of bliſs he finds in ſorrow's deep,
What golden viſions chear his fatal ſleep.
There Ovid mourns, along the Pontic plain,
The luckleſs paſſion, and th' unguarded train;
How frail and brief imperial friendſhips prove,
What giddy perils wait imperial love.
Once, the proud thing that met a Julia's fires,
Once the gay tutor of a young deſires;
Now faint and womaniſh, to tears reſign'd,
The feeble numbers ſpeak th' enervate mind.
His Julia's portrait all at random caſt,
His Art of Love is torn, and ſcatter'd o'er the waſte.
There honeſt Juvenal, whoſe manly page
Scourg'd the rank vices of a ſhameleſs age:

Swoln

Swoln with the ſurfeit of luxurious wealth,
Proud Rome imbib'd the bitter draught of health;
And what his portion?—read th' indignant ſtrain:
" The lot of virtue * is applauſe and pain.
" Ah, vain applauſe! the pain thou can'ſt not cure;
" Th' applauſe is tranſient, but the pains endure."
And he † who fitted to the deep-ton'd lyre
Polluted Thebes, th' inceſtuous ſon and ſire,
The father's curſe, the brother's deathleſs hate,
Th' eternal fiends that Cadmus' line await.—
Muſt the proud Muſe, in regal crimſon dy'd,
Crouch at a manager's inſulting pride?
When Paris' ‡ nod proſcrib'd the lofty ſong,
Vain were the ſceptred pall, and vain the buſkin'd throng.
Oh ſplended impotence of barren praiſe!
No golden apples crown the ſtarving bays§.
And hark, Laberius ‖, from the guilty ſtage,
Mourns the ſad remnant of diſhonour'd age.
When Cæſar's cruelty, with baſe controul,
Would rend the feelings of a generous ſoul;
Imperial ſpite deviſ'd the wounded taſk,
The knight degraded in the jeſter's maſk;
But ſhame recoiling mock'd th' infernal aim,
Flew from the bard, and ſmote the tyrant's name.
Ambition bade young Petrarch's ¶ eyes explore
The deep receſſes of the legal ſtore;
Religion woo'd him to the hallow'd toil
Of ſacred volumes by the midnight oil;
From lurid cells he drew, with pious hand,
The precious reliques of the claſſic band.

* Probitas laudatur & alget. † Statius. ‡ Paris, a famous actor.

§ Curritur ad vocem jucundam, & carmen amicæ
Thebaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,
Promiſitque diem, tantâ dulcedine captos
Afficit ille animos, tantâque libidine vulgi
Auditur; ſed cum fregit ſubſellia verſu,
Eſurit, intactam Paridi niſi vendat Agaven. JUVENAL.

‖ Julius Cæſar, by a moſt odious refinement in cruelty, deſiring to outrage the feelings of an ingenuous mind, compelled Laberius, a Roman knight, and a poet of ſome eminence, to perform a part in a farce on the public ſtage.—His ſpirited and pathetic lamentation on that occaſion is ſtill extant, and muſt equally excite our eſteem and compaſſion for the poet, and our deteſtation and contempt for the tyrant.

¶ Petrarch was deſigned for the ſtudy of the law by his father, and applied himſelf, for a while, with great application to that profeſſion. He afterwards went into the church, and was in great favour at the Pope's court. It is not generally known, that he was one of the great reſtorers of ancient literature, and made a very large collection of manuſcripts of the claſſics.

Beneath a heap of Gothic rubbiſh hurl'd,
And mingled fragments of a waſted world
(When, like an earthquake, the barbarians' hate
Broke the coloſſus of the Roman ſtate),
For ages ſunk, the Muſe of Tiber lay,
But Petrarch's hand reveal'd her to the day.
Unworthy paſſion came, with baſe controul,
And ſhrunk the ſinews of the mighty ſoul;
It curs'd his life, it dwindled all his fame,
It ſunk the ſcholar's in the lover's name.
What art ſhall ſooth, what counſel ſhall controul,
Th' eternal ſtorm of Taſſo's madding ſoul?
He ſhone, unrivall'd for the ſword and pen,
And curs'd he ſhone, beyond the lot of men.
Love, fear, reſentment, jealouſy, diſdain,
In wild ſucceſſion goad the tortur'd brain.
Might heavenly harpings ſooth th' infernal band,
Nor borrow'd lyre he needs, nor David's hand.—
Such ſtrains are thine:—perturbed noble mind,
Where ſhalt thou reſt?—or where a harbour find?
Thy days in exile or in priſon paſt,
In madneſs muſt thou ſeek repoſe at laſt.
See the bold Muſe exulting Tagus bore,
A wretched exile on a diſtant ſhore.
Hark, the ſwart eaſt unwonted ſtrains ſhall boaſt,
And chords angelic ſooth the burning coaſt.
From pain to pain thy wand'ring ſteps were led,
And ſhames and ſorrows crowded on thy head;
Wounds, want, and chains, thy ſoul by turns eſſay,
And, worſt and laſt, a petty tyrant's ſway:
Such was thy lot, Camoens; and fortune's hate
Had mark'd thy numbers for a ſilent fate;
But thy ſtrong hand her envious rage defy'd,
And ſnatch'd thy glory from the oblivious tide;
High o'er his head th' immortal tome he bore,
And ſtem'd the ſaucy main, and proudly gain'd the ſhore.—
Illuſtrious poet, what returns of praiſe,
What beams of comfort chear thy cloſing days?
An hoſpital receives th' indignant bard,
And beggars' alms the ſacred ſong reward.
Alas, how little can the vulgar eyes
Revere the poet, through the mean diſguiſe
Of abject want, and own th' ætherial flame!
And hail the nurſeling of eternal fame!
Thus, at ſome maſque, unhonour'd and unknown,
A prince is ſhrouded in the palmer's gown.

An ODE *in Imitation of* ALCÆUS.

Οὐ λίθοι, οὐδὲ ξύλα, οὐδὲ
Τέχνη τειλοίων αἱ πόλεις εἰσὶν,
Ἀλλ' ὅπου ποτ' ἄνδρες
Αὐτὰς σώζειν ἐθέλωσι,
Ἐνταῦθα τείχη καὶ πόλεις.

ALC. quoted by ARISTIDES.

WHAT conſtitutes a ſtate?
Not high-rais'd battlement of labour'd mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud with ſpires and turrets crown'd;
Not bays and broad-arm'd ports,
Where, laughing at the ſtorm, rich navies ride;
Not ſtarr'd and ſpangled courts,
Where low-brow'd baſeneſs wafts perfume to pride.
No:—MEN, high-minded MEN,
With pow'rs as far above dull brutes endued
In foreſt, brake, or den,
As beaſts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
Men, who their *duties* know,
But know their *rights*, and knowing dare maintain,
Prevent the long-aim'd blow,
And cruſh the tyrant while they rend the chain:
Theſe conſtitute a ſtate,
And ſov'reign LAW, *that ſtate's collected will*,
O'er thrones and globes elate
Sits Empreſs, crowning good, repreſſing ill;
Smit by her ſacred frown
The fiend *Diſcretion* like a vapour ſinks,
And e'en th' all-dazzling *Crown*
Hides his faint rays, and at her bidding ſhrinks.
Such was this heav'n-lov'd iſle,
Than Leſbos fairer and the Cretan ſhore!
No more ſhall Freedom ſmile?
Shall Britons languiſh, and be MEN no more?
Since all muſt life reſign,
Thoſe ſweet rewards, which decorate the brave,
'Tis folly to decline,
And ſteal inglorious to the ſilent grave.

ABERGAVENNY,
March 31, 1781.

HONORIA, *or the Day of* ALL SOULS, *a Poem.*
By Mr. JERNINGHAM.

The Scene of the following little Poem is ſuppoſed to be in the great Church of St. Ambroſe *at* Milan *the ſecond of November, on which Day the moſt ſolemn Office is performed for the Repoſe of the Dead.*

YE hallow'd bells, whoſe voices thro' the air
The awful ſummons of affliction bear:
Ye ſlowly-waving banners of the dead,
That o'er yon altar your dark horrors ſpread:
Ye curtain'd lamps whoſe mitigated ray
Caſts round the fane a pale reluctant day:
Ye walls, ye ſhrines, by melancholy dreſt,
Well do ye ſuit the faſhion of my breaſt!
Have I not loſt what language can't unfold,
The form of valour caſt in Beauty's mould!
Th' intrepid youth the path of battle tried,
And foremoſt in the hour of peril died.
Nor was I preſent to bewail his fate,
With pity's lenient voice to ſoothe his ſtate,
To watch his looks, to read while Death ſtood by,
The laſt expreſſion of his parting eye.
But other duties, other cares impend,
Cares that beyond the mournful grave extend:
Now, now I view conven'd the pious train,
Whoſe boſom ſorrows at another's pain,
While recollection pleaſingly ſevere
Wakes for the awful dead the ſilent tear,
And pictures (as to each her ſway extends)
The ſacred forms of lovers, parents, friends.
Now Charity a fiery ſeraph ſtands
Beſide yon altar with uplifted hands.
Yet, can this high ſolemnity of grief
Yield to the youth I love the wiſh'd relief?
Theſe rites of death—Ah! what can they avail?
Honorius died beyond the hallow'd pale.
Plung'd in the gulph of fear—diſtreſsful ſtate!
My anxious mind dares not enquire his fate.
Yet why deſpond? cou'd one ſlight error roll
A flood of poiſon o'er the healthful ſoul?
Had not thy virtues full ſufficing pow'r
To clear thee in the dread recording hour?
Did they before the judge abaſh'd remain?
Did they, weak advocates, all plead in vain?

By love, by piety, by reaſon taught,
My ſoul revolts at the blaſpheming thought:
Sure in the breaſt to pure religion true,
Where Virtue's templed, God is templed too.
Then while th' auguſt proceſſion moves along,
'Midſt ſwelling organs, and the pomp of ſong;
While the dread chaunt, ſtill true to Nature's laws,
Is deepen'd by the terror-breathing pauſe;
While 'midſt encircling clouds of incenſe loſt
The trembling prieſt upholds the *ſacred hoſt*;
Amid theſe ſcenes ſhall I forget my ſuit?
Amid theſe ſcenes ſhall I alone be mute?
Nor to the footſteps of the throne above
Breathe the warm requiem to the youth I love?
Now ſilence reigns along the gloomy fane,
And wraps in dread repoſe the pauſing ſtrain:
When next it burſts my humble voice I'll join,
Diſcloſe my trembling wiſh at Mercy's ſhrine,
Unveil my anguiſh to the throne above,
And ſigh the requiem to the youth I love.
—Does fancy mock me with a falſe delight,
Or does ſome hallow'd viſion cheer my ſight?
Methinks, emerging from the gloom below,
Th' immortal ſpirits leave the houſe of woe!
Inſhrin'd in Glory's beams they reach the ſky,
While choral ſongs of triumph burſt from high!
See, at the voice of my accorded pray'r,
The radiant youth aſcend the fields of air!
Behold!—He mounts unutterably bright,
Cloath'd in the ſun-robe of unfading light!
Applauding ſeraphs hail him on his way,
And lead him to the gates of everlaſting day.

Account

Account of Books for 1781.

Philological Inquiries; *by* James Harris, *Esq.* 2 *vols.* 8vo.

IN an eminent rank amongſt the productions of this year is a treatiſe, entitled, *Philological Inquiries*, by the celebrated author of Hermes. A performance of this kind appears to be moſt ſuitable to, and what might naturally have been expected from the cloſe of a life, ſpent in the purſuit of knowledge, and in habits of deep and ſpeculative diſquiſitions. It is principally converſant with critical and hiſtorical reflections, and implies rather a judicial review of acquirements already made, than a laborious inveſtigation of new ſubjects: it embraces a wide compaſs of learning, and abounds in a variety of ſuch deep and philoſophical remarks, as diſplay the ſolidity and penetration of a judgment, evidently formed in the ſchool of Ariſtotle.

It has been frequently and juſtly regretted, that a depth of erudition is by no means the greateſt praiſe of modern writings; and that it is more the faſhion, perhaps from a vain affectation of originality, to admire the illegitimate productions of fancy, than to recur for juſt principles to the pure models of antiquity. This general failure, and contempt for antient literature, Mr. Harris wiſhed earneſtly to remove, and it is to be hoped he has laboured with ſome degree of ſucceſs, eſpecially when we conſider the great popularity of his writings, although profeſſedly founded upon the Greek philoſophy, and imitative in a cloſe degree of the manner of Ariſtotle: indeed it is the opinion of ſome, that in this laſt inſtance he has gone further than the genius of the Engliſh language ſeems to admit. However, any pecularity of this ſort is abundantly compenſated by an accuracy and preciſion peculiar to himſelf; and if our ingenious author hath not, upon this occaſion, entered ſo deeply into logic and metaphyſics, as he has done in his former more elaborate productions, it is to be remembered that the nature of the preſent work did not demand it; and it is a circumſtance ſo far in its favour, that it is thereby rendered of more general uſe, as it profeſſes to inſtruct by example, and not by demonſtration, and exhibits a ſeries of concluſions, rather than the principles, upon which thoſe concluſions are founded.

That happy method of arangement which diſtinguiſhes the works of

of Mr. Harris, is perhaps no where more eminently diſcoverable than in this treatiſe: in it he has introduced a great variety of ſubjects, and by an eaſy mode of tranſition has reconciled and reduced to a ſyſtem and to an unity of deſign matters, which, if conſidered in a ſeparate view, would appear of a nature perfectly extraneous. The author's own words will convey to the reader the moſt adequate idea of the plan of his work

"The treatiſe which follows, "is of the philological kind, and "will conſiſt of three parts, pro- "perly diſtinct from each other.

"The firſt will be an inveſti- "gation of the riſe and different "ſpecies of criticiſm, and cri- "tics.

"The ſecond will be an illuſ- "tration of critical doctrines and "principles, as they appear in "diſtinguiſhed authors, as well "antient as modern.

"The third and laſt part will "be rather hiſtorical than criti- "cal, being an Eſſay on the Taſte "and Literature of the middle "age."

In ſpeaking of the origin of criticiſm he illuſtrates his doctrine by a very appoſite and ſublime analogy.—"As the great events "of nature led men to admira- "tion, ſo curioſity to learn the "cauſe whence ſuch events "ſhould ariſe, was that, which, "by due degrees, formed natural "philoſophy. What happened "in the natural world, happen- "ed alſo in the literary. Exqui- "ſite productions both in proſe "and verſe induced men *here* "likewiſe to ſeek the cauſe; and "ſuch inquiries, often repeated, "gave birth to philology.

"Philology ſhould hence ap- "pear to be of a moſt comprehen- "ſive character, and to include "not only all accounts both of "criticiſm and critics, but of "every thing connected with "letters, be it ſpeculative, or "hiſtorical."

Agreeable to this introduction, he diſtinguiſhes the general word criticiſm, by three different ſpecies;—the *Philoſophical*, the *Hiſtorical*, and the *Corrective*. By the *Philoſophical*, he means "that original criticiſm, which is a deep and philoſophical ſearch into the primary laws and elements of good writing, as far as they could be collected from the moſt approved performances."

To prove that this ſpecies of criticiſm was ſubſequent to, and not productive of the firſt good writing; that there muſt have been good authors who made the firſt good critics, and not critics who made the firſt good authors, Mr. Harris argues thus. "Can "we doubt that men had muſic, "ſuch indeed as it was, before "the principles of harmony were "eſtabliſhed into a ſcience? that "diſeaſes were healed and build- "ings erected before medicine "and architecture were ſyſtema- "tiſed into arts? that men rea- "ſoned and harangued upon mat- "ters of ſpeculation and practice, "long before there were profeſt "teachers of logic or rhetoric?"

He accounts for the origin of the ſecond ſpecies, or the *Hiſtorical*, in a manner the moſt ſatisfactory. ——"We know from experience "that in progreſs of time, lan- "guages,

" guages, cuſtoms, manners, laws, " government, and relgiions, " change. The Macedonian ty- " rany, after the fatal battle of " Chæronea, wrought much of " this kind in Greece; and the " Roman tyranny after the fatal " battles of Pharſalia and Phi- " lippi, carried it throughout the " known world. Hence there- " fore of things obſolete, the " names became obſolete alſo,— " and authors who in their own " age were intelligible and eaſy, " in after days grew difficult and " obſcure. Here then we be- " hold the riſe of a ſecond race " of critics, the tribe of ſcho- " liaſts, commentators, and ex- " plainers."

With regard to the third and remaining ſpecies of criticiſm, it is obſerved, that as all antient books were preſerved by tranſcription; they were liable through ignorance, negligence, or fraud, to be corrupted either by retrenchings, by aditions, or alterations. —To remedy theſe evils, a third ſort of criticiſm aroſe, and that was the *Criticiſm Corrective*. The buſineſs of this ſpecies was to collate all the various copies of authority, and from the variety of different readings in ſuch copies, to eſtabliſh by good reaſons either the true, or moſt probable one.

In treating theſe three diſtinct branches of general criticiſm, our author has accurately developed their riſe and progreſs, from the earlieſt ages of antiquity to the preſent times.

In the ſecond part of the work, the author, agreeable to his plan, illuſtrates ſeveral critical principles, as they appear in diſtinguiſhed authors, as well antient, as modern. The maxim he lays down as the foundation of all critical knowledge or taſte is, to ſeek the *cauſe* or *reaſon*, as often as we feel the works of art and ingenuity affect us. A variety of illuſtrative inſtances are here produced, and the principal effects of poetry and painting are aſcribed to an oppoſition of contrary incidents, or to an accumulation of many that are ſimilar and congenial. Examples of the effects ariſing both from oppoſition and combination of incidents, are taken from the works of the beſt poets and painters, and ſtand as teſts of the truth of the principles themſelves.

Ariſtotle's definitions of a whole and its parts are followed by Mr. Harris, and are treated as eſſentials to the conſtituting of a legitimate work. But here our author goes further than his great guide and maſter, and maintains that this theory is perfectly applicable and eſſential to the minuteſt works, as well as to an epic poem; in ſupport of which poſition, an argument is drawn from Nature herſelf, which Art is ſaid to imitate.——" Not only the univerſe is one ſtupendous whole, but ſuch alſo is a tree, a ſhrub, a flower; ſuch thoſe things, which, without the aid of glaſſes, even eſcape our perception."—*Qualis ab incepto ſimplex duntaxat et unum*, is a rule, according to Mr. Harris, applicable to every literary production, of whatever ſtamp or character. In purſuing this Inquiry, he is led to the conſideration of Sentiment, and as Sentiment, and Manners, naturally riſe out of the fable in dramatic writings, he proceeds to a diſquiſition concerning the Drama, adopting the Ariſtotelic diviſion of it into its four great

great conſtituent parts—the Fable—the Manners—the Sentiment—and the Diction: to theſe may be added the ſcenery and the muſic. Of each of theſe he treats ſeverally and at large, and concludes the ſecond part of his work with a vindication of rules in oppoſition to thoſe, who affirm that they cramp Genius, and abridge it of certain principles.

The third and laſt part of theſe inquiries is an Eſſay on the Taſte and Literature of the middle Age; a period of near a thouſand years, and comprizing the interval between the fall of the Weſtern or Latin empire in the fifth century, and the Eaſtern or Grecian in the fifteenth.

There are three claſſes of men conſpicuous during this dark interval—the Byzantine Greeks—the Saracens or Arabians—and the Latins or Franks, inhabitants of Weſtern Europe. Each of theſe claſſes is in the preſent work conſidered apart, and the whole diſquiſition is judiciouſly interſperſed with a variety of hiſtorical anecdotes, and ſpecimens of manners, which beſides being entertaining, moſt exactly and beſt exhibit the character of the times.

Our author gives the precedence in this inquiry to the Greeks of Conſtantinople, and beſtows the higheſt encomiums on the uſeful labours of Simplicius and Ammonius, Greek authors who flouriſhed at Athens during the ſixth century. They are both well known for their valuable comments on Ariſtotle. Mr. Harris ſays, it is difficult to determine to what age we ſhall adjudge the two philoſophers juſt mentioned; "whether, to uſe his own words, to the commencement of a baſer age, or rather, if we regard their merit, to the concluſion of a purer. If we arrange them with the concluſion, it is as Brutus and Caſſius were called the laſt of the Romans."

In this part of his work our author is led into a digreſſion, apparently from his pure veneration and love for the ſubject of it, in which he gives a ſhort hiſtorical account of Athens *. He traces, with the ſpirit and accuracy of a perſon concerned, the good and bad fortune, the political and literary ſtate of that once flouriſhing ſeat of letters and of elegance, from the time of her Perſian triumphs to that of her becoming ſubject to the Turks. He then reſumes the thread of his ſtory, and gives us a long liſt of Byzantine ſcholars, with critical remarks on their works. Much praiſe is beſtowed on Suidas, Stobæus, Photius and others, who were the remaining luminaries of a darker age; to whoſe labours and ingenuity the cauſe of letters is much indebted for the preſervation and illuſtration of ſeveral precious remains of antiquity.

In the detail of this period we trace the gradual decline of humanity and good letters; although an extract given by our author from the Hiſtory of Nicetas the Chroniate proves, that a taſte for the fine arts had not entirely deſerted the imperial city even in the thirteenth century. This hiſtorian very feelingly laments the

* See p. 148—163. of this volume (2d Part), where this account is inſerted, and alſo two other extracts from our author.

violence

violence committed upon ſeveral noble ſtatues by the *Barbarians* of Baldwyn's cruſade in 1205, particularly upon one of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip repreſenting Helen.—Theſe teſtimonies of a ſenſe of refinement, and of a knowledge of the Arts being extant among the Greeks, are carried to a ſtill later period, almoſt until the fatal time when Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks. Our author obſerves, that New Rome, or Conſtantinople, ſubſiſted from its foundation to its capture, nearly the ſame number of years with Old Rome; and that between Romulus, the founder of Old Rome, and the Gothic Alaric, who took it, was an interval of about eleven hundred years; and that there was nearly the ſame interval between Conſtantine and Mahomet the Great.

Happily for mankind the fate of literature was not completely involved with that of Conſtantinople. For the number of learned Greeks, which this event drove into the weſtern parts of Europe; the favour and protection of the popes, and of the family of the Medici, together with the recent invention of printing, tended to promote the cauſe of knowledge and of taſte, and to put things into that train, in which, adds our author, we hope they may long continue.

The ſecond claſs of Geniuſes during the middle age recorded in this work, includes the Arabians or Saracens: they are repreſented to have been originally an ignorant race of mortals, as is amply demonſtrated by the demolition of the famous library at Alexandria, and by other flagrant inſtances of the moſt ſtupid barbarity. However, philoſophy and a taſte for the arts having once gained admittance to this people, ſoftened by degrees their native wildneſs to an eminent pitch of civilization and humanity.

Mr. Harris ſpeaking of Almanzar, who was the firſt of the race of the Abaſſidæ, ſays, "that he was not only a great conqueror, but a lover of letters and of learned men. It was under him that Arabian literature, which had been at firſt confined to medicine, and a few other branches, was extended to ſciences of almoſt every denomination." In another place, "The rapid victories of theſe eaſtern conquerors ſoon carried their empire from Aſia even into the remote regions of Spain. Letters followed them as they went. Plato, Ariſtotle, and their beſt Greek commentators, were ſoon tranſlated into Arabic; ſo were Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius, Diophantus, and other Greek mathematicians; ſo Hippocrates, Galen, and the beſt profeſſors of medicine; ſo Ptolemy, and the noted writers on aſtronomy. The ſtudy of theſe produced others like them; produced others, who not only explained them in Arabic comments, but compoſed themſelves original pieces upon the ſame principles."

This detail gives us a high opinion of the variety and extent of their learning, and particularly of their poetry, which they cultivated with ardour and ſucceſs. We have likewiſe in this work ſeveral ſamples of their manners, tending upon the whole to impreſs upon the reader favourable ideas of the hoſpitality, bravery, affability, and juſtice of this people.

The

The Latins or Franks, which are included in the third and laſt claſs which our author gives an account of, exhibit a melancholy view of ignorance and ſuperſtition. To uſe Mr. Harris's own words, "it was literally the age of Monkery and Legends, of Leotine verſe (that is, of bad Latin put into rhime); of projects to decide truth by ploughſhares, and battoons; of cruſades to conquer infidels and extirpate heretics, &c."

"However, amongſt the thickeſt of this gloom, gleams of light, and geniuſes ſuperior to all difficulties, frequently darted forth, and anticipating the common progreſs of nature, reſcued even thoſe times from the charge of an entire want of learning and taſte."

The Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, from the Cloſe of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century. To which are prefixed Two Diſſertations: 1. *On the Origin of Romantic Fiction in* Europe. 2. *On the Introduction of Learning into* England. *Volume* III. 4*to. To this Volume is prefixed a third Diſſertation, on the* Geſta Romanorum. *By* Thomas Warton, *B. D. Fellow of Trinity College,* Oxford, *and of the Society of Antiquaries, and late Profeſſor of Poetry in the Univerſity of* Oxford.

OF the two preceding volumes of this work, we have given an account in our Annual Regiſter for 1778, in which the Author has brought the hiſtory of our poetry down to the beginning of the ſixteenth century.

Much labour and ſagacity, qualities which Mr. *Warton* ſeems to poſſeſs in an eminent degree, were neceſſary to enter into an inveſtigation of ſo intricate a nature as that of our poetry in her rude and gothic ſtate. It is through the minute changes of manners, habits, and cuſtoms, that we muſt trace her progreſs, in order to catch her ruling features and character, during the different periods of her improvement. Nor muſt we expect to find in her, frequent or ſtriking alterations. For from the day of ſunſhine which Chaucer beſtowed upon us, to the time of the Reformation, our poetry gained but little ground. Not that our anceſtors during this interval were totally ignorant of the learned languages, or of thoſe models of antiquity which afterwards wrought ſo marvellous a change; but becauſe they were ſo overwhelmed with ſophiſtry, ſuperſtition, and with that extravagant mode of thinking which accompanied the romantic and credulous temper of the times, that the purer ſources of antiquity, and the *humaniores literæ*, were overpowered and loſt in the vortex.

To the volume now before us, which contains the hiſtory of our poetry from the commencement to the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, our author has prefixed a diſſertation on a Latin compilation of tales and legends, entitled GESTA ROMANORUM, wrote by *Petrus Berchorius*, or *Peter Bercheur*, a native of Poitou, and who died prior of the Benedictine convent of St. Eloi at Paris, in the year 1362. The account our author gives us of this work is as follows:

"The GESTA ROMANORUM were firſt printed without date, but it

it is ſuppoſed before or about the year 1473, in folio, with this title, *Incipiunt* HISTORIE NOTABILES *collecte ex* GESTIS ROMANORUM *et quibuſdam aliis libris cum applicationibus eorundem**. This edition has one hundred and fifty-two chapters, or GESTS, and one hundred and ſeventeen leaves†. It is in the Gothic letter, and in two columns. The firſt chapter is of King Pompey, and the laſt of prince, or king, Cleonicus. The initials are written in red and blue ink. This edition, ſlightly mutilated, is among Biſhop Tanner's printed books in the Bodlean library. The reverend and learned Dr. Farmer, Maſter of Emanuel college in Cambridge, has the ſecond edition, as it ſeems, printed at Louvain, in quarto, the ſame or the ſubſequent year, by John de Weſtfalia, under the title, *Ex* GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES *de viciis virtutibuſque tractantes cum applicationibus moraliſatis et myſticis.* And with this colophon, GESTA ROMANORUM *cum quibuſdam aliis* HISTORIIS *eiſdem annexis* ad MORALITATES *dilucide redacta hic finem habent. Quæ, diligenter correctis aliorum viciis, impreſſit Joannes de Weſtfalia in alma Vniverſitate Louvanienſi.* It has one hundred and eighty-one chapters‡. That is, twenty-nine more than are contained in the former edition: the firſt of the additional chapters being the ſtory of Antiochus, or the ſubſtance of the romance of APOLLONIUS of TYRE. The initials are inſerted in red ink‖. Another followed ſoon afterwards, in quarto, *Ex* GESTIS ROMANORUM *Hiſtorie notabiles moralizate*, per *Girardum Lieu*, GOUDÆ, 1480. The next edition, with the uſe of which I have been politely favoured by George Maſon, Eſquire, of Aldenham-Lodge, in Hertfordſhire, was printed in folio, and in the year 1488, with this title, GESTA RHOMANORUM *cum Applicationibus moraliſatis et miſticis.* The colophon is, *Ex* GESTIS ROMANORUM *cum pluribus applicatis Hiſtoriis de virtutibus et viciis myſtice ad intellectum tranſſumptis Recollectorii finis. Anno nre ſalutis* MCCCCLXXX viij *kalendas vero februarii* xviij. A general, and alphabetical table, are ſubjoined. The book, which is printed in two columns, and in the Gothic character, abounding with abbreviations, contains ninety-three leaves. The initials are written or flouriſhed in red and blue, and all the capitals in the body of the text are miniated with a pen. There were many other later editions§. I muſt add, that the GESTA ROMANORUM were tranſlated into Dutch, ſo early as the year 1484.

* Much the ſame title occurs to a manuſcript of this work in the Vatican, "Hiſtoriæ Notabiles collectæ ex Geſtis Romanorum et quibuſdam aliis libris "cum explicationibus eorundem." Montfauc. Bibl. MANUSCR. tom. i. p. 17. Numb. 172.

† Without initials, paging, ſignatures, or catch-words.

‡ The firſt is of King Pompey, as before. The laſt is entitled DE ADULTERIO.

‖ It has ſignatures to K k.

§ For which ſee ſupra, vol. ii. p. 15.

There

There is an old French verſion in the Britiſh Muſeum.

This work is compiled from the obſolete Latin chronicles of the later Roman or rather German ſtory, heightened by romantic inventions, from Legends of the Saints, oriental apologues, and many of the ſhorter fictitious narratives which came into Europe with the Arabian literature, and were familiar in the ages of ignorance and imagination. The claſſics are ſometimes cited for authorities: but theſe are of the lower order, ſuch as Valerius Maximus, Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, Seneca, Pliny, and Boethius. To every tale a MORALISATION is ſubjoined, reducing it into a Chriſtian or moral leſſon.

Moſt of the oriental apologues are taken from the CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA, or a Latin dialogue between an Arabian philoſopher and Edric * his ſon, never printed †, written by Peter Alphonſus, a baptized Jew, at the beginning of the twelfth century, and collected from Arabian fables, apothegms, and examples‡. Some are alſo borrowed from an old Latin tranſlation of the CALILAH U DAMNAH, a celebrated ſet of eaſtern fables, to which Alphonſus was indebted.

On the whole, this is the collection in which a curious enquirer might expect to find the original of Chaucer's Cambuſcan:

Or,—if aught elſe great bards beside
In ſage and ſolemn tunes have ſung,
Of turneys and of trophies hung,
Of foreſts and inchantments drear,
Where more is meant than meets the ear‖."

Having given this account of the GESTA ROMANORUM, he proceeds to analyſe its contents with great accuracy, interſperſing ſuch critical illuſtrations and remarks as the different ſubjects ſeem to demand, either from their own importance, or from the connection they may have with ſubſequent poets. For it is from this work of viſion and myſtery, where we frequently find Oriental, Roman and Feudal hiſtory and cuſtoms claſhing together in the ſame ſtory, and where the fables of the claſſics are often made emblematical of the truths of the Chriſtian religion, that we are to look for the tales of Chaucer and Boccace. Many of theſe legends ſeem to exhibit foundations not unworthy of the ſuperſtructures which were afterwards raiſed upon them.

Having concluded this diſſertation, Mr. Warton proceeds to give the hiſtory of our poetry during the ſixteenth century. It was about the beginning of this period, that claſſical literature, which had been confined for ſo long a time within the cells of the

* EDRIC was the name of ENOCH among the Arabians, to whom they attribute many fabulous compoſitions. Herbelot, in V. Lydgate's CHORLE and THE BIRD, mentioned above, is taken from the CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA of Alphonſus.

† MSS. HARL. 3861. And in many other libraries. It occurs in old French verſe, MSS. DIGB. 86. membran. "*Le* Romaunz *de Peres Aunſour coment il apriſt et chaſtia ſon fils belement.*" [See ſupr. vol. ii. EMEND and ADD. at pag. 103.]

‡ See Tyrwhitt's CHAUCER, vol. iv. p. 325. ſeq.

‖ Milton's IL PENSEROSO.

Monkiſh clergy, began to be more generally diffuſed, and to find its way into the company of the laity in general, but moſt eſpecially of thoſe of the higheſt rank and conſideration. Henry the Eighth, our author obſerves, was for thoſe times a man of by no means a poor literary taſte. With the Italian manners and cuſtoms Henry introduced into his court their language, and the ſpirit of their poetry. The ruder genius of our own muſe ſoon began to take a poliſh in the hands of Lord Surrey, who at once tranſplanted into it all the grace and ſweetneſs of the Italian. He was the moſt graceful courtier, the moſt refined poet, and the moſt gallant ſoldier of this reign. He had formed himſelf upon the model of Petrarch, and in our author's opinion conſiderably improved upon him. His own words are, "In the ſonnets of Surrey, we are ſurpriſed to find nothing of that metaphyſical caſt which marks the Italian poets, his ſuppoſed maſters, eſpecially Petrarch. Surrey's ſentiments are for the moſt part natural and unaffected; ariſing from his own feelings, and dictated by the preſent circumſtances. His poetry is alike unembarraſſed by learned alluſions, or elaborate conceits. If our author copies Petrarch, it is Petrarch's better manner: when he deſcends from his Platonic abſtractions, his refinements of paſſion, his exaggerated compliments, and his play upon oppoſite ſentiments, into a track of tenderneſs, ſimplicity, and nature. Petrarch would have been a better poet had he been a worſe ſcholar. Our author's mind was not too much overlaid by learning.

The following is the poem above mentioned, in which he laments his impriſonment in Windſor-caſtle. But it is rather an elegy than a ſonnet.

So cruel priſon, how coulde betyde, alas,
As proude Windſor *! where I, in luſt and joye †,
With a kynges ſonne ‡ my childiſhe yeres did paſſe,
In greater feaſt than Priam's ſonnes of Troye.

Where eche ſweete place returnes a taſte full ſower:
The large grene courtes where we were wont to hove‖,
With eyes caſt up into the mayden's tower §,
And eaſie ſighes, ſuch as men drawe in love:

The

* How could the ſtately caſtle of Windſor become ſo miſerable a priſon?
† In unreſtrained gaiety and pleaſure.
‡ With the young Duke of Richmond.
‖ To hover, to loiter in expectation. So Chaucer, TROIL. Creſs. B 5. ver. 33.

But at the yate there ſhe ſhould outride
With certain folk he *lovid* her t' abide.

§ Swift's joke about the maids of honour being lodged at Windſor in the round tower, in Queen Anne's time, is too well known and too indelicate to be repeated here. But in the preſent inſtance, Surrey ſpeaks looſely and poetically

The ſtately ſeates, the ladies bright of hewe,
The daunces ſhorte, long tales of great delight,
With wordes and lookes that tigers could but rewe (*a*);
Where ech of us did pleade the others right.

The palme-play (*b*), where, diſpoyled for the game (*c*),
With dazed yies (*d*), oft we by gleams of love,
Have miſt the bail, and got ſight of our dame,
To bayte (*e*) her eyes which kept the leads above (*f*).

The gravell grounde (*g*), with ſleves tied on the helme (*h*).
On fomyng horſe, with ſwordes and friendly hartes;
With cheare (*i*) as though one ſhould another whelme (*k*),
Where we have fought and chaſed oft with dartes.—

The ſecret groves, which ofte we made reſounde
Of pleaſaunt playnt, and of our ladies praiſe,
Recording ofte what grace (*l*) ech one had founde,
What hope of ſpeede (*m*), what drede of long delayes.

The wilde foreſt, the clothed holtes with grene (*n*),
With raynes avayled (*o*), and ſwift ybreathed horſe,

Withcally in making the MAIDEN-TOWER, the true reading, the reſidence of the women. The maiden-tower was common in other caſtles, and means the principal tower, of the greateſt ſtrength and defence. MAIDEN is a corruption of the old French *Magne*, or *Mayne*, great. Thus Maidenhead (properly Maydenhithe) in Berkſhire, ſignifies the *great* port or wharf on the river Thames. So alſo, *Mayden-Bradley* in Wiltſhire is the *great Bradley*. The old Roman camp near Dorcheſter in Dorſetſhire, a noble work, is called *Maiden caſtle*, the capital fortreſs in thoſe parts. We have Maiden-down in Somerſetſhire with the ſame ſignification. A thouſand other inſtances might be given. Hearne, not attending to this etymology, abſurdly ſuppoſes, in one of his Prefaces, that a ſtrong baſtion in the old walls of the city of Oxford, called the MAIDEN-TOWER, was a priſon for confining the proſtitutes of the town.

(*a*) Pity (*b*) At ball. (*c*) Rendered unfit or unable, to play.
(*d*) Dazzled eyes. (*e*) To tempt, to catch.
(*f*) The ladies were ranged on the leads or battlements, of the caſtle to ſee the play.
(*g*) The ground, or area, was ſtrown with gravel, where they were trained in chivalry.
(*h*) At tournaments they fixed the ſleeves of their miſtreſſes on ſome part of their armour.
(*i*) Looks. (*k*) Deſtroy. (*l*) Favour with his miſtreſs.
(*m*) Or, ſucceſs.
(*n*) The holtes, or thick woods, clothed in green. So in another place he ſays, fol. 3.

My ſpecled cheeks with Cupid's hue.

That is, "Cheeks ſpeckled with, &c."
(*o*) With looſened reins. So in his fourth Æneid, the fleet is "ready to *avale*." That is, to *looſen* from ſhore. So again, in Spencer's FEBRUARIE.

With crie of houndes, and merry blaſtes betwene
Where we did chaſe the fearful harte of force.

The wide vales (*a*) eke, that harbourd us ech night,
Wherewith, alas, reviveth in my breſt
The ſweete accorde! Such ſlepes as yet delight:
The pleaſant dreames, the quiet bed of reſt.

The ſecret thoughtes imparted with ſuch truſt;
The wanton talke, the divers change of play;
The friendſhip ſworne, eche promiſe kept ſo juſt,
Wherewith we paſt the winter night away.

And with this thought the bloud forſakes the face;
The teares berayne my chekes of deadly hewe,
The whych as ſone as ſobbing ſighs, alas,
Upſupped have, thus I my plaint renewe!

"O place of bliſſe, renewer of my woes!
"Give me accompt, where is my noble fere (*b*),
"Whom in thy walles thou doſt (*c*) ech night encloſe,
"To other leefe (*d*), but unto me moſt dere!"

They wont in the wind wagge their wriggle tayles
Pearke as a peacocke, but now it AVALES.

"*Avayle* their tayles," to drop or lower. So alſo in his DECEMBER.

By that the welked Phebus gan AVAYLE
His wearie waine.——

And in the Faerie Queene, with the true ſpelling, i. 1. 21. Of Nilus.

But when his latter ebbs gins to AVALE.

To VALE, or *avale, the bonnet*, was a phraſe for lowering the bonnet, or pulling off the hat. The word occurs in Chaucer, TR. CRESS. iii. 627.

That ſuch a raine from heaven gan AVAILE.

And in the fourth book of his BOETHIUS, "The light fire ariſeth into "height, and the hevie yerthes AVAILEN by their weightes." pag. 394. col. 2. edit. Urr. From the French verb AVALER, which is from their adverb AVAL, *downward*. See alſo Hearne's GLOSS. ROB. BR. p. 524. Drayton uſes this word, where perhaps it is not properly underſtood. ECL. iv. p. 1404. edit. 1753.

With that, ſhe gan to VALE her head,
Her cheeks were like the roſes red,
But not a word ſhe ſaid, &c.

That is, ſhe did not *veil*, or cover, but *valed*, held down her head for ſhame.

(*a*) Probably the true reading is *wales* or *walls*. That is, lodgings, apartments, &c. Theſe poems were very corruptly printed by Tottel.

(*b*) Companion.

(*c*) We ſhould read, *didſt*.

(*d*) Dear to others, to all.

Eccho,

Eccho, alas, that doth my ſorrow rew (*a*),
Returnes therto a hollow ſounde of playnte.
Thus I alone, where all my freedom grewe,
In priſon pine, with bondage and reſtrainte.
And with remembrance of the greater greefe
To baniſh th' leſſe, I find my chief releef (*b*)."

With Lord Surrey flouriſhed Sir Thomas Wyatt; a man of very extenſive knowledge and great acquirements, but as a poet, in our author's opinion, much inferior to the former.

The limits of this ſhort account will not allow us to ſpeak of all the various writers, who, according to Mr. Warton, were in eſteem about this time. Moſt of their works are contained in a miſcellaneous collection, of which he gives a particular account. However, for the following reaſons, which our author himſelf gives, it may not be thought improper to infer here the firſt Engliſh paſtoral. He ſays, "From the ſame collection, the following is perhaps the firſt example in our language now remaining, of the pure and unmixed paſtoral: and in the erotic ſpecies, for eaſe of numbers, elegance of rural alluſion, and ſimplicity of imagery, excels every thing of the kind in Spenſer, who is erroneouſly ranked as our earlieſt Engliſh bucolic. I therefore hope to be pardoned for the length of the quotation.

Phyllida was a faire mayde,
As freſh as any flour;
Whom Harpalus the herdman prayde
To be her paramour.
Harpalus and eke Corin
Were herdman both yfere (*c*):
And Phillida could twiſt and ſpin,
And thereto ſing full clere.
But Phyllida was all too coy
For Harpalus to winne;
For Corin was her only joy
Who forſt her not a pinne (*d*).
How often would ſhe flowers twine?
How often garlandes make
Of couſlips and of columbine?
And al for Corin's ſake.
But Corin he had hawkes to lure,
And forced more the fielde (*e*);
Of lovers lawe he toke no cure,
For once he was begilde (*f*).

(*a*) Pity. (*b*) Fol. 6. 7. (*c*) Together.
(*d*) Loved her not in the leaſt. (*e*) More engaged in field-ſports.
(*f*) Deceived. Had once been in love.

Harpalus prevailed nought,
His labour all was loſt;
For he was fardeſt from her thought,
And yet he loved her moſt.
Therefore waxt he both pale and leane,
And drye as clot (*a*) of clay;
His fleſhe it was conſumed cleane,
His colour gone away.
His beard it had not long be ſhave,
His heare hong all unkempt (*b*);
A man fit even for the grave,
Whom ſpitefull love had ſpent.
His eyes were red, and all forewatched (*c*),
His face beſprent with teares;
It ſemde Vnhap had him long hatched
In mids of his diſpaires.
His clothes were blacke and alſo bare,
As one forlorne was he:
Upon his head alwayes he ware
A wreath of wyllow tree.
His beaſtes he kept upon the hyll
And he ſate in the dale;
And thus with ſighes and ſorrowes ſhryll
He gan to tell his tale.
" O Harpalus, thus would he ſay,
" Unhappieſt under funne!
" The cauſe of thine unhappy day
" By love was firſt begunne!
" For thou wentſt firſt by ſute to ſeke
" A tigre to make tame,
" That ſettes not by thy love a leeke,
" But makes thy grief her game.
" As eaſy it were to convert
" The froſt into the flame,
" As for to turne a froward hert
" Whom thou ſo faine wouldſt frame.
" Corin he liveth carèleſſe,
" He leapes among the leaves;
" He eates the frutes of thy redreſſe (*d*),
" Thou reapes, he takes the ſheaves.
" My beaſtes, awhile your foode refraine,
" And hark your herdſmans ſounde;
" Whom ſpitefull love, alas, hath ſlaine
" Through-girt (*e*) with many a wounde!

(*a*) Clod. (*b*) Uncombed. (*c*) Over-watched. That is, his eyes were always awake, never cloſed by ſleep. (*d*) Labour. Pains.
(*e*) Pierce through. So fol. 113. infr.
His entrails with a lance *through-girded* quite.

" O happy

" O happy be ye, beaſtes wilde,
" That here your paſture takes!
" I ſe that ye be not begilde
" Of theſe your faithfull makes (*a*).
" The hart he fedeth by the hinde,
" The buck hard by the do:
" The turtle dove is not unkinde
" To him that loves her ſo.———
" But welaway, that nature wrought,
" Thee, Phyllida, ſo faire;
" For I may ſay, that I have bought
" Thy beauty all too deare! &c. (*b*)."

In this part of his work, Mr. Warton has inſerted ſeveral extracts from the manuſcript Romance YWAIAN and GAWAIN, written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, in order to lay before his reader a comparative view of our language during that period, and this he is now treating of, and by ſo doing the better to illuſtrate the reſpective ages of ſuch pieces as he has already, or intends to produce.

The NUTBROWN MAYDE, and the ſatyrical ballad called the TOURNAMENT OF TOTENHAM, are by our author claſſed under the reign of Henry the Eighth, and apparently with good reaſon, although our antiquarians have always aſcribed them to that of Henry the Sixth. Both of theſe pieces, but more eſpecially the firſt, bear ſtrong marks of that dawn of genius and taſte which took place during this period, and the language which it exhibits, is not of that harſh and gothic caſt which characteriſes the poetical performances of Henry the Sixth's time. It is true that the NUT-BROWN MAID does not contain any of thoſe claſſical images and fanciful conceits which the introduction of the Roman poets and the Italian models had rendered ſo abundant; but it is equally true that Lord Surrey, notwithſtanding he refined our poetry on theſe very models, yet retained a ſimplicity in his poems which could only be the effect of a judgment naturally chaſte and correct; and it is as reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that whoever wrote the NUT-BROWN MAID had, with the ſame advantages, as good and as pure a taſte as Lord Surrey.

The violence with which the Reformation was carried on during the ſhort reign of Edward the Sixth, rendered poetry ſubſervient to its views and intereſts, and to them alone. The character and ſpirit of our compoſitions underwent a conſiderable alteration, and had not that mixture and diſplay of love and gallantry in them which was ſo conſpicuous in the writings of the former reign. The metrical verſion of the Pſalms and of different portions of the ſcripture, became the only ſubjects for the muſe: almoſt the whole of the Old and New Teſtament was turned into verſe by many of our

(*a*) Mates. (*b*) Fol. 55.

reverend prelates, and by ſuch as were accounted the beſt ſcholars of their time.

The tranſlation of the Bible, which even during the reign of Henry the Eighth was not allowed but with numberleſs reſtrictions, was now admitted into the churches, and into the hands of the vulgar in general. The effect this tranſlation had on our language is remarked upon with great judgment by our author. He ſays, "I muſt add here, in reference to my general ſubject, that the tranſlation of the Bible, which in the reign of Edward the Sixth was admitted into the churches, is ſuppoſed to have fixed our language. It certainly has tranſmitted and perpetuated many antient words which would otherwiſe have been obſolete or unintelligible. I have never ſeen it remarked, that at the ſame time this tranſlation contributed to enrich our native Engliſh at an early period, by importing and familiariſing many Latin words(*a*).

Theſe were ſuggeſted by the Latin vulgate, which was uſed as a medium by the tranſlators. Some of theſe, however, now interwoven into our common ſpeech, could not have been underſtood by many readers even above the rank of the vulgar, when the Bible firſt appeared in Engliſh. Biſhop Gardiner had therefore much leſs reaſon than we now imagine, for complaining of the too great clearneſs of the tranſlation, when with an inſidious view of keeping the people in their antient ignorance, he propoſed, that inſtead of always uſing Engliſh phraſes, many Latin words ſhould ſtill be preſerved, becauſe they contained an inherent ſignificance and a genuine dignity, to which the common tongue afforded no correſpondent expreſſions of ſufficient energy(*b*)."

We now come to the reign of Queen Mary, during the commotions of which was wrote A MIRROUR FOR MAJISTRATES, a poem planned and chiefly executed by Thomas Sackville the firſt Lord Buckhurſt, and Earl of Dorſet, and which our author ſays, illuminates with no common luſtre that interval of darkneſs which occupies the annals of Engliſh poetry from Surrey to Spenſer. As we have, in another part of our Annual Regiſter (*c*), inſerted Mr. Warton's literary character of this nobleman, we ſhall not dwell upon it here, but only add what he ſays of the poem in queſtion.

"About the year 1557, he formed the plan of a poem, in which all the illuſtrious but unfortunate characters of the Engliſh hiſtory, from the conqueſt to the end of the fourteenth century, were to paſs in review before the poet, who de-

(*a*) More particularly in the Latin derivative ſubſtantives, ſuch as, *divination, perdition, adoption, manifeſtation, conſolation, contribution, adminiſtration, conſummation, reconciliation, operation, communication, retribution, preparation, immortality, principality*, &c. &c. And in other words, *fruſtrate, inexcuſable, transfigure, concupiſcence*, &c. &c.

(*b*) Such as, *Idololatria, contritus, holocauſta, ſacramentum, elementa, humilatas, ſatisfactio, ceremonia, abſolutio, myſterium, penitentia*, &c. See Gardiner's propoſals in Burnet, HIST. REF. vol. i. B. iii. p. 315. And Fuller, CH. HIST. Book v. Cent. xvi. p. 238.

(*c*) See CHARACTERS, p. 14. of this volume.

ſcends

ſcends like Dante into the infernal region, and is conducted by SORROW. Although a deſcent into hell had been ſuggeſted by other poets, the application of ſuch a fiction to the preſent deſign, is a conſpicuous proof of genius and even of invention. Every perſonage was to recite his own misfortunes in a ſeparate ſoliloquy. But Sackville had leiſure only to finiſh a poetical preface called an INDUCTION, and one legend, which is the life of Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham. Relinquiſhing therefore the deſign abruptly, and haſtily adapting the cloſe of his INDUCTION to the appearance of Buckingham, the only ſtory he had yet written, and which was to have been the laſt in his ſeries, he recommended the completion of the whole to Richard Baldwyne and George Ferrers."

In the induction juſt mentioned, there are many beautiful, as well as grand and ſublime parts: of the latter ſpecies is the following extract from a part of it, which Mr. Warton has inſerted, and ſpeaking of which, he uſes the following words.

"Our author appears to have felt and to have conceived with true taſte, that very romantic part of Virgil's Eneid which he has here happily copied and heightened. The imaginary beings which ſate within the porch of hell, are all his own. I muſt not omit a ſingle figure of this dreadful groupe, nor one compartment of the portraitures which are feigned to be ſculptured or painted on the SHIELD of WAR, indented *with gaſhes deepe and wide*.

And, firſt, within the porch and jaws of hell
Sat deep REMORSE OF CONSCIENCE, all beſprent
With tears; and to herſelf oft would ſhe tell
Her wretchedneſs, and, curſing, never ſtent
To ſob and ſigh, but ever thus lament
With thoughtful care; as ſhe that, all in vain,
Would wear and waſte continually in pain:

Her eyes unſtedfaſt, rolling here and there,
Whirl'd on each place, as place that vengeance brought,
So was her mind continually in fear,
Toſt and tormented with the tedious thought
Of thoſe deteſted crimes which ſhe had wrought;
With dreadful cheer, and looks thrown to the ſky,
Wiſhing for death, and yet ſhe could not die.

Next, ſaw we DREAD, all trembling how he ſhook,
With foot uncertain, profer'd here and there;
Benumb'd with ſpeech; and, with a gaſtly look,
Search'd every place, all pale and dead for fear,
His cap born up with ſtaring of his hair;
'Stoin'd and amazed at his own ſhade for dread,
And fearing greater dangers than was need.

And,

And, next, within the entry of this lake,
Sat fell REVENGE, gnaſhing her teeth for ire;
Deviſing means how ſhe may vengeance take;
Never in reſt, 'till ſhe have her deſire;
But frets within ſo far forth with the fire
Of wreaking flames, that now determines ſhe
To die by death, or 'venged by death to be.

When fell REVENGE, with bloody foul pretence,
Had ſhow'd herſelf, as next in order ſet,
With trembling limbs we ſoftly parted thence,
'Till in our eyes another ſight we met;
When fro my heart a ſigh forthwith I ſet,
Ruing, alas, upon the woeful plight
Of MISERY, that next appear'd in ſight:

His face was lean, and ſome-deal pin'd away,
And eke his hands conſumed to the bone;
But, what his body was, I cannot ſay,
For on his carkaſs rayment had he none,
Save clouts and patches pieced one by one;
With ſtaff in hand, and ſcrip on ſhoulders caſt,
His chief defence againſt the winter's blaſt:

His food, for moſt, was wild fruits of the tree,
Unleſs ſometime ſome crums fell to his ſhare,
Which in his wallet long, God wot, kept he,
As on the which full daint'ly would he fare;
His drink, the running ſtream, his cup, the bare
Of his palm cloſed; his bed, the hard cold ground:
To this poor life was MISERY ybound."

Our author compares Dante's Inferno with Sackville's Deſcent into Hell. They have both for their foundation the ſixth book of Virgil, and their different modes of treating the ſubject, ariſe in a great meaſure from the different periods at which they wrote. Dante compoſed his poem about the year 1310, and when the ſpirit of chivalry and romance was at the higheſt. It is this ſpirit that renders many of his ſublime parts more fearful and terrible by infuſing into them an air of myſteriouſneſs, and it is the ſame ſpirit that often exhibits effects of the moſt ridiculous and incongruous nature, when incorporated with the ideas of the antient claſſics. In treating the ſofter paſſions Dante is incomparable: his deſcriptions are the moſt natural and graceful that can be conceived, and tinctured with a degree of ſentiment and refinement (for the ſource of which we muſt look to chivalry and romance), not eaſily to be found in the beſt claſſical authors.

Sackville wrote about the year 1557, when the models of antiquity were better underſtood than they were in Dante's time, and when

when they began to have their true and genuine effect. His compoſitions are therefore more natural and correct, although inferior, as there are few but are ſo, in point of ſublimity to Dante. Mr. Warton has been particularly attentive to the works of theſe two poets, not only on account of their intrinſic merit, but alſo from their being the models which Spenſer and Milton afterwards ſtudied with great attention.

During this reign ſeveral critical and rhetorical works were publiſhed, and the cultivation of our language began to be attended to by men of learning.—The pedantry of treating all ſubjects in the Latin tongue was firſt broke through by the TOXOPHILUS of Roger Aſkam in Engliſh, and by ſome regular ſyſtems of *logic* and *rhetoric* in the ſame language, by Thomas Wilſon, in 1553, tutor to Henry and Charles Brandon, Dukes of Suffolk, afterwards ſecretary of ſtate and privy counſellor. We ſhall not attempt to follow our author through a regular account of the writers of theſe times, contenting ourſelves with remarking only upon the more grand and deciſive periods of the improvement of our poetry.

In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign appeared the play of GORDOBUC, written by the ſame Lord Buckhurſt we have before ſpoken of. As this is the firſt regular tragedy in our language, our author has given it an attention beyond what it claimed as forming a part of his ſyſtem: the character he gives of it is as follows.

"That this tragedy was never a favourite among our anceſtors, and has long fallen into general oblivion, is to be attributed to the nakedneſs and unintereſting nature of the plot, the tedious length of the ſpeeches, the want of a diſcrimination of character, and almoſt a total abſence of pathetic or critical ſituations. It is true that a mother kills her own ſon. But this act of barbarous and unnatural impiety, to ſay nothing of its almoſt unexampled atrocity in the tender ſex, proceeds only from a brutal principle of ſudden and impetuous revenge. It is not the conſequence of any deep machination, nor is it founded in a proper preparation of previous circumſtances. She is never before introduced to our notice as a wicked or deſigning character. She murthers her ſon Porrex, becauſe in the commotions of a civil diſſenſion, in ſelf-defence, after repeated provocations, and the ſtrongeſt proofs of the baſeſt ingratitude and treachery, he had ſlain his rival brother, not without the deepeſt compunction and remorſe for what he had done. A mother murthering a ſon is a fact which muſt be received with horror; but it required to be complicated with other motives, and prompted by a co-operation of other cauſes, to rouſe our attention, and work upon our paſſions. I do not mean that any other motive could have been found, to palliate a murther of ſuch a nature. Yet it was poſſible to heighten and to divide the diſtreſs, by rendering this bloody mother, under the notions of human frailty, an object of our compaſſion as well as of our abhorrence. But perhaps theſe artifices were not yet known or wanted. The general ſtory of the play is great in its

its political conſequences; and the leading incidents are important, but not ſufficiently intricate to awaken our curioſity, and hold us in ſuſpence. Nothing is perplexed and nothing unravelled. The oppoſition of intereſts is ſuch as does not affect our nicer feelings. In the plot of a play, our pleaſure ariſes in proportion as our expectation is excited.

Yet it muſt be granted, that the language of GORDOBUC has great purity and perſpicuity; and that it is entirely free from that tumid phraſeology, which does not ſeem to have taken place till play-writing had become a trade, and our poets found it their intereſt to captivate the multitude by the falſe ſublime, and by thoſe exaggerated imageries and pedantic metaphors, which are the chief blemiſhes of the ſcenes of Shakeſpear, and which are at this day miſtaken for his capital beauties by too many readers. Here alſo we perceive another and a ſtrong reaſon why this play was never popular."

This tragedy coming out of the hands of a man of ſuch reputation and abilities as Lord Buckhurſt, was immediately followed by Engliſh tranſlations of the Jocaſta of Euripedes, by George Gaſcoign and Francis Kilwenmerſh, both of Grays-Inn, and of the Ten Tragedies of Seneca, by different hands. The antient drama was by theſe means introduced and laid open to our anceſtors, and it muſt be confeſſed that many parts of their tranſlations, if we may judge from the quotations Mr. Warton has given us, appear to have conſiderable merit. Beſides the antient drama, almoſt all the claſſical poets whether Greek or Roman were tranſlated into our language during this reign. The verſions of Homer, Muſæus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Martial, appeared in Engliſh before the year 1580; theſe, ſays our author, "while they contributed to familiarize the ideas of the antient poets to Engliſh readers, improved our language and verſification; and that in a general view they ought to be conſidered as valuable and important acceſſions to the ſtock of our poetical literature. Theſe were the claſſics of Shakeſpear."

From amongſt the various extracts Mr. Warton has given us of the tranſlations in queſtion, we beg leave to lay before our reader the following one from the transformation of Athamas and Ino in the fourth book of Ovid, by Arthur Golding.

"The furious fiend Tiſiphone, doth cloth her out of hand,
In garment ſtreaming gory blood, and taketh in her hand
A burning creſſet (*a*) ſteept in blood, and girdeth her about
With wreathed ſnakes, and ſo goes forth, and at her going out,
Feare, terror, griefe, and penſiueneſſe, for company ſhe tooke,
And alſo madneſſe with his flaight and gaſtly-ſtaring looke.
Within the houſe of Athamas no ſooner foote ſhe ſet,
But that the poſtes began to quake, and doores looke black as iet.

(*a*) A torch. The word is uſed by Milton.

The

The ſunne withdrewe him: Athamas and eke his wife were caſt
With ougly ſightes in ſuch a feare, that out of doores agaſt
They would have fled. There ſtood the fiend, and ſtopt their paſſage out;
And ſplaying (*a*) foorth her filthy armes beknit with ſnakes about,
Did toſſe and waue her hatefull head. The ſwarme of ſcaled ſnakes
Did make an yrkſome noyce to heare, as ſhe her treſſes ſhakes.
About her ſhoulders ſome did craule, ſome trayling downe her breſt,
Did hiſſe, and ſpit out poiſon greene, and ſpirt with tongues infeſt.
Then from amid her haire two ſnakes, with venymd hand ſhe drew,
Of which ſhe one at Athamas, and one at Ino threw.
The ſnakes did craule about their breſts, inſpiring in their heart
Moſt grieuous motions of the minde: the body had no ſmart
Of any wound: it was the minde that felt the cruell ſtinges.
A poyſon made in ſyrup-wiſe, ſhe alſo with her brings,
The filthy ſome of Cerberus, the caſting of the ſnake
Echidna, bred among the fennes, about the Stygian lake.
Deſire of gadding forth abroad, Forgetfullneſs of minde,
Delight in miſchiefe, Woodneſſe (*b*), Tears, and Purpoſe whole inclinde
To cruell murther: all the which, ſhe did together grinde.
And mingling them with new-ſhed blood, ſhe boyled them in braſſe,
And ſtird them with a hemlock ſtalke. Now while that Athamas
And Ino ſtood, and quakt for feare, this poyſon ranke and fell
She turned into both their breſts, and made their hearts to ſwell.
Then whiſking often round about her head, her balefull brand,
She made it ſoone, by gathering winde, to kindle in her hand.
Thus, as it were in tryumph-wiſe, accompliſhing her heſt,
To duſkie Pluto's emptie realme, ſhe gets her home to reſt,
And putteth off the ſnarled ſnakes that girded-in her breſt."

The loves of Hero and Leander aſcribed to Muſæus, and the firſt book of Lucan, were tranſlated by Chriſtopher Marlowe, the contemporary of Shakeſpear, and a dramatic poet of great reputation. He was alſo the author of many beautiful ſonnets, and of that remarkable one called the *Paſſionate Shepherd to his Love*, which appears in the Merry Wives of Windſor.

"That Marlowe (our author obſerves) was admirably qualified for what Mr. Maſon, with a happy and judicious propriety, calls PURE POETRY, will appear from the following paſſage of his forgotten tragedy of EDWARD THE SECOND, written in the year 1590, and firſt printed in 1598. The higheſt entertainments, then in faſhion, are contrived for the gratification of the infatuated Edward, by his profligate minion, Piers Gaveſton.

I muſt haue wanton poets, pleaſant wits,
Muſicians, that with touching of a ſtring

(*a*) Diſplaying. (*b*) Madneſs.

May

May drawe the plyant king which way I pleaſe.
Muſic and poetry are his delight;
Therefore I'll have Italian maſques by night,
Sweet ſpeeches, comedies, and pleaſing ſhewes.
And in day, when he ſhall walke abroad,
Like ſylvan Nymphis my pages ſhall be clad,
My men like Satyrs, grazing on the lawnes,
Shall with their goat-feet dance the antick hay.
Sometimes a Louely Boy, in Dian's ſhape (*a*),
With haire that gildes the water as it glides,
Crownets of pearle about his naked armes,
And in his ſportfull handes an oliue tree,
* * * * * * *
Shall bathe him in a ſpring: and there hard by,
One, lyke Acteon, peeping through the groue,
Shall by the angry goddeſs be transform'd.——
Such thinges as theſe beſt pleaſe his majeſtie."

The Iliad of Homer was tranſlated by George Chapman towards the latter end of this reign. Mr. Warton's account of this poet is as follows.

" In the Preface, he declares that the laſt twelve books were tranſlated in fifteen weeks: yet with the advice of his learned and valued friends, *Maſter* Robert Hews (*b*), and *Maſter* Harriots. It is certain that the whole performance betrays the negligence of haſte. He pays his acknowledgements to his " moſt ancient, " learned, and right noble friend, " *Maſter* Richard Stapilton (*c*), " the firſt moſt deſertful mouer " in the frame of our Homer." He endeavours to obviate a popular objection, perhaps not totally groundleſs, that he conſulted the proſe Latin verſion more than the Greek original. He ſays, ſenſibly enough, " it is the part of " euery knowing and iudicious " interpreter, not to follow the " number and order of words, but " the materiall things themſelues, " and ſentences to weigh dili- " gently; and to clothe and a- " dorne them with words, and " ſuch a ſtile and forme of ora- " tion, as are moſt apt for the " language into which they are " conuerted." The danger lies, in too laviſh an application of this ſort of cloathing, that it may not diſguiſe what it ſhould only adorn. I do not ſay that this is Chapman's

(*a*) That is, acting the part of Diana.

(*b*) This Robert Hues, or Huſius, was a ſcholar, a good geographer and mathematician, and publiſhed a Tract in Latin on the Globes, Lond. 1593, 8vo. With other pieces in that way. There was alſo a Robert Hughes who wrote a Dictionary of the Engliſh and Perſic. See Wood, ATH. OXON. i. 571. HIST. ANTIQUIT. UNIV. OXON. Lib. ii. p. 288. b.

(*c*) Already mentioned as the publiſher of a poetical miſcellany in 1593. Supr. p. 401. " The ſpirituall poems or hymnes of R. S." are entered to J. Buſbie, Oct. 17, 1595. REGISTR. STATION. C. fol. 3. b.

fault;

fault; but he has by no means repreſented the dignity or the ſimplicity of Homer. He is ſometimes paraphraſtic and redundant, but more frequently retrenches or impoveriſhes what he could not feel and expreſs. In the mean time, he labours with the inconvenience of an aukward, inharmonious, and unheroic meaſure, impoſed by cuſtom, but diſguſtful to modern ears. Yet he is not always without ſtrength or ſpirit. He has enriched our language with many compound epithets, ſo much in the manner of Homer, ſuch as the *ſilver-footed* Thetis, the *ſilver-throned* Juno, the *triple-feathered* helme, the *high-walled* Thebes, the *faire-haired* boy, the *ſilver-flowing* floods, the *hugely-peopled* towns, the Grecians *navy-bound*, the *ſtrong-winged* lance, and many more which might be collected. Dryden reports, that Waller never could read Chapman's Homer without a degree of tranſport. Pope is of opinion, that Chapman covers his defects "by a daring "fiery ſpirit that animates his "tranſlation, which is ſomething "like what one might imagine "Homer himſelf to have writ "before he arrived to years of "diſcretion." But his fire is too frequently darkened, by that ſort of fuſtian which now diſfigured the diction of our tragedy."

Chapman alſo, in the year 1614, publiſhed the *Odyſſea*, which he dedicated to Carr Earl of Somerſet.

In addition to the antient authors of Greece and Rome, tranſlations of moſt of the Italian poets into Engliſh took place towards the cloſe of this century. Arioſto, the tales of Boccaſe, Bandello, and of other Italian authors, were tranſlated into our language, and became the foundation of many of the works of Shakeſpear, Dryden and others. Whatever could enrich, or furniſh with matter our future poets, was now ſhowered down upon them with uncommon exuberance. Our language was conſiderably improved, the beauties of antient literature were ſtudied and copied with ſucceſs, the works of the modern claſſics, if I may ſo call them, were laid open to our anceſtors *et in medium proferuntur*, and finally our poetry was arrived at that point, when ſhe had neither contracted the ſeverity of age, nor was ſo much a child as to be pleaſed moſt with what was moſt ſtrange and unnatural.

As a conſiderable part of the laſt ſection of this volume, containing a general view and character of the poetry of Queen Elizabeth's age, is inſerted in another part of our Regiſter for this year*, we ſhall not touch upon it here.

* See p. 141. of this laſt part.

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THE

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to

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